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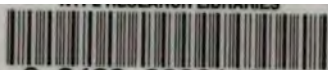
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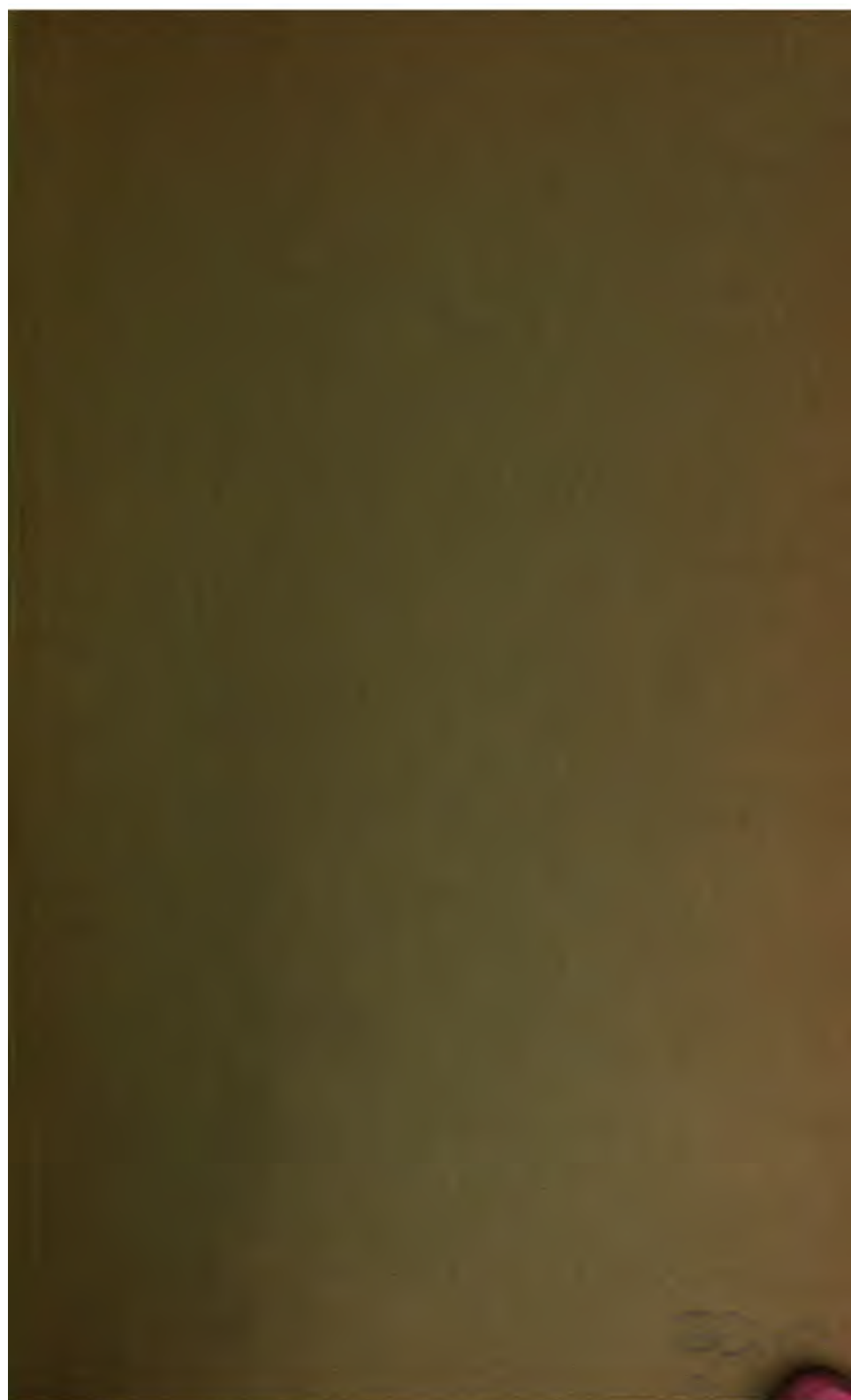
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HISTORIC STUDIES

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*Edward Gibbon.
from the original at La Grotte.*

HISTORIC STUDIES

IN

VAUD, BERNE, AND SAVOY

FROM ROMAN TIMES
TO VOLTAIRE, ROUSSEAU, AND GIBBON

BY

GENERAL MEREDITH READ

MEMBER OF THE AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY
MANY YEARS UNITED STATES MINISTER AT ATHENS
CONSUL-GENERAL AT PARIS DURING THE FRANCO-GERMAN WAR
G.C.R., F.S.A., F.R.H.S., M.R.I.A., F.R.G.S. ETC.

IN TWO VOLUMES—VOL. I.

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS

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Edmund Henderson

MEMOIR

THE appearance of this work has been delayed by the death of its author, which occurred at his residence in Paris, December 27, 1896. His illness was brief; it was only five days before its fatal termination that his pen was laid aside. Although the work now published was substantially completed, some of the later proofs did not receive his final revision, and a considerable number of the closing chapters are printed from manuscripts which had not been given the exact shape and finish he had intended. The introductory 'Word to the Reader,' was left in a somewhat fragmentary condition.

The writer of these prefatory notes, to whom, as a literary friend of the author, treatment of the unfinished chapters has been confided, has in various ways been aided by the General's excellent secretary, Mr. Turner. The most difficult task has been to complete the necessary work of condensation, with which the author was occupied at the time of his illness.

This work, for which General Meredith Read had for eighteen years been accumulating materials, and to which many years of steadfast labour were devoted, must now appear as a monument not only of unwearied researches, but of the man, and on it there may be appropriately inscribed some account of the career so pathetically ended. It may be well, in view of the unreserved tone of the sketch here attempted, to state that it is not given on the suggestion or under the supervision of any relative of General Meredith Read.

Fair accounts of the late General's life have appeared in

various publications, such as Scharf's 'History of Delaware,' and Appleton's 'Cyclopædia of American Biography.'

General John Meredith Read was descended from a historical family in England (from which also came the late novelist, Charles Reade), one of whose members, George Reade, was an important figure in the colonial history of Virginia, and was a great-grandfather of General Washington. Another branch of the English family was represented by John Read, son of a wealthy citizen of Dublin, who settled in Maryland, and was connected with the Principio Iron Company. In that colony was born George Read, an eminent senator, a (Delaware) signer of the Declaration of Independence, and a framer of the United States Constitution. A son of the 'Signer' was the Hon. John Read, a lawyer of great influence in the legislature of Pennsylvania, and pre-eminent in the councils of the Episcopal Church. His son, John Meredith Read, the late Chief Justice of Pennsylvania, was a leading publicist, and is memorable for his early maintenance of the authority of the United States Congress to restrain the spread of slavery into national territories. He was a principal founder of the Republican party, and some of its ablest leaders desired that he should be its first candidate for the Presidency.

The late General John Meredith Read was the son of this Chief Justice, and was born in Philadelphia February 21, 1837. Sprung from a race of learned jurists and statesmen, he was precociously studious, and, at the early age of thirteen, was absorbed in the great work of Gibbon, who remained to the end of life his beloved author. From poring over that history he may have derived the soldierly turn of mind which, it may be conjectured, led to his being first educated in a military academy. He graduated in 1858 at Brown University, Rhode Island, and acted for a time as Aide-de-Camp to the Governor of Rhode Island, with the rank of Colonel. Meanwhile he was studying law, having resolved to adopt the profession of his ancestors, and entered the Law School at Albany, New York, where he gradu-

ated in 1859. After a year passed in studying international law in Europe, he returned to Philadelphia, and was there admitted to the bar in 1860. Soon after, however, he removed to Albany.

Being an ardent Republican, young Read threw himself with enthusiasm into the Presidential Campaign of 1860, which resulted in the election of Lincoln. An immediate sequel of that struggle was the cloud of civil war, and, his early military training being known to the Governor of New York, he was, though only in his twenty-fourth year, appointed Adjutant-General of that State, with the rank of Brigadier-General. In February 1861 he was placed at the head of the Government Commission which received the President-Elect (Lincoln) at Buffalo and escorted him to Washington—a duty of considerable responsibility, as there were grounds for apprehension concerning the President's personal safety.

During the Civil War the young Adjutant-General was actively engaged in his appointed work of organizing, equipping, and forwarding to the seat of war the forces of the State of New York, receiving for his able and energetic services the thanks of the War Department. His active military work continued until 1866, when he resumed his law practice.

In 1868 General Meredith Read presided over the American Social Science Congress which was held at Albany. In the same year he took a leading part in the election of General Grant to the Presidency. In 1869 he was appointed by President Grant Consul-General for France and Algeria. This was a new post, the details and arrangements of which were well adapted to the General's organizing capacity. His residence had been fixed at Paris, and the outbreak of the war between France and Germany brought on him unexpected labours and responsibilities. On the declaration of war Baron Rothschild resigned his office of Consul-General for Germany in France, and General Meredith Read was requested by Count Bismarck to act in the Consular

affairs of that country. To this he consented, with the assent of the French Government, and was indefatigable in protecting German subjects and interests. Through the German siege of Paris he remained in the city, and during the Commune several bombs fell near his house, one of them just in front as the General and his wife were leaving the door. Three bombs that so fell preserved their integrity sufficiently to be made into mantel ornaments, one of them being a handsome clock.

The French Government was well satisfied with the tact displayed by the American in the delicate duty of looking after German Consular affairs, with which the General had combined active services in relieving the distress of the population of Paris during the siege. For this he received the thanks of M. Gambetta, who, to the end of his life, remained his warm personal friend.

When the war ended it was still not deemed feasible for a German to be Consul-General in France, and, by agreement of both Governments, General Meredith Read continued for some time to render such services. The labours were serious, involving correspondence with more than thirty agents in various parts of France, in addition to Consuls of his own country, and were warmly appreciated by the German Government. During all of this time his popularity in France increased, and he was consulted in several important matters by General de Cissey and other Ministers.

In 1873 the General was appointed United States Minister to Greece, a post which he filled six years. In that position he rendered one particularly important service to his country by a despatch written to his Government during the financial crisis in America of 1876-7, pointing out the effects of the Russo-Turkish war and other causes on the bread markets of the world, many of which he suggested might be captured by a grain fleet sailing from New York. This information was circulated among producers and shippers, and in one year American grain exports rose to seventy-three millions of dollars.

While thus vigilant of the interests of his own country, the Minister attended to various affairs of general concern. His religious sentiments were strong, and it was largely due to his exertions and influence that the order was revoked which prohibited the sale and circulation of the Bible in Greece. He was on excellent terms with Ministers from other countries, and was able to render various services to eminent Englishmen, which were not forgotten by them. He was much interested in the Historical Society at Athens, and his memorial letter to them on the death of his friend Lord Stanhope was published (1876) by that Society in Greek and English.

Personally the Minister was keenly interested in the Greek Question then urgent, and on his release from ministerial obligations became very active in behalf of the cause of Greece. When this cause had been crowned with success, the King of Greece called on him personally at his residence in Paris, and in 1881 created him Knight Grand Cross of the Order of the Redeemer.

From his youth our author had been a zealous student of history, as his father also was. As the family was historically connected with Delaware, the foundation of a Historical Society in this State in 1864 was attended by Chief Justice Read in behalf of the venerable Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and his son Meredith in the following year delivered its first anniversary address. He had already contributed several valuable papers to various Societies, but this anniversary discourse on a little-explored subject brought him general recognition among historians. It was published at Albany under the title: 'A Historical Inquiry concerning Henry Hudson, his Friends, Relatives, and Early Life, his connection with the Muscovy Company, and discovery of Delaware Bay.' Of this substantial pamphlet an abridged edition was published in Edinburgh (1882) by the Clarendon Society.

General Meredith Read was a member of the principal

learned Societies of Europe and America. In every country that he visited he made important collections of original historical documents and relics, and several rooms in his house were occupied by these treasures, which represent large outlays. His American collection includes the large letter-books, sixteen in number, of Robert Morris, Financier of the Revolution, which contain important facts as yet unknown to history. Among his English treasures is the large family Bible which belonged to the historian Gibbon, and was loaned to the Gibbon Centenary Exhibition in London. His French collection included a very large number of important letters of Voltaire which have never seen the light, and of which but few could find room in the present volumes. Greece was also well represented in his scriptorium, and the reader of these volumes need hardly be told that his collection of documents and relics in Switzerland was vast. These collections were always open to the inspection of his friends, and in the long list of those to whom the chivalrous author wished to acknowledge indebtedness, appended to his 'Word to the Reader,' not a few will feel that the indebtedness was equally on their side. The reader of these volumes will no doubt remark the author's eager interest in family history and genealogy—an interest sometimes regarded and perhaps rightly as especially American, but without full appreciation of the fact that the romance of every old family in America has its prologue in Europe. In a country where the family tree has nothing to do with titles or estates, but is judged by its moral and intellectual fruits, genealogy rises to the dignity of History; which, as the American Emerson remarks, is the history of a few good heads.

In 1879, when returning from his mission in Greece, General Meredith Read tarried on the lake of Geneva for the purpose of conferring on some important matters with M. Gambetta, who was to arrive in that neighbourhood. But while waiting there rose before him the figure of his beloved Gibbon, whose

homes and haunts were around him, and, the conference with M. Gambetta ended, the General went on a visit to Lausanne. He had the antiquary's enthusiasm, and could enjoy a pilgrimage from the nineteenth century with its burning issues into the eighteenth with its serene shades. In visiting Lausanne he probably contemplated no more than a reverent inspection of the homes and haunts of Gibbon, and perhaps a paper on the *historian's life at Lausanne*. But the pilgrimage, as will be seen, turned into a far journey. He found in Lausanne the descendants of Gibbon's circle, the same cultured and gracious gentlemen and ladies, surrounded by the portraits of those who had been the historian's teachers, friends, and correspondents, and able to tell him many pretty legends.

But more important discoveries awaited our antiquary. After some sojourn in Lausanne he found that he was in a region of archives largely unexplored. In Gibbon's old mansion, *La Grotte*, the vast garrets were crowded with chests of mouldy manuscripts, all of which were cheerfully, and perhaps gratefully, opened to his search and use. For this work he took up his abode in the ancient city. The historical discoveries made in that ancient mansion remind one of the enchanted '*La Grotte*' of old Romance, wherein prince, knights, and courtly dames slumbered for centuries awaiting the curious adventurer who might awaken them. Many interesting sleepers stirred under the touch of the American. Similar accumulations he found in neighbouring cities, which, while including records of remote antiquity, contained unknown letters from great men and women of the last century—Rousseau, Madame de Warens, Voltaire, Gibbon, Frederick the Great, Euler, Allamand, Malesherbes, Madame Necker, Madame de Staël, and many others.

To the collection of the original manuscript materials which appear in this work, though only in part, about three years were pretty continuously given. At the same time photographers and draughtsmen were employed in taking pictures

of all the historical places and chateaux visited—the General never considering money in making his collections—the illustrations in these volumes being a few chosen from his extensive albums. Experts were set to translate or decipher mediæval documents. And when all these were copied and indexed, the author devoted himself to the extended studies necessary to gain from ancient or contemporary historians knowledge of the epochs to which his inedited documents related, and the facts that might give each its right and explanatory setting. These works are credited where quoted in the following pages, but it was his intention also to amplify the list of printed authorities given at the end of his Introduction.

The statements in this Memoir concerning the labours and incidents connected with the writing of this work are derived from the present writer's personal knowledge and his intercourse with the author, whose intimate friendship he enjoyed ; and they are here for the first time given to the public. The General was the frankest of men ; in conversation with a friend he related with the utmost freedom his adventures and experiences. Through all his military and diplomatic career he had preserved a youthful simplicity and freshness. He was unselfish and generous, and his beautiful home in Paris was the centre of a cordial hospitality. Many are bereaved by his death, which has occurred at a time when life seemed most smiling, and when his literary labour of many years was on the eve of completion.

I DEDICATE THESE VOLUMES

TO MY WIFE

DELPHINE MARIE PUMPELLY MEREDITH READ

WHOSE EARNEST SYMPATHY

HAS ENCOURAGED MY UNDERTAKING

A WORD TO THE READER

OF this work the text is a house—a house from which we survey the passage of a thousand years, six hundred of which are associated with its existence. Hitherto no one has suspected such a continuous flow of history to and through this mansion—La Grotte—which now, alas! has fallen beneath the siege of ignorance. If this book, begun eighteen years ago, could have appeared earlier, the house might perhaps have been saved. Curiosity and interest having been aroused, international petitions might have preserved it as a Museum—a treasure-house of the past.

The fate of La Grotte points a moral. Whenever the destruction of a historical monument is proposed, let the practical, even more than the artistic and æsthetic elements of a population be excited to protest and prevent it. Such antiquities draw strangers as to shrines, and in their wake flow money and prosperity.

These pages owe their origin to my interest in Gibbon, in whom, by the way, much less interest was felt eighteen years ago than now. At that time there was but one manuscript letter of Gibbon in the British Museum. Some of my narratives may appear superfluous to the critical, though I hope they may be of value to those less acquainted with the life of the great historian. But, although this work originated in my interest in Gibbon, his residences in Lausanne proved only the beginning of my quest, which has resulted in my telling the story of localities which, however small, have influenced and

continue to influence mankind in Europe and America. In travelling through the ages we recognise at each critical epoch the founder or progenitor of each family which formed the society around Voltaire, Rousseau, and Gibbon. To study in these families and personalities the evolution of such society is to study the forces that moulded men who are largely moulding us to-day.

I have intended to write as if I were telling my story by word of mouth to a sympathetic listener, accompanying me in my wanderings through historic highways and byways.

It will be seen that I have recorded the bad as well as the good points in the different religious sects where they come into view. This was my duty; but I desire that it may be clearly understood that I am a firm believer in Christianity, and welcome it in all its forms, wishing also to be liberal towards those who have no belief, if such persons exist. If there be any whom this avowal astonishes, or who imagine that they detect in it the satisfied Pharisee, I cannot help it.

There is at least one portion of my book which may appear heavy—that which presents a review of Lausanne Society early in the eighteenth century. These chapters cost me a great deal of labour. It is no slight task to ascertain and record all the prominent people of a town and their residences two hundred years ago, when there were no address-books, and one can only resort to scattered archives.

I am under great obligations to Mme. Constantin Grenier for her unvarying kindness in allowing me to examine the vast mass of unexplored papers hidden away under the hospitable roof of La Grotte. After spending several months studying them on the spot, I was most kindly permitted to take away each one of the cases and examine it at my leisure. The work of examination, classification, and copying these papers, whose nature and value were entirely unknown before, even to the Grenier family, extended through a series of years.

I am thus able, as a discoverer, to welcome my reader to the historical mansion whose portals can now be opened only through my book.

To the son of Mme. Constantin Grenier, Professor Louis Grenier, and to his wife I am also indebted for the use of a collection of most interesting documents; and, indeed, I am under obligations for similar favours to each member of the Grenier family, and to their connections, the Bourgeois-Doxat.

I tender my thanks to Mr. J. Horace Round, one of the highest authorities on mediæval history, who called my attention to a Norman-French epistle of Otho de Grandison or Grandson; also to Mr. Charles A. Firth for information concerning the regicides in Switzerland.

I tender my sincere thanks to the various persons and families mentioned in these pages, who have, without hesitation, placed their papers and muniments in my hands for examination.

My warm acknowledgments are due to M. and Mme. William de Charrière de Sévery, and are more particularly rendered in connection with their documents in my second volume.

My thanks are due to Mme. de Loÿs de Treytorrens; the Marquis de Loÿs-Chandieu; M. Charles A. Bugnion; M. Charles Maunoir; Duke de Broglie; Count d'Haussonville; Mr. Frederic Harrison; Mr. H. R. Tedder, F.S.A.; Mr. Claude Webster; Mme. Arnaud de l'Ariège; M. Joseph Arnaud de l'Ariège; Lady Athlumney and Meredyth; Rev. F. W. Attenborough; Dr. Moncure D. Conway; M. Gustave de Blonay, of Grandson; Baron William de Blonay, of La Tour Ronde; Baron Francis de Blonay, of Marin; M. Briguet; M. Bauernheinz; Dr. Berney; Dr. A. Bloentz, of Berne; Colonel Godefroi de Charrière; M. Emile de Crousaz; M. Aymon de Crousaz; M. Fédor de Crousaz; M. Ernest Chavannes; M. Carrard; Baron Victor de Constant-Rebecque; Duchess of Cleveland;

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I have had constant occasion to quote the important local works of Messrs. Blanchet, Doyen Bridel, Ernest Chavannes, Baron Louis de Charrière, Alexandre Daguet, Gaullieur, Gindroz, Baron Frederick de Gingins, Dr. Levade, Martignier and de Crousaz, de Montet, Count de Mülinen, Count Amadeus de Foras, Colonel Mandroz, Juste Olivier, Pellis, Eugène Rambert, Vulliemin, Verdeil, Alexandre Vinet, and the volumes of the *Société d'Histoire de la Suisse romande*.

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HISTORIC STUDIES

IN

VAUD, BERNE, AND SAVOY

CHAPTER I

THE story of a house ! Its origin so long ago, when Normans were settling their English conquests, and Crusaders battling for the Holy Sepulchre ; when one half of the world was unconscious of the other, and the American Continent still slumbered in the womb of History. The story of a house ! Its romances, its vicissitudes, its incongruous occupants—monks, atheists, Calvinists, soldiers, historians, jurists, men of war, men of God, men of pleasure, fair matrons and beautiful maidens—its fireside, the generations who there first saw the light, who laboured, feasted, danced, loved, prayed, slept, and died in it, the great thoughts and works born in it : these make the opening chapters of my theme.

La Grotte, where Gibbon dwelt during the last ten years of his life, is an ancient and spacious mansion situated behind the Church of St. Francis at Lausanne.¹ Its interesting history and characteristics, hitherto unnoticed, merit description.

The pictures in this work present views of its exterior and interior ; but from the exceptional position and construction of this fine old house they necessarily fail to present a

¹ *Written in 1879.* It is, alas, necessary now to speak of it in the past tense, the property having been acquired by the Swiss authorities as a site for a Post Office ; La Grotte, as well as the house of Clavel de Brenles and the mansion of Polier de St. Germain, have been demolished, and only exist now in the photographs made under my direction in 1879 and in 1895.

comprehensive view of its picturesque unities. It is a subject requiring artistic treatment. It is impossible to approach it abruptly, and get at once on its best side with the prosaic camera. It must be wooed by divers ingenious means. It must be studied in profile, three-quarters, and full face. One must be content to wander in its gardens and shrubberies, to climb a wall, or even ascend to the summit of a neighbouring building, in order to gain a conception of its quaint proportions.

One is especially struck by the form and height of its steep roof, which recalls the tall pointed hat of our ancestors. This feature carries the imagination back to past ages, and creates a desire to interrogate the spot covered by such a structure. But research is needed to realise the fact that this reversed exclamation-point covers a cluster of rare historical memories, which have been accumulating for more than seven hundred years.

Gibbon's old home crowns a magnificent terrace, commands an unrivalled view of Lake Lemane, and stretches its length along the edge of a plateau which includes the Church and the Square of St. Francis. It has rambled on from one generation to another, until at last it occupies a space that would astonish the old monks who laid its foundations. Like some interesting characters whom we have all encountered, it has a certain dignified secretiveness. It turns, for instance, a cold shoulder to the public and to the street—its offices and vestibules being on that side—and reveals merely one high storey with lofty apex. The generous proportions of the entrance, surmounted by heraldic bearings, almost obliterated, are the only inducements to inspect its hospitable and friendly possibilities. But, passing the portal and its antechamber, we find ourselves in cheerful and ample living-rooms, whose doors and windows open widely to the balmy southern sunshine. We may descend to the floor bordering Gibbon's terrace, and from the outside discover three ranges of apartments, one above the other—the last being the servants' abode under the conical eaves—each made up of several distinct suites. One may thus understand the impression of extent and bewildering arrangement made by La Grotte on a new-comer. Its internal

distribution is exactly set forth in designs which my friend M. Henri Grenier has admirably drawn. But it is impossible by pen or pencil to describe a certain mysterious atmosphere pervading the place, whose charm all feel but none can define. It can only be said that upon entering within these walls, still haunted by the great spirits who once frequented or inhabited them, the stranger is overcome by a subtle influence, not the less potent because indefinable.

I remember perfectly my first pilgrimage to Lausanne. I had been attracted to Ouchy, on the Lake of Geneva, by its souvenirs of Byron, who there composed the 'Prisoner of Chillon.' With his 'Life' in my hand, I finally ascended to the City of Saints. The poet, however, could only tell me of his visit to Gibbon's habitation in 1816. He could report nothing of its present condition, nor even afford a clue to its situation. In fact, the slender hints of the guide-books, and a letter of Byron to John Murray, were my only counsellors. The latter, written from Ouchy, near Lausanne, June 7, 1816, says:

'I am thus far (kept by stress of weather) on my way back to Diodati (near Geneva) from a voyage in my boat round the lake; and I enclose you a sprig of *Gibbon's acacia*, and some rose-leaves from his garden, which, with part of his house, I have just seen. You will find honourable mention, in his *Life*, made of this "acacia," when he walked out on the night of concluding his history. The garden and summer-house where he composed are neglected, and the last utterly decayed; but they still show it as his "cabinet," and seem perfectly aware of his memory.'

It appears that at the end of the wars of Napoleon, when the Continent was again thrown open to the English, countless pilgrims from the British Isles, among whom Byron was foremost, hastened to Lausanne to do homage to the memory of the great writer whose genius had grasped the innumerable social and governmental details of the gigantic Roman Empire from its inception to its fall.

For nearly a generation the pilgrimage of visitors to this historic shrine was continuous. A member of the family who inhabited *La Grotte* from 1802 to 1831—Madame d'Apples de Molin, now [1879] in her eightieth year—described for me this

interminable procession with the delicate fancy and humour usually belonging to youth.

At the beginning of this period Gibbon's pavilion was still intact. But, as every English visitor cut away a portion, the historian's sanctum gradually disappeared from Lausanne, and was distributed in fragments throughout Great Britain. The family De Molin de Montagny, owners of the property, strove to moderate this archæological enthusiasm, and save the remains. Bit by bit they renewed the structure, fighting against unrelenting attacks; but eventually, like the knife of Janot, or Rabelais' robe, not a morsel of the original was left. The real had given way to a copy; but even this was destined in its turn to fall before the insatiable tourist. Finding, in fact, that the thirst of travellers for these relics continued unabated, the family, in utter despair, allowed the last remnant of the re-erected structure to take its flight beneath the cloak of a particularly greedy sightseer. A little later, the guides of parties to this spot began to point out the venerable Madame Grenier, if she chanced to be in the garden, as the widow of Gibbon—the bachelor who, had he been living, would have been old enough to be her grandfather!

Gradually this cult was forgotten, and the pilgrimages had long ceased when I first reached the city to whose fame Gibbon so largely added.

I have mentioned my comparative ignorance at the time of the historian's daily life and surroundings. I was indeed familiar with his great work, and had read his *Memoirs* in my thirteenth year; but time had swept the autobiographical details from my mind, though leaving me still under the vague spell of their shadowy forms. It was thus with but meagre aids that I first found my way to the Hôtel Gibbon, ignorant indeed, but ashamed of my ignorance—only to find there residents no better informed than myself.

I had reached Lausanne from Ouchy by the tramway, which compassed the ascent by machinery stationed in the former city and worked by water. To the left was Montbenon, with its line of tall trees, where in Jean Noir's *cabaret* the Bailiff of Lausanne arrested (November 17, 1705) many followers of Jean Cavalier, chief of the Cevenols, or Camisards.

Passing under the Grand Pont, I mounted the Rue Pepinet, and reached the Place of St. Francis. In a drawing-room of the Hôtel Gibbon I found a portrait of the great man after whom it is named, and a wretched cut done at Lausanne sixty years before, representing a small pavilion standing below a terrace, with a large house looking over the trees, to the right of the site now occupied by the caravansary. The proprietor of the hotel was absent, but the secretary informed me, in reply to my questions, that he believed Gibbon wrote the last volume of his 'History' in the extreme left-hand corner at the bottom of the garden. My own researches, however, proved that Gibbon's pavilion occupied the upper and north-east corner, beneath the terrace on which the hotel stands.

At the bottom of the garden was a green summer-house of recent construction, and a want of faith took possession of me. The locality did not correspond to the engraving, and my inquiries were only commencing.

The hotel is an imposing edifice on an elevated plain, whence one descends by stone steps to pleasure grounds that roll in undulating lines to the wall at its southern extremity. A fountain throws up its bright spray, and trees, shrubs, green lawns, bright flowers, and tuneful birds, make a charming *ensemble*, especially enjoyable when from the terrace and its handsome embrasures the eye looks also on the city, the lake, and the surrounding mountains.

A secretary there at first said that Gibbon's house had been pulled down to make way for the establishment of a photographer. He made every possible effort to gratify my curiosity, but his ideas were so confused that I begged him to obtain further knowledge on the subject. After some reflection he left me, and, having repaired to different persons, said on his return: 'I believe that Mr. Gibbon resided at La Grotte, but I do not know the number.'

Calling a *fiacre*, I directed the coachman to La Grotte, and he drove me at a leisurely pace down the Rue du Petit Chêne. After some time, I ventured to inquire if we were not nearing our destination. 'Excuse me, monsieur,' he replied, 'there are two places called La Grotte, one below and the other above. I don't know to which of the two you desire to go.'

'I wish to find the former residence of Mr. Gibbon, the historian.'

'Gibbon? Gibbon?' he muttered in a lazy interrogative tone; 'I never heard of that name in this country, and I am sure there is no such gentleman or family in Lausanne.'

Truly, I thought, the memory of Gibbon is thoroughly effaced here, and in utter disgust I requested my sleepy Jehu to drive me back to the hotel.

Some time after the above incident a correspondent of 'Notes and Queries' overheard the following between a guest at the hotel and his wife: 'Whose portrait is that?' asked the lady. 'Gibbon, after whom the hotel is named.' 'But who was Gibbon?' 'One of the English Royal Family!'

At length I found in the hotel one who said: 'I believe I know the house you are looking for,' and he conducted me to the residence of Madame Grenier.

My way became much smoother through the intelligence of Madame and M. Henri Grenier, but it still appears to me strange that so many difficulties and obstacles had to be surmounted before acquaintance was made with a spot which, less than half a century before, was a centre of world-wide attraction.

Since M. Constantin Grenier sold that part of the ancient property of La Grotte where the Hôtel Gibbon stands, efforts have been naturally made to attract attention to the hotel garden and its historical associations; and in this course the landlord has had the approval of the owners of La Grotte, who thus escaped the former horde of sightseers.

I shall never forget my feelings on finding myself in the house consecrated by the labours of Edward Gibbon.

From the first moment my interest was excited, my enthusiasm aroused; and my researches have since been prosecuted with a zealous pleasure which has known no interruption or satiety, but which has carried me far beyond the limits of my original intention.

La Grotte is [1879] the property and the residence of the Grenier family, one of the most esteemed and eminent in Switzerland. The Greniers inherited the estate from Colonel George de Molin de Montagny, grandfather of the present repre-



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sentative, who received it from his cousin, George Deyverdun, Gibbon's friend, to whom his maternal aunt, Madame de Loÿs de Bochat, had bequeathed it. This lady was the widow of the famous noble and professor Charles Guillaume de Loÿs de Bochat, in whose person La Grotte began, in 1750, its existence as the private abode of history. Thirty years later Gibbon gave it renown throughout the Republic of Letters.

By title-deeds and other authentic documents, which I owe to the kindness of Madame Grenier, I am enabled to carry back the history of La Grotte with exactitude to the year 1592, though it is much earlier, and it is visible like a star in the depths of a far-distant past.

It originally formed a portion of St. Francis Convent, and in its vaults the monks preserved their relics and treasures. To this circumstance perhaps it owed its original name—La Crotte, afterwards La Grotte.

M. Ernest Chavannes, in a letter to me of December 18, 1879, called my attention to the fact that the word Crottaz, in Pays de Vaud language, signifies 'cellar,' 'vault,' and instanced the Crottaz de l'Hôtel de Ville, often mentioned in the Lausanne Archives.¹ The will of Dr. Jean Grandis, hereafter noticed, speaks of the wine vats situated in 'La Crottaz' of his house.

If we may trust one legend, monks were chanting within La Grotte when Richard Cœur de Leon was battling in the Holy Land, before he became King of England, Cyprus, and Jerusalem. Its walls were already old when Peter of Savoy began to construct the dungeons of Chillon, before he had won the title of the Little Charlemagne or visited his niece, Queen Eleanor, at London, where he built that famous Palace of the Savoy, 'which surpassed all other English mansions in beauty and magnificence.'²

¹ Letters of M. Ernest Chavannes to the author, December 18, 1879, and January 10, 1880.

² The Savoy was erected in 1255, and given by Peter to the Brotherhood of Montjoy, an order of knighthood established at Jerusalem, from whom it was purchased by Queen Eleanor for her son Edward, Earl of Lancaster. It was burned by the rebels of Kent and Essex in 1381, and was partially rebuilt by Henry VII., who intended to make it the hospital of St. John the Baptist. He provided for it in his last will, and one of his executors, Sir Robert Read, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, also bequeathed to it the Manor of Crofton, in Kent. His son, Henry VIII., carried out his father's intentions by granting to

It is odd to find that Gibbon, the whilom Catholic and later sceptic, chose as his favourite and permanent home at Lausanne the precincts of a venerable convent, in the rear of its former church, and close to the Protestant bells, whose tones, one fears, were more useful in calling him from mental labour to pleasures of the table than in summoning his thought to spiritual things.

But monks and monkly things always had a place in his thoughts, and seem even to have exercised an influence that extended to his critics. 'It was,' he tells us, 'as I sat musing amidst the ruins of the Capitol, while barefooted friars were singing vespers in the Temple of Jupiter, that the idea of writing the *Decline and Fall of Rome* first started in my mind.'

This remarkable passage arrested the attention of MM. Suard and Guizot, and led those distinguished writers to trace to Gibbon's impressions on that occasion the source of some of the lamentable prejudices in his great work. It appeared to them and to M. Villemain that Gibbon was so preoccupied by this contrast between the glory of the Roman conquerors and the shabby ceremonies of the ill-clothed monks, that he failed to grasp the salutary influence of a religion which has changed the world, and brought forth from the midst of barbarism the entire genius of modern times.¹

There is something sad, joyous, racking, feverish, depressing, exulting, and essentially dirty, in the search for knowledge amidst the neglected papers of bygone generations. If they are arranged in chronological order, and nicely filed away in appropriate pigeon-holes, the search is one of pleasure unalloyed by sickening fatigue. The imagination is then delightfully stirred by the subtle perfumes of a forgotten past, whose ghosts are readily beckoned into life.

But when one enters a long range of gigantic garrets, whose

the latter's executors Letters Patent for the site of the Savoy for the purposes above mentioned. This grant he confirmed by a Charter, in the fourth year of his reign, regulating the establishment of it under a master and four chaplains, making them a body corporate, and giving them license to purchase lands to the value of 500*l.* beyond reprisal.

¹ Villemain, *Cours de Littérature Française*, ii. 425, attributes this conclusion to M. Guizot alone, but M. Suard was the first to reach it.

misty expanses are dimly lighted at wide intervals, and gropes his way amidst an unending scene of dust-laden documents, only the most robust seeker of knowledge can withstand the depressing influence of its environment.

In these great depositories of La Grotte I found letters, parchments, diplomas, titles of nobility, fragments of unprinted books, unpublished poems, written and printed music, portraits in oil, pencil drawings, silhouettes, engravings, broken harpsichords, disabled billiard-tables, the remains of Gibbon's theatre; in fact, the odds and ends of a family life of three or four hundred years, whose threads lay before me broken and in confusion.

To feel that it was reserved to me to restore this past to life bred within my soul a healthy exultation; but the revulsion quickly followed in the despairing thought of the endless labour of the task. Soon, however, everything gave way to the interest of the quest, and I sat absorbed amongst its growing results. Before me spread treasures which the Doyen Bridel, the intimate friend of George Deyverdun, vainly sought to see a hundred years ago in this same wonderful repository.

Here were letters of Voltaire and his niece, Madame Denis; there his friend, Clavel de Brenles and his wife, whom Voltaire called the philosopher, appeared in original compositions; by their side, the former's great master, the juriconsult De Loÿs de Bochat, and Ruchat, the historian of the Reformation, displayed their learned inedited pages. Deyverdun's unpublished prose and poetry disclosed his varied gifts, while from scattered epistolary fragments Madame de Bochat walked forth crowned with beauty, unfailing wit, charity, and all the virtues which adorn a Christian life.

The correspondence of various generations of the families of Rosset de Rochefort, de Mannlich, de Molin, Deyverdun, Teissonière, Seigneux de Correvon, de Loÿs, de Warens, Chesterfield, de Charrière, de Sévèry, de Crousaz, Polier, de Montolieu, de Constant de Rebecque, Necker, de Staël, Bonstetten, Malesherbes, de Montagny, Beckford, Sheffield, and lastly of Rousseau, Servan, Lavater, Bernouilly, Barbeyrac, Turretini, and Gibbon himself—hidden in out-of-the-way places, and stored in worm-eaten chests, whose decaying remnants had long

since exposed them to the active ravages of time and the defacing proximity of prowling cats—rewarded my search, and fascinated my astonished eyes.

The scattered lines of these incompletely known lives, interwoven with the web and woof of my narrative, will picture the varying fortunes of many of the occupants of that historic treasure-house—La Grotte.

CHAPTER II

LA GROTTÉ is one of the monuments of a city that offers attractive studies to all lovers of antiquity, and of a canton whose history bears us to the dawn of Christianity.

The Pays de Vaud was comprised in ancient Helvetia until the dissolution of the Western Empire. After that it formed part of Transjuran Burgundy. In the thirteenth century it passed under the domination of the House of Savoy, and in 1536 under that of their Excellencies of Berne and of the Reformation. In 1798 the Swiss Revolution freed it from Bernese rule, and the Canton Leman rose out of the remains of the Canton of Berne. Five years later, as a result of Napoleon's intervention, it became the Canton of Vaud, and the executive authority was definitively established amid general rejoicings.

Vaud is derived from Wala, which in the old barbaric tongues designated a stranger. After the invasion of the German Burgundians into Eastern Helvetia, the original inhabitants of Western Helvetia, whose speech was a modification of the Roman language, were called Wales, or strangers, by the new-comers. From thence, Galles, Walles, Wældsches, or Welsches, Walloons.

This etymology—Gibbon, by the way, calls etymology a vain and futile science, yet, as we shall see, shows his fondness for it—is rendered the more real because it applies to other countries placed in analogous circumstances. For the Flemish who spoke the Roman tongue were called Wallons by the German inhabitants of Flanders; the Italians were known as Welches by the inhabitants of the Rhine; and finally, the Celts

of Great Britain were styled Galles or Wales by the conquering Anglo-Saxon.

Gibbon, under the date of March, 1755, says: 'I have encountered in the Irish tongue many words of the language of the Pays de Vaud, which I have not found in the dictionaries of the other three dialects—viz. of the Welsh, of the Bas Breton, and of the Basque, nor of the Germanic.' If Gibbon had written in our day, he would have benefited largely by the extensive information of my friend Count Nigra, Italian Ambassador at Vienna, the learned editor and critic of the marginal notes in Gaelic at St. Gall and Turin, who has also made large original collections of words in use among the Irish peasantry at the present time.¹

Lausanne, the capital of the Canton of Vaud, took its name from the Roman Lousonne,² founded in the first century of our era, four kilometres south-west from the present city, on the banks of the Flon, anciently the Laus, whence the name. Lausanne was apparently destroyed by fire about the sixth century in the course of a barbarian invasion. Charred wood, calcined stones, capitals of columns, mosaic pavements, bronze statues, amphoræ and medals, found from time to time beneath the soil, alone remain to attest the splendours of a place which figured in the Itinerary of Antoninus.³

Thus Gibbon sat down to his 'History of the Decline and Fall' in a spot whose early misfortunes illustrated his theme. He was well aware of this fact from the writings of his predecessor in La Grotte; for immediately after his first arrival at Lausanne as a boy we find him studying the Memoirs on Ancient Switzerland, by De Loÿs de Bochat.⁴

It is a harmonious fact that the historian of Rome elected to live in the Pays Romand—the Roman country.

It is true that the Greeks of Marseilles made known ancient Helvetia; that they penetrated to the banks of Lake Leman,

¹ *Glossæ Hibernicæ Veteres Codicis Taurinensis* (Paris, 1869), and *Reliquiæ Celticæ, raccolte da Constantino Nigra* (Torino, 1872).

² This form is found in a Vow addressed to the Sun by Claudius, the first Roman curator of the town.

³ *Lausanne des les Temps Anciens* (Blanchet).

⁴ Charles Guillaume de Loÿs de Bochat, *Mémoires sur la Suisse Ancienne*. Gibbon was an attentive student of his works; see Extracts from his *Journal and Commonplace Book, Misc. Works*, v., beginning in 1775.

which they called the Lake of the Desert; that gradually their musical language seized the popular ear; and that many of the inhabitants flocked to the Mediterranean city, which was then the point of reunion between Greek and Gaul. But desire for luxury and ambitious views followed upon the footsteps of knowledge, and eventuated in an attempt to measure their arms with the Gauls and Romans.¹ The final results were easily to be foreseen. They fell beneath the power which had subjugated the civilised world; and, as the distinguished Swiss historian, M. Vulliemin, has well said, the Romans ended by giving to the Helvetians their language and their civilisation. The indigenous race mingled with their conquerors, adopting the usages, customs, and manners of Rome, and becoming Roman citizens.² The highest class constituted an aristocracy, with the title of Senator. Others filled municipal functions. The free labourers in the country, and the workmen in the cities, formed the plebeians. Finally, there was a fourth class—the slaves.³

Rome, appreciating the influence of language upon the spirit of her conquered populations, imposed the Latin tongue throughout her provinces, and, to assist the propagation of Roman ideas, established a system of permanent roads. One of these, descending from the Alps, branched at Vevey, one line continuing along the lake, the other going on to rejoin at Orbe a road running from Geneva to the Lake of Constance. The great routes of the Empire starting from the golden milestone placed in the centre of the Forum at Rome traversed in all directions its entire dominions. The roadway was ordinarily twenty feet in width.⁴ At intervals of a thousand paces there

¹ Pellis, *Histoire de l'Ancienne Helvétie et du Canton de Vaud*, i.

² *Le Rhin*, p. 254. The all-embracing genius of M. Victor Hugo, while looking through a curious copy of *Cæsar's Commentaries* in the Library at Basle, first remarked the significance of a passage saying they found in the camp of the Helvetians tablets inscribed with Greek characters.

³ Gibbon, writing on this subject, says in his *Journal*, under date November 1, 1763: 'I write in the Pays de Vaud. Its inhabitants ought to be contented with their condition, yet it will not gain by a comparison with that of the people of Italy. I know that some advantages were withholden from that people by the pride of the Romans as to the concerns of private life—marriages, testaments, &c.'—*Misc. Works*, v. 396.

⁴ Gibbon, *Misc. Works*, iv. 326. They were sometimes as much as sixty feet wide. Verdeil says that the width of these roads was from eight to sixteen feet, but Gibbon says: 'Le règlement qui défendoit de donner aux chemins

were stones placed indicating the distances between the towns. At every tenth stone there was a posting station, each containing forty horses for relays. Itineraries were prepared, indicating the distances of the towns and the stations. One of these, the Table of Theodosius, was executed at Constantinople towards the end of the fourth century, under the Emperor Theodosius the Great. Another, the Itinerarium of Antoninus, is generally attributed to the Emperor Antoninus the Pious. The latter, in speaking of the route from Milan to Strasburg by the Little St. Bernard, gives the following figures: From Bautas (Annecy) to Geneva, 18,000 paces; to Equestres (Nyon), 17,000; to Lausonium (Lausanne), 20,000; to Vesontio (Besançon), 16,000. Researches in modern times have shown that the Roman causeways were constructed upon the remains of the ancient Helvetian paths.¹

The Roman type is still distinctly visible after eighteen centuries in the Pays Romand. One is from time to time struck by the traces of Roman beauty displayed by the women. The aquiline nose, the straight forehead, the almond-shaped brown or black eyes, the well-marked chin with its attendant dimple, the harmonious lines of the whole face—all belong to ancient Rome. Some of the dialects around Lausanne betray the predominating influence of the Latin tongue. I have found this especially the case at Montreux.

The manners of the people during the transition period and the Middle Ages were simple and rude. The first laws in the Pays de Vaud were the Lois Gombettes, the mildest up to that time. They deposited among the people the germ of equality by ordering a distribution of the patrimonial estate among all the children, and they encouraged hospitality by fining everyone who refused a stranger a place at his fireside; but they did not promote personal dignity in decreeing that whoever stole a dog 'devait lui baiser le derrière devant l'assemblée du peuple.'²

plus de huit pieds ne pouvoit point regarder les voies militaires. (Lord Sheffield's edition of 1814 is the one used throughout this work.)

¹ Verdeil, *i. and Blanchet*, p. 11.

² *Valliamin, Canton de Vaud*, pp. 160-162.

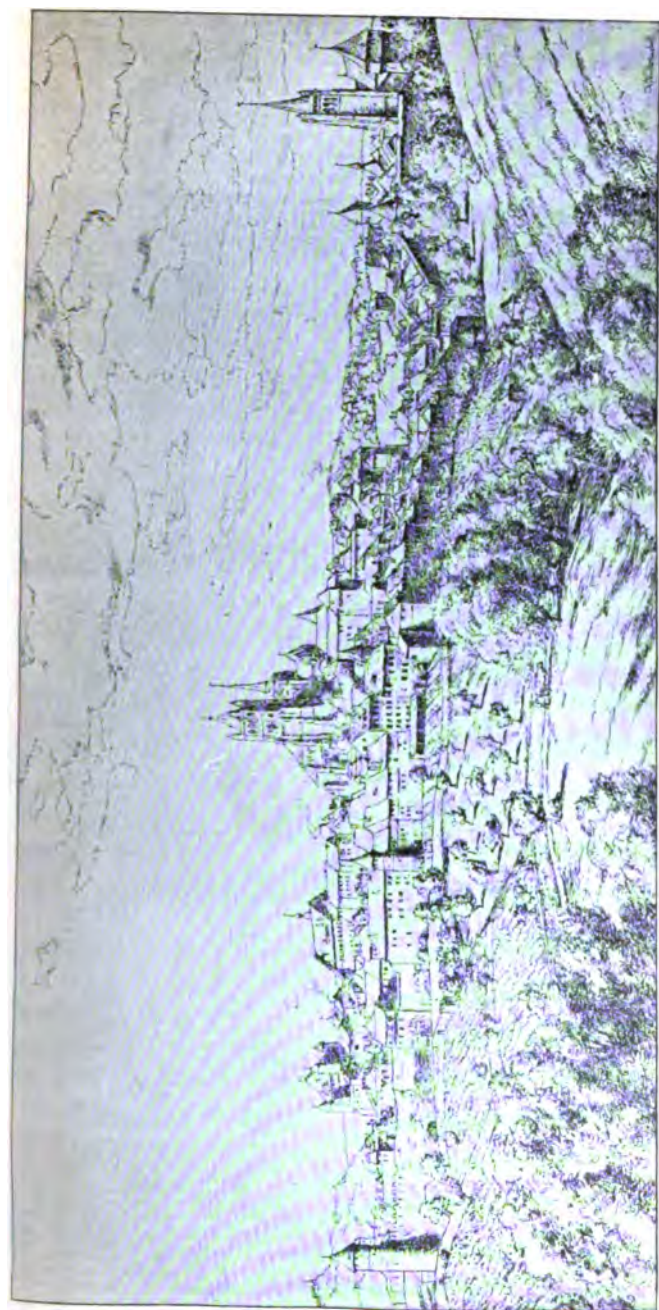
CHAPTER III

LAUSANNE has such a peculiar history that it is difficult to understand, without study, some of the customs that still prevailed in the society in which Gibbon moved. To comprehend the birth and subsequent fortunes of La Grotte, also, it is essential to ascertain the peculiar ecclesiastical origin and conditions of Lausanne; and nothing is more curious than to see how religious was the rise and progress of the place which the historian selected as his home.

In pursuit of this task, I took up my residence on the borders of the lake, and advanced from point to point as my researches progressed. I made the acquaintance of all those persons who could afford me information either in Savoy or in the Pays de Vaud, and moved from one historical point to another, examining the archives and exhausting the family traditions until my field of investigation was fairly covered.

The materials for my work eventually embraced one hundred and twenty volumes of unpublished manuscripts—including the writings of some of the most celebrated personages of the last century. To these were added a large number of journals containing notes of my conversation with people of every class, and descriptions of interesting monuments and customs; also an especial collection of more than two thousand five hundred volumes, the greater part of which relate entirely to Lake Lemane and its surroundings, and are so completely out of print as to render them almost as valuable as unpublished papers. To this list I must add the results of my own studies of churches, cathedrals, castles, roads, and other mediæval monuments, together with the many portraits, views, and silhouettes, which I have exhumed.

After the ruin of the classic Lousonne, the surviving inhabitants retired from the immediate neighbourhood of the lake—called the Lake of Lousonne by Antoninus—and took up their residence about three miles from the shore, on the site of the present city, beneath the forest-clad summits of Sauva-belin,



Ancient Lausanne: La Grotte and Church of St. Francis on the extreme right

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or Sylva Belini—i.e. the Wood of Belinus—where the Druids had worshipped that deity and practised their mysteries long before the coming of our Saviour.

Towards the close of the sixth century, Christian Lausanne had already attained importance and renown from a chapel dedicated to the Holy Virgin, which, it is believed, stood on the height now occupied by the splendid cathedral of Notre Dame. Thither flocked pilgrims from far and near, and to the Virgin's influence old chroniclers trace the commencement and confirmation of the city's prosperity. The popularity of her shrine gave the impetus to Lausanne's fortunes, and was the ultimate cause of the transfer thither from Avenches of the episcopal seat.

Avenches, the ancient capital of Helvetia, was once a Roman colony, endowed with a constitution like the Italian towns accorded by the Emperor Vespasian¹—son of the banker of the

¹ Gibbon says Vespasian was of mean birth: 'His grandfather had been a private soldier, his father a petty officer of the revenue. His own merit had raised him, in an advanced age, to the Empire.'—Milman, *Gibbon's Roman Empire*, i. 212. Martignier and De Crousas, in their *Dictionnaire Historique du Canton de Vaud*, under the article 'Avenches,' pp. 42 and 43, declare that Vespasian was born at Avenches, where his father carried on the bank, and found the assertion upon the declaration of Suetonius, liber viii. 1. It will be seen that Suetonius does not sustain the first, though he affirms the second, fact. He says: '*Sabinus fenus exercuit apud Helvetios, ibique diem obiit, superstitibus uxore Vespasia Polla, et duobus ex ea liberis: quorum major Sabinus ad praefecturam urbis, minor ad principatum usque processit.*'—Suet. lib. viii. 1.

Monsieur Daguët, in his *Histoire de la Confédération Suisse*, i. 32, says: 'Vespasien n'était pas né à Aventicum, mais son père Sabinus avait vécu bien des années dans cette ville, où il faisait la banque et où il finit ses jours. Reconnaissant des bons procédés dont son père avait été l'objet chez les Helvètes, et peut-être aussi de leur fidélité pour Galba, Vespasien commença par éloigner la Légion Rapace, et la remplaça par la légion xi^{me}, appelée Fidèle (Claudia pia fidelis). Ce prince s'empresse ensuite de rebâtir Aventicum, qui avait souffert dans la guerre de Cécina, et la peupla d'une colonie flavienne. Une population nombreuse se presse dans son enceinte agrandie, embellie de somptueux édifices et flanquée de 80 à 90 tours. Des colonnes milliaires reliaient tout le territoire des Helvètes à la métropole.'

In a note to this passage M. Daguët says: 'D'après Suétone, dont le texte dit positivement *exercuit fenus*, M. Vulliamin (*Histoire de la Confédération Suisse*, p. 33) se trompe en attribuant à Sabinus les fonctions de percepteur général qu'il avait exercées en Asie, où on lui érigea des statues avec cette inscription en Grec: "Αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως." (ΚΑΛΩΣ ΤΕΛΩΝΗΞΑΝΤΙ.—Suetone, i.)'

In his *History of the Roman Empire* (i. 212 n.), Gibbon says: 'The Emperor Vespasian, with his usual good sense, laughed at the genealogists, who deduced his family from Flavius, the founder of Beate (his native country), and one of the companions of Hercules' (Suet. in *Vesp.* c. 12).

In its issue of Saturday, April 17, 1880, the *Feuille d'Avis* of Lausanne says: 'The municipality, who had thanked by letter Prince Torlonia at Rome

town, says Suetonius—who, moreover, surrounded the city by massive walls, defended it by semicircular towers, adorned it with a capitol, a theatre, a forum, and granted it jurisdiction over the outlying dependencies of Lausanne, Moudon, Yverdon, and Soleure.

To-day, plantations of tobacco cover the forgotten streets of Avenches, and a single Corinthian column, with its crumbling arcade, remains to tell of former grandeur. But during many centuries it was the flourishing centre of the most populous part of the 'Roman country' (still so called) of Helvetia. Christianity early placed its seal upon this magnificent city, and spiritual rule succeeded to the government that ancient Rome had established. Bishops guided its affairs, but could not control its destinies; accumulated misfortunes finally drove them forth to seek another centre.

In the year 610, the Allemanni, who had sacked the place in the third century, utterly destroyed Avenches, and reduced the surrounding district to a wilderness, long known under the name of Uechtland—desert-country. Avenches fell, but Lausanne inherited her ecclesiastical power and her spiritual dignities, and became the active centre of a great diocese. Her bishop was one of the richest and most powerful princes of Helvetia. Under the Transjuran kings, he was nominated by the clergy and by the people, in accordance with the ancient Gaulish custom. Later, his election was confined to the chapter of Notre Dame, whose choice was ratified by Papal sanction.

The long line of illustrious bishops were taken from the greatest families of the land, such as the de Grandsons, de Champvents, de Cossonays, d'Estavayers, and de Prangins. Even members of the sovereign houses of Kibourg, Neuchâtel, Faucigny, and Savoy pressed eagerly forward to obtain the coveted mitre.

The bishops professed to be the delegates of the Virgin herself, and the city and its environs are recognised in the most ancient acts as her peculiar province.

for the gift of the busts of Vespasian and Titus to the Museum of Avenches, has received from the Prince a very friendly letter congratulating the authorities of that town on the care which they display in keeping alive in the hearts of the inhabitants the memory of those of her children who have done honour to this ancient city.'

CHAPTER IV

TOWARDS the end of the eighth century Lausanne enjoyed high renown and many privileges, her bishop, Udalrich, being closely allied to the Emperor of the West. He was the son of Hildebrand, Duke of Swabia, and twin brother of the beautiful Hildegard, second wife of Charlemagne.

As long as his sister lived, Udalrich enjoyed the greatest authority at Court. But after her death in 783, he fell into disgrace, and was deprived of the greater portion of his dignities. He sought in vain to justify himself against a host of false accusations, and all seemed lost, when the Emperor's jester took upon himself one day to cry throughout the palace: 'Poor Udalrich! Poor bishop of Lausanne! Now that thy sister is dead, thou hast lost all thy dignities from the east to the west!' Charlemagne heard this indirect reproach, and could not refrain from tears. He at once restored his brother-in-law to his confidence and friendship, and re-established him in his former honours.

In 1011, the last King of Transjuran Burgundy, Rudolph the Lazy, gave to the spiritual head of the diocese the whole county of Vaud.¹

Sixty-five or sixty-six years later, Henry IV., Emperor of Germany, made his famous pilgrimage to Italy, and submitted to the greatest indignity from Pope Gregory VII., in order to rid himself from the excommunication of the Holy See. The memory of this historical journey has been revived in the recent discussions of the German Parliament, and has given rise to the now well-known phrase, 'To go to Canossa.'

In 1079, by a charter dated at Spire, Henry confirmed the preceding gift, and added many other important domains to the

Martignier and de Crousaz, 482; Verdeil, l. 54. It is often difficult to ascertain the exact dates of events in the history of the Canton of Vaud. Thus, in this instance, Martignier gives the date as 1011; and so does Verdeil, who, after setting out *in extenso* the deed of gift by Rudolph III. to the Bishop of Lausanne, at p. 54, dated VIII. of the Calends of September 1011, gives the date at p. 77 of the same volume, as 1015. Dagnet, in his History (l. 98), assigns this donation to the year 1001, but does not cite the original act. (See *l.c. Mem. et Doc. VII. x.*)

diocese of Lausanne; and, five years after, he made his famous visit to Vevey, where he granted various other privileges.¹

It must be confessed that Burchard, the then Bishop of Lausanne, richly merited these generous favours; for his knightly form was to be seen upon every battlefield, bearing aloft before the Emperor the sacred lance of Constantine, until that fatal Christmas Eve at Gleichen, when, falling by his sovereign's side, he literally sealed his devotion with his life's blood.

As early as 1036, Bishop Hugues published the 'Trêve de Dieu,' and proposed that all wars should cease during certain periods of the year. The council which he summoned to take this question into consideration assembled at Montrion, near Lausanne, which became the home of Voltaire seven hundred years afterwards.² In the preceding century Queen Bertha

¹ Verdeil, i. 67, and Vulliemin, i. 78, affirm that Henry went to Vevey on his way to Italy in 1076; but Baron de Gingins in 'The Avouerie of Vevey' (*Mém. et Doc.* XVIII., 15 of the *Mémoire*), says in a note: 'On the occasion of his first expedition in the winter of 1077 the Emperor passed by the Tarentaise and the Little St. Bernard, and not through the Valais and the Great St. Bernard, as is commonly stated, taking *Civis*, *Cevins*, for *Vivis*, Vevey.' In the text he says: 'It was on his return from his second expedition beyond the Alps, and after having received at Rome the imperial crown (1084), that Henry IV. passed the Great St. Bernard, and arrived, in the first days of September of 1088, at Vevey, where he sojourned. He was accompanied by the Bishop of Sion, Ermenfroy, his chancellor, and Burchard, Bishop of Lausanne. It was in this little town, and in presence of these two prelates, that the Emperor caused to be despatched a charter by which he restored the Priory of Lutry to the Abbot of Savigny in Lyonnais, from whom it had been taken by the anti-Cæsar Rodolph.' Verdeil's authority is Baron de Gingins himself, in his *Mémoire sur le Rectorat de Bourgogne*, published as early as 1838 in the first volume of the *Mémoires of the Society of History of Roman Switzerland*, which fact renders the subsequent correction by Baron de Gingins himself all the more trustworthy.

² Daguet, i. 102; Vulliemin, *Histoire de la Confédération Suisse*, i. 75. Verdeil, i. 63, gives 1088 as the date, and Vulliemin in *Le Canton de Vaud* gives 1083. The date of the 'Trêve de Dieu' does not appear anywhere exactly. Daguet says 1086. De Gingins, in his work on the Rectorate of Burgundy, published in 1838 (*Mém. et Doc.*, tome i. p. 20), says 1037 to 1038, at Romont; though in the notes which he made with M. Forel, President of the Society for the publication of the Cartulary of Lausanne, he corrects the name of the place to Montrion. Bridel, *Conservateur Suisse*, v. 268, in mentioning the subject, gives no date, and in vol. xii. p. 96 places it in the Chronicle of the Cartulary of Lausanne just after 1032, and immediately before 1033. In the Cartulary (*Mém. et Doc.* vi. 38) the date does not appear; the fact being mentioned with several others in the summary of Bishop Hugues's episcopate; but it appears at p. 10 that the Bishop died in 1036 (August 31), though at p. 38 it would seem to have been 1038, since he is said to have become bishop in 1019, and to have governed nineteen years. Martignier is the most precise. He says in the autumn of 1036 or the spring of 1037.

had seconded in all directions the pacific activity of the Church. She established roads, encouraged drainage on a large scale, planted vineyards, and protected poor serfs. She founded monasteries—asylums for prayer and work. The lines of her fortifications stretched from the Alps to the Jura. Liberty was born under her rule, and the Roman tongue, which M. Vulliemin calls the graceful and naïve daughter of the Latin, came into general use.

Bertha is looked upon as the author of the first franchises of the country, and the good mother of its populations. They think they still behold her on the hillsides of Lavaux, carrying a basket of treasures and pouring them out upon the province.

In the porches of the churches which sprang into being at the beginning of the Middle Ages were to be seen sculptures representing the Virgin spinning. The good Queen realised the force of the example; for she went on horseback from hamlet to hamlet, distaff in hand, teaching her people the value of industry. Payerne religiously preserves her saddle and bridle, and the walls of the venerable abbey church still contain the representation of her peaceful occupation, with this inscription: ‘Bertha humilis regina.’¹

The proverbial expression, ‘in the days when Bertha spun,’ recalls a pretty anecdote of the royal spinster preserved in the Journal of St. Romuald. Bertha met, one day, near Orbe, a young girl who was spinning while she tended a few lambs, and sent her a rich gift to reward her diligence. The following day, several noble ladies appeared at Court with distaffs; but the Queen gave them no presents, and merely said: ‘The peasant girl came first, and, like Jacob, she has taken away my benediction.’

Queen Bertha gave the town of Payerne, with all its dependencies, to St. Mayeul, Abbot of Cluny, and the act of foundation, commonly known as the will of Queen Bertha, was signed by her in the city of Lausanne on Tuesday, April 1, in the twenty-fourth year of the reign of her son Conrad, surnamed the Peaceful, King of Transjuran Burgundy, who succeeded to the throne in 937, when scarcely ten years of age. He was

Vevey et les Alpes Vaudoises, by Eugène Duffoug-Favre, citing Vulliemin. Article on Mont Pélerin, p. 14. Vevey, 1844.

recognised by his vassals, and crowned in the church of St. Maire at Lausanne.¹

Although no apparent monument marked the place where Bertha was supposed to be buried, tradition had uninterruptedly declared that her last resting-place was under the arch of the tower of St. Michael at Payerne. In accordance with this legend excavations were begun, October 15, 1817, and the royal remains were found in a stately sarcophagus of stone similar to that used in building the church founded by this good sovereign. The relics were replaced in this sarcophagus with befitting honours, with an inscription on the black marble tablet above them, of which the following is a translation :

TO BERTHA

OF SAINTLY AND HAPPY MEMORY,
THE VERY EXCELLENT QUEEN OF RODOLPH II.
KING OF LITTLE BURGUNDY.
HER NAME IS A BENEDICTION
AND HER DISTAFF AN EXAMPLE:
SHE FOUNDED CHURCHES; SHE FORTIFIED CASTLES;
SHE OPENED ROADS;
SHE RENDERED UNCULTIVATED LANDS VALUABLE;
SHE NOURISHED THE POOR,
AND WAS THE MOTHER AND THE DELIGHT
OF OUR TRANSJURAN COUNTRY.
AFTER IX CENTURIES,
THE SEPULCHRE WHERE, AS HAS BEEN HANDED DOWN TO US,
SHE WAS INTERRED,
HAVING BEEN REFOUND IN THE YEAR OF GRACE
MDCCCXVIII.,
THE SONS, GRATEFUL FOR HER BENEFITS
TOWARD THEIR FATHERS,
HAVE RELIGIOUSLY RESTORED IT.
THE VAUDOIS SENATE AND PEOPLE.

The fame of this beloved Queen has drawn around her many of the beautiful pre-Christian as well as Christian fables, insomuch that some sceptics have even made her a mythological figure. Bertha, during the lifetime of her husband, Rodolph II., dwelt by turns at Soleure, Payerne, St. Maurice, Orbe, the château of Chavornay, and Lausanne. She restored the ancient Roman way in the Munsterthall. She established new vineyards along the shores of the lakes. She granted various exemptions to the colonists, who increased the value of

¹ Martignier and de Crousaz, 728 (article signed 'Ernest Chavannes').
Conservateur Suisse, iii.

the hillsides near her castle of Chavornay and the ancient town of Orbe.

But one of the most important services rendered by this good woman was the defence of her people against the Saracens, who came from Italy by Mount St. Bernard, and, entering the Transjuran kingdom, seized and fortified the mountain passages and some towns, Avenches among them, of which they became masters in 938. The horror inspired by these foreign hordes is preserved not only in the popular traditions of Roman Switzerland, but also in the contemporary writings of Luitprand and Frodoard. 'Their boulevards were the summits of the Alps,' where Hugues, King of Italy, maintained them upon condition that they would close the passage of the Peninsula against Beranger, his rival. For a moment it was feared that this band might fix itself definitely in the Valais; for they began to ally themselves with the women of the country, and even to cultivate lands, which did not, however, interfere with their principal occupation of robbing and murdering unfortunate travellers. The number of Christians they killed, says Luitprand, was so great that He alone who inscribed their names in the Book of Life could form an idea of it. The capture and sufferings, and the subsequent relief and preaching of St. Mayeul, abbot of Cluny, aroused both people and princes, and resulted finally in the expulsion of these barbarians from Helvetia towards the end of the tenth century (975).¹

Souvenirs of the Saracens attach to many places in Roman Switzerland. There is the Fossé des Sarrasins, near Bière; a mound near La Sarra, called the Hill of the Moor (Maurmont); and a fountain above Lutry, which an ancient charter entitles Morrish Fountain (Mauro-fonte). Their unwelcome sojourn at Avenches is commemorated in the Wall of the Saracens, and by the head of a Moor in the city arms. In the Grisons, the families of Morlot and Mœringen preserve the heads of Moors in their escutcheons, while that of Moor carries one on a gold field, and a demi-Moor as a crest.

In Savoy, local traditions attach the Saracen name to all ruins and legends whose origin is uncertain. Their memory is

¹ Martignier and de Crousaz, p. 828 (article signed 'A. Baron'); Verdeil, i. 48.

mingled with everything marvellous and horrible. It has been said that the Saracens, unlike the Moors in Spain, marked their passage neither by monuments nor institutions ; and yet M. de St. Genis observes that they introduced new arts in mining among the Briançonnais, and bequeathed to the inhabitants of Maurienne and the Tarentaise the famous register of lands which is the visible basis of their ancient franchises.

An interesting account of the invasion of the Saracens in France, Savoy, Piedmont, and Switzerland, is to be found in the work of M. Reinaud, published in Paris in 1836.

It is said that much of the poetry of Switzerland took its rise from the time of the Saracens.

The valley of St. Imier is generally supposed to contain the descendants of a band of this people.¹ There is a district west of Cannes, towards Hyères, including within itself a complete system of mountains, rivers, and valleys, with a fine bay opening on the Mediterranean, which was an abode of the Saracens for more than two centuries, and where to-day still linger traces of their former dominion in the ruined castles along the hill-sides and in the features, manners, and costumes of the people. I remember that one or two shops in Cannes, formerly noted for the peculiar characteristics of their ribbons and silks, bore above their doors Saracenic names, their owners having come from the district in the direction of Hyères.

CHAPTER V

THE Bishops of Lausanne became princes of the Empire, some say in 1125, others at the end of the ensuing century, with the royal right of directing public routes, watercourses, markets, and forests, and of levying customs duties and coining money.²

¹ It is remarkable how long racial traits last. In the Canton of Schaffhausen there is a village whose inhabitants, particularly ugly, were formerly believed to be descended from the Gypsies or Bohemians ; but it has recently been discovered that they spring from a tribe of the Huns, who entered the country with Attila. A friend of mine had a school companion who came from that locality, and whose features were precisely those of an ancient Hun—a high, narrow head, large ears, immense mouth and nostrils, straight black hair, and yellow complexion.

² Martignier and de Crousaz' *Dictionary*, 481. Authorities differ on this point. Daguet, *Hist. de la Confédération Suisse*, i. 138, says that Rodolph of

Lausanne did not take her place as an imperial city until 1285. But this title, sometimes contested, was continuously authenticated by the presence of the imperial eagles on the city gates until the revolution of 1798 ; so that Gibbon lived, like a good Roman, in an imperial city. The word 'imperial' is imposing, but in this case it gratified civic pride without adding to civic privileges, for Lausanne was already in some ways a free city.

The cathedral had been founded about the year 1000, on the height called the Cité, where the Prince-Bishop afterwards had his palace and held his court.

The name of Cité was given to the locality beyond the walls of a town where the seat of the bishop was situated, whether on an elevation or not.

This was the stronghold of the Church at Lausanne. A formidable interior wall separated the Cité from the rest of the town ; and in that wall was a gate called St. Etienne, on which one reads the inscription : 'Lausanna Civitas Equestris.' This portal served as the line of demarcation between the rights of the ecclesiastic and those of the citizen. Here, by the fitful light of waxen tapers, in the presence of the highest dignitaries of his diocese and deputies of the towns, the newly appointed Bishop, kneeling, with one hand on his breast and the other on the Sacred Host, lifted his eyes to heaven and took the solemn oaths to maintain intact the civic franchises.

Four or five hundred years earlier the first settlers had fixed their habitations at the foot of that hill, even then sacred to the Virgin, in the present Rue de Bourg, whose name was drawn from the neighbouring fortifications. From that primitive beginning gradually grew the peculiar privileges which eventually attached to all the dwellers in that famous street, and gave that locality its characteristics as the particular abode of

Hapsburg conferred the dignity of Prince of the Empire on the Bishop, 1273-1291. In the nineteenth volume of the *Mém. et Doc. de la Soc. d'Hist. de la Suisse Romande* there is an Act cited thus : 'Datum Lausannae IV. Kal. Octobris, anno Christi M CC LXXIII, regni nostri III.' by which the Emperor Rodolph of Hapsburg accords to Jean de Cossonay, Bishop of Lausanne, the title and privileges of Prince of the Holy Empire ; but the dates therein given are in contradiction. The Act is said to be dated in 1273 and in the third year of Rodolph's reign ; but Rodolph was elected King on September 29, 1273 ; and M. François Forel says : 'This piece, which is in contradiction with history in several respects, is considered apocryphal.'

nobility. On the other hand, the marshy lands of the Pont and the Palud were the chosen resort of the merchants and the common people; although some of the more enterprising established themselves on the drier hillside of St. Laurent.¹

Each quarter was a distinct community, with its banner, its law, its patron saint. The canon law ruled the Cité, the German law governed the nobles, while the lower orders painfully conquered, one by one, their plebeian liberties. Centuries later, these various systems were finally combined, without being confounded, in the code entitled the *Plaict Général*.

As we have seen, Lausanne is seated upon three hills, including the valleys between, so that in times past those who mounted or descended her undulating streets found carriages difficult of use, and hastened to compare the site to that of Jerusalem, although the latter anciently covered only Mounts Sion and Arca.² The three heights are those of the Cité to the north, of St. Francis or the Bourg to the south, and of St. Laurent to the west.

As the Cité dominated Lausanne, the cathedral dominated the Cité. It was the central point from which stretched out the network of an ecclesiastical system which governed not only the capital but the surrounding country. The Bishop was the supreme ruler, but under him were many other clerical dignitaries, of whom the most important were the canons or members of the Chapter of Notre Dame attached to the service of the cathedral. This powerful body nominated the Bishop, and administered the diocese during the vacancy of the episcopal seat. It was composed of thirty canons—viz. ten priests, ten deacons, and as many sub-deacons, all belonging to the noblest families.

The Chapter possessed its own particular domains, which were divided into fifteen prebends, each a real seigniorship supporting two canons, who paid homage to the Bishop as their feudal lord.

The cathedral owed its foundation to the spirit of gratitude

¹ Levade, 162; Martignier and Crousaz; Blanchet, *Lausanne dès les Temps Anciens*; Vuillemin, *Canton de Vaud*.

² Tacitus describes the site of Jerusalem with his accustomed brevity and precision: 'Duos colles immensum editos claudabant muri per artem obliqui.' Gibbon, *Misc. Works*, v. 496; *Chronique de Savoie*, par G. Paradin (1552), p. 29.

which filled the hearts of all men when the solemn millenary was safely passed, and they found that God had mercifully spared the world, whose destruction they believed He had decreed in the thousandth year of His Son's era. Its glittering spires began to point the way towards heaven at the same moment that magnificent Gothic structures sprang up throughout Italy and Gaul, to attest the thankfulness of the relieved and repentant peoples. It is sad to relate that its founder, Henry I., to whom, as we have already said, Rodolph III., King of Burgundy, had given the entire county of Vaud, died by an assassin's hand in 1019. He was buried in the nave before the crucifix, near the spot where his tomb is still seen.

Three great conflagrations in the thirteenth century fell upon the cathedral, and four on the town, and seemed to justify the remark of Ruchat, the Swiss historian (some of whose unpublished writings I found in La Grotte), that Lausanne, and principally its church, appeared to be the object of the indignation of heaven, on account of the sins of the clergy and the people. These fires, following quickly upon one another within the space of twenty-five years, devoured untold riches, but, worse than all, destroyed a great mass of precious documents, whose loss was in some respects irreparable.

Fortunately, at the moment of the last great disaster to the cathedral, the Noble¹ Cuno d'Estavayer was Provost of the Chapter. Through his indefatigable and learned labours, the Cartulary of the Church of Notre Dame of Lausanne, containing the lives of the bishops, the diplomas of the Carlovingian emperors and of the kings of Juran Burgundy, was recomposed, and moulded into the form in which it is to be found to-day in the Memoirs of the Society of History of the Pays Romand.

The statue of the Virgin, moreover, escaped the flames, and the rebuilding of the sacred edifice was at once begun. The church as it now stands was completed and consecrated forty years later, by a pope in the presence of an emperor, and with more than imperial pomp.

The cathedral of Notre Dame is in the form of a Latin cross, whose base is at the great western door, and one of whose arms,

¹ The epithet 'Noble,' which I am obliged frequently to employ, was placed before the name of a noble family which had no other title, such as Baron, &c.

turned towards the south, supports the rose window, while the choir represents the bowed head of Christ on the cross.

The great entrance towards the setting sun is placed between two massive towers, and closed by bronze doors surmounted by an imposing bay. Near the portal of the Apostles is the great circular window called the Grand Rose, whose glories (including the sun, the moon, the seasons, the months, the Zodiac, the rivers of Paradise, and the divers beings with whom the Middle Ages peopled unknown countries) excited the admiration of Villard de Honnecourt, an illustrious architect of the thirteenth century, in whose dust-covered album the design has been found.¹

M. Ernest Renan, writing in the '*Revue des Deux Mondes*,' July 1862, on mediæval art, says: 'The album of Villard is a most curious reflection of the state of mind in which an artist of the time of St. Louis passed his life. Villard was a native of Honneccurt, a village lying between Cambrai and Vaucelles. He was a Picard, and wrote in the dialect of Picardy. His life was that of an artist of the Middle Ages, agitated, active, always on the move. He travelled, as he tells us himself, in many lands. In his album are to be found the churches of his native country, Vaucelles and Cambrai, the western window of the church of Chartres, the church of St. Stephen of Meaux, and the Rose of Lausanne.'

Tradition says that this window and its supporting walls were separated by one earthquake and so well rejoined by another that no traces remain. This façade, which is elaborately ornamented and decorated, was formerly surmounted by two galleries, the higher of which was covered with earth planted with glowing flowers and named the Garden of the Monks. The portal called the Door of the Apostles contains only seven of the followers of our Lord, exclusive of St. Joseph, the other figures being Old Testament characters.

The south tower contains the State archives, the great bell, Mary Magdalen, which summons the Grand Council, and the

¹ Martignier and de Crousaz, 491; Blanchet, 101, quoting Ernest Renan in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, July 1, 1862; '*Mém. et Doc.*, tome xix., Introd. p. xcix.; Daguet, i. 154; *La Rose de la Cathédrale de Lausanne*, par J. R. Rahn, traduit par William Cart, p. 16.



The Apostles' Gate, Lausanne Cathedral

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second, Clemence, which rings for electoral assemblages and the execution of criminals. The latter bell was the gift of a lady of quality in grateful memory of the commutation of her death sentence. It bears the image of a woman kneeling on a scaffold and about to be executed, when an angel, descending from heaven, intervenes to save her. In 1583, the Mary Magdalen bell had so deteriorated that it was confided to François Sermund, cannon founder, to be recast. He performed his task so admirably that the municipality presented him with a quantity of wine and a pair of breeches decorated with the colours of the city.¹

The interior of the cathedral is no longer what it was. The fine sculptured stalls still embellish the nave, the seventy windows continue to pour their light upon the scene, and a thousand columns yet display their graceful forms beneath the vaulted roof. But the pictures, the solid gold and silver statues, the embroidered vestments, the gorgeous tapestries of Hungary and of the East, the treasures of diamonds, pearls, and other precious stones, are gone for ever. Those riches, due to the accumulated piety of ages, were seized by the Bernese Government in 1536, and the brilliant mass of artistic wealth, which filled eighteen waggons, was heedlessly dispersed in all directions. Some of it, at a later day, found its way to La Grotte, and held an honoured place among the family relics.²

Nor does this adequately describe the departed splendours; for the Reformation also swept away the high altar and its sumptuous decorations, and suppressed the fifty-two outlying chapels filled with mediæval *chefs-d'œuvre*. The crowning proof of the stupidity of the Bernese in the treatment of this artistic monument is to be found in the astounding fact that in 1766 their Excellencies raised the question whether it would not be more advantageous for their treasury to demolish rather than to repair the ancient building, and to construct in its place a smaller church. Their Vandalic purpose was only averted when they ascertained that the cost of destruction would exceed that of restoration. The ideas and plans of Gibbon's friend, M. de Crousaz

¹ M. Ernest Chavannes.

² Martignier and de Crousaz, 490, 494; Blanchet, 108, who bases his description on Blavignac and Vulliemin, but does not cite the works.

de Mézery (to whom Lausanne owes the church of Prilly, the Cantonal Hospital, and the façade of the church of St. Laurent), fortunately prevailed. The cathedral was saved, and he was charged with the superintendence of the work; while the mason Wiebel, who had been employed at La Grotte, was subsequently associated with the architect Exchaquet in a yearly inspection.

Gibbon and La Grotte thus gained another association with this great central relic of ancient Lausanne.

In repairing the spire, which was burnt in 1825, it was arranged in such a manner that its base reposed on the cupola; and in order to render the support more solid, it was necessary to wall up the windows which lighted the upper part of it. M. Viollet-le-Duc, a few years before his death in 1879, restored this spire, so that it should be supported by the walls upholding the cupola, and by putting in iron beams was enabled to strengthen the structure and re-open the windows.

In Catholic times the apsis used to be entirely hidden behind heavy hangings, which disappeared on the waggon of the reforming Bernese.

In the choir of the cathedral is to be seen to this day a deep hole worn in the pavement by the armed boots of worshippers kneeling on one knee. The earliest of the stalls, which are now on the north side of the church, date from 1460.

CHAPTER VI

THE most venerable document concerning the civil constitution of Lausanne under the bishops is of the year 1144, wherein the *Plaict Général*, or Assembly of the States, is mentioned.

This body was both legislative and judicial. The bishops required its help in making laws, inflicting fines, and coining money. All causes might be referred to it, and its decisions were without appeal.

It held its meetings annually during the first three days of May, and its convocation was announced in the name of the Bishop by three successive publications in all the churches.

At the hour fixed for the reunion, the deputies of the

nobility, of the clergy, and of the citizens, attended Mass in St. Peter's Church, and afterwards marched in procession to a hostelry in the Rue de Bourg, where they sat under presidency of an officer of the Bishop, who bore the title of *avoué*. The hotel of the Angel was the place of meeting in the sixteenth century. The earliest record mentions the house belonging to Jean Mastin, and, later, to François Russin, in the Rue de Bourg, as the spot where the holy relics were brought, and where the *mestral* and the *avoué* solemnly took the oaths of office.¹

There was an ancient usage peculiar to the city of Lausanne called *abochement*, which meant the right of either party to object to the jurisdiction of a judge of one of the inferior courts. Its effect was to transfer the process to a higher tribunal. An early commentator on the *Plaict Général* justifies this custom, and says that the lower classes of magistrates were not always sufficiently competent. The power of declining trial before an inferior judge previous to a decision—'*antequam positum in jure*'—did not exclude a litigant from appealing in case he had not exercised that right.

It is evident that Lausanne remained long attached to her ancient laws, which had their origin in the Burgundian, Carolingian, and even more remote periods. She opposed a passive resistance to the new principles brought into vogue by the revival of the Justinian Code.

Among the criminal statutes we find no formal enactments pronouncing punishment of death or other corporal penalties. The application of such sentences was left to the discretion of the judge. One sees, in effect, in the Anonymous Commentaries, certainly earlier than the fourteenth century, that in cases of homicide, robbery of more than ten sols (1 fr. 30 c.), incendiarism, high treason, forgery, counterfeiting, and other capital crimes, the body and estate of the condemned were placed at the mercy of the lord.

Torture was at this time applied in public. One kind consisted in surrounding the head of the victim with a cord with three knots, which was tightened until it broke; while a horrible drink called *golye* was thrust into the mouth. These

¹ Martignier and de Crousaz, 498; *Mém. et Doc.*, xix. Verdeil, i. 190, gives a résumé of the *Plaict Général*.

infernally applications might be repeated three times, at intervals of a day.

The commentator devotes a long dissertation to the judicial combat. Herein are various formulæ for the provocation and the reply of the champions. If a challenge was accepted, and the court, having examined the cause, decided that the combat should take place, each party was required to furnish security to the amount of sixty sols, and the affair must take place in not less than six weeks.

If the persons were not of equal position, it was not considered obligatory upon a nobleman to accept, but if he consented he was compelled to make use of the same arms as his adversary. The classification of these is carefully set forth in the Commentaries. The nobles were to fight on horseback, and armed *cap-à-pié*; the *bourgeois* on foot with sword, staff, and dagger; the peasants with bludgeon and dagger.¹

It appears that women's rights prevailed even at that early period at Lausanne, for permission to enter the lists was officially recognised. If two of the fair sex were to contend with one another, each was equipped with three stones of equal size enclosed in a bag. If, on the contrary, a woman was to fight with a man, the law took care that she should enjoy that advantage over her adversary which women have happily always managed to obtain in one way or another. The wretched male was ordered to place himself in a hole three feet deep—in order, as some have thought, to equalise the chances. That this barbarous custom actually existed there can be no doubt; our commentator formally cites an instance.

When the preliminaries were arranged, the combatants solemnly took the oath in the presence of a priest clad in his official robes; and the marshals of the Bishop held themselves in readiness to listen to the declarations of either side.

It belonged to the challenger to attack, and the vanquished,

¹ As late as 1817 Lord Ellenborough, in the case of *Thornton v. Ashford*, pronounced that the general law of the land is that there shall be a trial of battle in case of appeal, unless the party brings himself within some of the exceptions. Thornton was accused of murdering Mary Ashford, and claimed his right to challenge the appellant, the brother of the murdered girl, to wager of battle. His suit was allowed, and, the challenge being refused, the accused escaped. Next year the law was abolished (59 Geo. III., c. 46).—*Encyclop. Brit.*, 9th ed.

or the one who avowed himself guilty, was to be put to death, unless the seigniority pardoned him. In any case, his property was confiscated.¹

The legislative portion of the *Plaict Général* included the Grand Secular Court, which judged all criminal causes, and, in conjunction with the Bishop, established all the regulations of the city. This court approved and promulgated the decrees of the *Plaict Général*, which had no force without its approbation.²

The inferior judges were the seneschal, the saultier, the mayor, and the mestral.

The seneschal, or dapifer, was one of the principal episcopal officers. He had the honorary post of grand butler to the Bishop. Three times during the year he passed before the shops of the shoemakers, touching with a wand the pair of shoes which he claimed for the Bishop. At the death of the Bishop later he inherited all the utensils which had been used in his kitchen. He replaced the Bishop in the Secular Court, and in some cases commanded his troops. This office became a hereditary fief in the noble family of Ecublens towards the middle of the twelfth century.

The bailiff possessed both administrative and judicial functions. After the suppression of the great hereditary 'avouery,' he became the principal lay officer of the Bishop, and he was always selected from the first families of the country.

The saultier presided over the higher police, and gave orders to the executioner in cases of capital punishment. The family Saultier, or Soutey, drew its name from this office, which it held as a hereditary fief.

The mairie was also hereditary in the family of the mayors. The latter two magistrates held their Court of Justice every day—the first at the Palud, the second at the Pont.

The mestral was charged with the superintendence of fairs, markets, weights and measures; and a distinguished family still existing derived its name from this ancient service.

¹ *Mém. et Doc. de la Soc. d'Hist. de la Suisse Romande*, vii.; *Recueil de Chartes, Statuts et Documents concernant l'ancien Evêché de Lausanne*, par M. de Gingins-la-Sarra et Forel, 1re livraison, Introd. pp. xlv. — li.

² Blanchet, 39, who states that the information was drawn from a 'brochure très rare, sans titre ni nom d'auteur, attribuée au général Louis Arnold Juste de Constant de Rebecque.'

The court called Official administered ecclesiastical affairs.

The Bishop as a temporal sovereign had the right to declare war and to make peace. His army was composed of all the men in the episcopal dominion, who were obliged to obey his call at their own expense—but only for a single day. If the war was prolonged, a general consent was required, and the cost was supported entirely by the Bishop. The seigniors, who held directly from the Bishop, received pay, and were punished by the loss of their fiefs if they failed to respond immediately to the Bishop's appeal.

The episcopal army marched under fifteen banners, each one of which was commanded by a banneret bearing its peculiar arms.

The banners of the five quarters of the town of Lausanne were arranged in the following order: the Bourg, the Cité, the Palud, the Pont, St. Laurent. From time to time, reviews or *monstres* were ordered by the bailiff; and partial inspections were made by the châtelains, his lieutenants.

In all that concerned municipal administration the Cité and the lower town in the beginning formed two distinct communities. The first, as the residence of the Bishop, was of the highest importance, and protected by special laws. The inferior quarter was governed by two syndics. It was not until 1481 that the cité and the town formed one community.

The administration of affairs was confided to two governors and a Council of Twelve. The former were chosen by the General Assembly of the commune, and approved by the Chapter of Notre Dame. The Council was elected by the commune united in *bannières*.

Thirteen years later the General Assembly was replaced by a Council, at first composed of sixty, then of ninety-seven, and finally of two hundred members. In 1529 the form was again changed, and the two governors were replaced by a burgomaster elected for three years.

With the advent of the Bernese in 1536 began the reign of their bailiffs at Lausanne, who at the gate of St. Etienne took the oaths to preserve intact the freedom of the city, as the bishops had done before them.¹ The municipal constitution

¹ Blanchet, 146. Minute of the oath taken by Sebastien Naegueli in 1536 extracted from the town archives.

also did not materially differ from what it had been under the bishops. The magistracy was composed as follows: first, the Two Hundred, with the burgomaster, who presided, the grand saultier, and the secretary; second, the Sixty (*les Soixante en Police*), formed of ninety-five members, with the burgomaster as president, the saultier, and the secretary. That it should be called the Council of Sixty, while composed of ninety-five members, recalls the anecdote of Zuckmantel, French Ambassador at Venice, who, when asked by Louis XVI. how many members composed the Council of Ten, serenely replied, 'Forty, Sire,' which shows that 'bulls' are not confined to Ireland.

The third and last magisterial body was the Council of Twenty-eight members, with the burgomaster presiding, the saultier, and the secretary.

The municipal magistrates were the burgomaster, elected for life by the Two Hundred, who presided over various bodies and held the seals; the boursier, who was his lieutenant, elected by the Two Hundred for four years; the bannerets, and the councillors. Each of the five quarters of the city furnished a banneret and four councillors, elected for life by the Two Hundred. Next came a comptroller-general; then the secretary of the Two Hundred, of the Sixty, and of the Council, who was the same person, elected by the Two Hundred. The grand saultier was chosen by the Two Hundred by lot for life.

It is desirable, in order to avoid mistakes, to retain the meaning of these official titles, for later we shall find in the society to which Gibbon belonged various persons styled by one or another of them. For example, in a social list in the last century, in the archives of the Baron Victor de Constant-Rebecque, the Noble Rosset de Rochefort is styled 'ancien boursier;' and one might suppose he had been a broker, whereas he was the burgomaster's lieutenant.

CHAPTER VII

CLOISTERS formerly existed immediately about the cathedral, and the great donjon, or château of the bishops, reared its gigantic form on the highest point of the Cité. Its walls, ten feet thick, were defended on the north and south by a wide moat.

After the Reformation this striking pile was occupied by the Bernese bailiffs or governors, and it is now the seat of the government of the Canton of Vaud. It was frequented by Gibbon during his residence at Lausanne.

In the Bishop's Chamber, as it is called, there formerly existed a sort of pulpit, cunningly devised to hide the entrance to a far-reaching subterranean passage, whose mysteries were revealed upon touching a spring, which allowed the reading-desk to revolve on its hinges. It is said that the last Bishop, Aymon de Montfaucon, whose arms and monogram are still seen in this room, made his escape by this secret way when Lausanne was taken by the Bernese in 1536. The opening to this secret corridor, which descended in the thickness of the wall, was on the left of the great chimney, between the windows.

The chimney itself is like the one at the château of Gleyrolles—another of Gibbon's haunts—but can be admired here in its entirety. Like its counterpart, it bears the arms of Montfaucon, and the motto: 'Si qua fata sinant.' The room is a fine specimen of Renaissance treatment. The ceiling, of rare magnificence, is adorned with the emblazoned arms of Montfaucon, and the mystical Alpha and Omega interlaced, bordered with the legend of the De Montfaucons, which meets the eye in every direction. This splendid chamber is lighted by two windows with deep quadrangular embrasures, within which are ample seats. Between the windows is the famous secret door. The turning desk is no longer there, and the opening, about two feet square, is in the lower panelling. The passage itself has been closed. M. Blanchet, the historian, Keeper of Antiquities in the Cantonal Museum, examined it a number of years

ago, before the repairs took place, and found that it communicated with a vaulted sallying-port in the Chemin Neuf.¹

The walls of this part of the castle are at least twelve feet thick. In the windows are the illuminated arms of Montfaucon and of Berne. Unfortunately, the artist has turned the bear the wrong way; he is mounting to the left of the escutcheon—a mark of cowardice in heraldry.² Another glass represents the arms of Vaud, whose colours symbolise Hope and Innocence. The door is oblique, producing as one enters a singular effect.

On an eminence called La Caroline formerly existed the ancient palace of the kings of Transjuran Burgundy, which became later the abode of the episcopal and imperial *avoués*. It is worth noting that in this locality there dwelt, at the close of the last century, Colonel George de Molin de Montagny, who inherited from Gibbon's friend Deyverdun the mansion of La Grotte, soon afterwards his abode.

In 1156 an *avoué*, the Count de Genevois, tried to seize Lausanne. He built a tower in connection with the château La Caroline, surrounded it with high walls, and filled it with armed men. But the Bishop was too vigorous for his ambitious inferior, and by the aid of nobles and citizens surprised the castle, put the garrison to flight, and razed the defences to the ground.

Fearing, however, the future success of the Count, Bishop Amadeus recognised the Duke of Zaeringen as the imperial and episcopal *avoué* of Lausanne.

His successor Landric undertook to throw off this distasteful load about the year 1159. He garrisoned his castles, surrounded his towns with walls, built the stronghold of Lucens, the fort of Puidoux, and the tower of Ouchy—a monument of the past now (1896) included in the Hôtel du Château. He strengthened the fortifications of Lausanne on the side of the Palud and the Rue du Pré, especially the wall of the Cité near Couvaloup gate.³ It is possible that the monastery of St. Francis

¹ Blanchet, p. 90; *Delices de la Suisse*, ii. 250 (Basle, 1764).

² The dexter (right) and sinister (left) sides of a shield of arms are severally opposite to the left and right hands of all observers.

³ Verdeil, i. 84; Pellis, ii. 6; *Mém. et Doc.* vi.; *Cartulaire de Chapitre de Notre-Dame, Lausanne*, p. 42.

(or St. Augustine) originally formed a part of this extensive plan of defence, which included La Grotte.

These energetic measures, however, cost so much money that both high and low murmured and carried their complaints to Rome. Landric was finally obliged to resign in 1174. Roger, the Pope's legate in Franche Comté, inherited his post and his plans. He carried out the latter with such eloquence, consistency, and courage, that from his day forth the imperial or episcopal *avoué* was shorn of all but the semblance of power.¹

There was another château in the Cité to the east of Notre Dame, near the fortified gate of Couvaloup. It was called the Château de Menthon, from its builder (*circa* 1378), Robert de Menthon, bailiff of the Bishop, whose family retained it until the early sixteenth century. After passing through a variety of hands, it was sold in 1560 to Noble Sebastien de Loÿs, seignior of Denens, uncle of Noble Pierre de Loÿs, seignior of Marnand, and proprietor of La Grotte.

Within two years, however, it became the possession of Lausanne, and the collegiate body took up its quarters therein. It was then composed of a series of massive buildings flanked by two square towers. Twenty-five years later a fire destroyed the larger portion. When Gibbon first arrived in Lausanne one of these towers was still standing in the vicinity of M. Pavilliard's house, where he resided, but three years later even this had disappeared.

The Bishop had originally conceded the land to his bailiff with the intention of strengthening one of the feeble lines of the city fortifications. It has been supposed by some authorities that a similar reason led to the construction of the monasteries of the Madeleine and of St. Francis, for they were undoubtedly intended as additional sources of defence for the gates giving admission to the lower town.

M. de Gingins informs us that the monastery of St. Francis was founded under the rule of St. Augustine in 1168 by Arducius de Faucigny, Bishop of Geneva and Provost of the Chapter of Lausanne.² He was the nephew of Gerold de

¹ Verdeil, i. 86, who quotes a *Mémoire sur le Rectorat de Bourgogne*; Martignier and De Crousaz, p. 512.

² *Notice du Plan de Lausanne de 1644*, par M. F. de Gingins, président honoraire de la Soc. d'Hist. de la Suisse Romande.

Faucigny, Bishop of Lausanne, and the son of Rodolph, head of the sovereign house of Faucigny. While still a boy he was made provost of the bishopric of Lausanne, and after the death of his uncle he discharged the duties of administrator of the diocese, but was unsuccessful in his efforts to attain the episcopal seat of Lausanne. After his election as Bishop of Geneva he defended with energy the rights of his Church against the Count of Genevois, but was finally obliged to recognise the latter as the episcopal *avoué*.

In 1154 he received, in his ecclesiastical capacity, from Frederick Barbarossa the title of Prince of the Empire. Arduinus collected under the title of 'Reconnaissance' the statutes of the temporal and ecclesiastical constitution of Lausanne.¹ He died in 1185, seventeen years after M. de Gingins supposes he laid the foundations of St. Francis and La Grotte.

The seal of Arduinus represents him sitting clothed in a chasuble, holding in his right hand a cross and in the left a key—the arms of his Church. A large, deep-sunken eye seems to have been the striking feature in his face, whose wasted outlines were partially concealed by a closely cut beard and drooping moustache.²

The Place of St. Francis received its name from the imposing ecclesiastical retreat whose remains are to-day³ represented by Gibbon's old home, La Grotte, the foundations and walls of a

¹ Verdeil, i. 81. For Arduinus de Faucigny, see De Montet, i. 307. M. Albert de Montet's *Dictionnaire Biographique des Genevois et des Vaudois* is a mine of facts concerning twelve hundred of the most distinguished persons of Vaud and Geneva. It is marked by singular accuracy and interest, and displays indefatigable research. It will be followed at no distant day by a work of the same character embracing the whole of Switzerland. The author, who belongs to one of the most ancient families of the Canton, was born seven-and-thirty years ago at Vevey, and after completing his classical studies at Morges, Hofwyl, and Paris, entered on November 26, 1864, the Austrian Army, and was named during the war against the Prussians in 1866 lieutenant in the 2nd Regiment of Uhlans. Three years later he passed to the 5th Dragoons, and became first lieutenant, and in 1874 he had himself transferred to the Retired List in order that he might return to his native town and give himself up to historical and bibliographical researches. He has published many valuable monographs, beside the important volumes above-named. His works have won for him entrance into various learned bodies, and have gained for him the Order of the Crown of Italy.—*Author's note*, 1879.

² Jacob Spon, *Histoire de Genève*, iii. 589.

³ Written in 1879. All of these buildings except the church have since disappeared.

house opposite formerly occupied by Clavel de Brenles, those of the ancient chapel of the convent, which is used at present by M. Baud as a storehouse for *bric-à-brac*, those of the building to the westward now occupied by the police offices and by M. Lehmann, the former château of M. Polier de St. Germain, next to La Grotte, and the church of St. Francis.

A quarter of a century after the supposed foundations of the monastery of St. Francis, of which La Grotte formed a part, Berthold V., Duke of Zaeringen, seeking to assure the re-establishment of his power in Vaud, and to neutralise the influence of the imperial cities of Lausanne, of Bienne, of Soleure, and of Basle, founded the city of Berne, destined for centuries to take the lead of the cantons of the Swiss Confederation.

Among the seigniors who co-operated in this great work was the Chevalier Rodolph d'Erlach, who gave his name to a family which furnished seven *advoyers*, or heads, to the State of Berne, and twice saved the Republic. One of its members was Bailiff of Lausanne in the last century,¹ figures in the works of Voltaire, and was known as the friend of Gibbon. The latter had written in his early youth at Lausanne the best contemporary criticism on the powerful aristocracy which had its home on the banks of the Aar.

Guillaume d'Ecublens, Bishop of Lausanne, having died in 1228,² Pope Gregory IX., two years later, named to the vacant see Boniface, Director of Theology in the University of Cologne. The new prelate, however, struggled in vain to dispel the factions which divided the episcopal city from the secular town.

Scenes of violence raged between the two quarters, and the strife of civil war roared beneath the walls of the episcopal palace. Nine years of uninterrupted bloodshed wore upon the good Boniface so heavily, that he at length resigned his office into the hands of the Pope, and retired from active life.

Even a century earlier disorders were rife, and the morals of Lausanne, both among the clergy and the people, were in a

¹ Lord Sheffield, writing to M. de Sévry, December 19, 1798, asks: 'What has become of M. d'Erlach, who was Bailiff of Lausanne, and also what has become of the two *advoyers* of Berne?'

² Verdeil gives this date as 1229, but in the Cartulary it is 1228 (i. 122).

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BISHOP OF GENEVA
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very low condition. When St. Bernard came hither in the time of the Bishop **Gui de Merlen**, deposed by the Pope in 1143, he bitterly deplored the **dissensions** of the clergy and laity, the debauchery and gaming common to both, and the depraved habits of the women of all classes. In his farewell letter of abdication, Boniface himself declared: 'I can neither heal Babylon nor restore health to a corrupt body in which there is nothing holy from the sole of the feet to the crown of the head.'

Troubles now arose between the adherents of John of Cossonay and those of Philip of Savoy, candidates for the episcopal seat. The former, at the head of his knights and vassals, seized the Bishop's residence, and was received by the inhabitants of the Bourg with hearty acclamations; but the inhabitants of the Cité determined to repel the aggression. Assisted by the Sieur de Fancigny, they besieged the Bourg in such a hot manner that the streets between the upper and the lower town were reduced to ashes.

At this supreme moment, and amid this carnage and desolation, a thousand men from Berne, Morat, and Avenches arrived to succour the Bourg, and proceeded to attack the Cité by the Gate of St. Maire.

Then Peter of Savoy, at the head of six thousand men, hurrying to the rescue of his brother Philip, appeared upon the scene, took the Bourg, and carried into the town fire, pillage, and slaughter. If M. de Gingins be correct, the old walls of St. Francis and of La Grotte must have looked on horrors that day whose blood-stains could not be washed out by all the rains that have beaten on them for six centuries. As there is an end to everything, so there was an end to this, and peace was concluded between the combatants at Evian, across the lake, in 1244.

It is too long a story to relate all the romantic adventures of Peter of Savoy, or to define the gradual approach to absolute power in the Pays de Vaud of the second founder of the Castle of Chillon, called the Little Charlemagne. But it does not require a great stretch of imagination to believe that the monastery of St. Francis, and La Grotte if in existence, were familiar to the former Prior of Aosta, and that its sounding corridors echoed his steel-clad steps on more than one occasion.

The forces of Rodolph of Hapsburg, first emperor of his name, having invaded the Pays de Vaud and besieged Chillon—says M. Cibrario ('*Storia di Savoia*,' 1852)—were suddenly assailed and defeated by Peter of Savoy, who had hastened from England on news of their approach. Peter pushed on to Berne, where he received the homage of its seigniors, and was acknowledged as the 'Imperial Protector.' Peace was thereupon declared, and soon afterwards, in the midst of his glory, in 1268, Peter was gathered to his fathers.

Peter of Savoy was the first who took into his service a troop of mercenaries, which was composed of Italians, Englishmen, and Savoyards. In the early part of his career he was extremely violent; but later he strove to change the rude habits of the time, and to mitigate its barbarous modes of punishment. At this period, theft and abuse were punished by a pecuniary fine, and if the condemned was without money his hand, nose, or ear was cut off. Peter did away with these usages; and he protected the peasantry, widows and orphans.

He received his vassals in the great hall of the Castle of Chillon, where they beheld their own arms honourably arranged around those of Savoy. The horn announced the feast. The ladies arrived with emblazoned robes, and the chaplain read the prayer before the repast from a magnificent volume bound in gold and violet.

After the banquet, the buffoons and the minstrels began their performances before the Prince, and the time passed in joyous mirth. At this period the *bourgeoisie* dwelt in wooden houses covered with straw. They created a police force, and they fixed the price of everything. Strangers could only buy after the townsmen had finished purchasing. Agriculture was very backward, and nearly all the land was in pasturage.

The country was inhabited by two classes: those whose holdings were subject to the payment of ground rents, and those liable to tallage.¹

In October, 1275, Lausanne was filled by an immense concourse of people from all parts to witness the dedication to the Virgin of her restored cathedral. Pope Gregory X. had come from the Council of Lyons, over which he had presided, accompanied

¹ Valliemin, *Canton de Vaud*, p. 168.

by seven cardinals, seventeen bishops, a great number of abbots, and a crowd of ecclesiastics of various orders, and was surrounded by the clergy of the diocese of Lausanne and its neighbours.

Rodolph of Hapsburg also hastened thither with his wife, the Empress Anne, and their five sons and three daughters, and with a brilliant suite, including seven dukes or reigning princes, fifteen counts, great vassals of the empire, and a multitude of barons.

On the 19th of the month the ceremonies were celebrated in the cathedral with all the pomp of the Romish ritual, and amid all the splendours of the imperial *cortège*.

The grand Sovereign Pontiff, says the original Latin Act of Consecration, having dedicated the church to the Blessed Virgin Mary—Notre Dame de Lausanne—anoined the high altar, and placed thereon the following relics: A piece of the Cross of the Saviour, some hair of the Blessed Virgin, a rib of the Blessed Mary Magdalen, a rib of the Blessed St. Laurence, pieces of the Sepulchres of our Saviour and the Holy Virgin, a portion of the Holy Manger, and part of the Cross of St. Andrew.

At the same time the grand Sovereign Pontiff granted indulgences and absolution for one year and forty days to all who visited the Cathedral of Lausanne and there confessed their sins.¹

The following day there was an equally solemn rite in the same place. The Emperor took between the hands of the Pope the oath of fidelity to the Church, and delivered to him a diploma, wherein he promised to return to him certain provinces, to defend his rights in the kingdom of Sicily, and to take part in the Crusades if it should become necessary.²

We may be sure that the monastery of St. Francis and La Grotte sheltered many illustrious personages, perhaps the Emperor himself, during these fêtes, which were so magnificent that the Emperor expended for his costume alone a sum equal to the entire revenue of the richest baron of that epoch.

As marking the extravagance of the times, we are told by Verdeil that the abbot of St. Gaul, in order to defray his expenses at Lausanne during these festivals, was obliged to sell

¹ Original Act of Consecration in Latin, *Mém. et Doc.*, tome vii. p. 60.

² Original Oath of the Emperor in Latin, *Mém. et Doc.*, tome vii. p. 68.

to the House of Hapsburg the fiefs of his rich seigniory of Gruningen.

We may with certainty associate the monastery of St. Francis and La Grotte with historical events and personages after the year 1258, the date adopted by M. Ernest Chavannes as that of their foundation. M. Chavannes, with the accuracy which distinguishes his historical investigations, has cited to me in support of his position two documents in the archives of Lausanne. The first states that on January 23, 1256, Pope Alexander IV. ordered the Bishop of Lausanne to aid the Friars Minor of St. Francis in their plan of establishing themselves at Lausanne. The second, dated November 4, 1258, is a deed of gift from Pierre Dapifer and Jaquetta his wife, conveying to the Franciscans of Burgundy a piece of land near the city moat and outside the gate of Condamine (as the Gate of Rive or Ouchy was originally called), for the good of the souls of the pious givers.¹

CHAPTER VIII

THE city of Lausanne, as we learn from the will of Pierre Franconis the elder² (1280), had risen from its ashes, and the sites of its burned wooden houses were covered with massive stone edifices. Thus the appalling conflagration which had seemed a great misfortune resulted in a happy development of the town. The waste spaces were filled up, and the straggling series of villages became a beautiful and compact city, enriched by the continuous stream of strangers, and the perpetual pilgrimages to its holy shrine.

It was at this time that the municipal affairs of the whole city began to enter upon a new career of consolidation, and that the Rue de Bourg and the Place of St. Francis commenced to gain their distinguishing features.

The inhabitants of this quarter now dwelt in spacious houses, adorned with ample fireplaces, and had handsome

¹ Note of M. Ernest Chavannes to the author, May 22, 1880.

² Olivier, ii. 638 (Lausanne, 1841); A.D. 1280, MSS. Ruchat, Bibl. Bridel, Bibliothèque Cantonale de Lausanne.

covered ways in ogival arches, and sunny gardens running to the city walls. But, unlike the mansions of Geneva, these homes were without external galleries, or *loges*, as they were called in the *patois* of the time.

The noble proprietors in this street dispensed justice, levied customs, held fairs and markets, and built hostelryes to meet the wants of the floating population created by the new order of things.

As years wore on, the prosperity of the residents increased marvellously, and among them were found those who held all kinds of property, including fiefs, ground rents, fields, meadows, uses, fairs, the right of jurisdiction, the right of regulating weights and measures, and some even who owned men in divers places.

The citizens of the Rue de Bourg alone had criminal jurisdiction. They were, says Vulliemin, required at the first summons, even if at table, glass in hand, or occupied in measuring cloth, to leave everything, and, running, to range themselves around the Bailiff of the Bishop, to give their advice as people versed in the customs of the city, and labour to change the discords into accords. As a recompense, they were free from *lauds*, and alone had the right to place *meyses*, or benches, before their houses, for the disposal of their wares.

A week before their annual fair, the Saturday after St. Gall's day, the public crier announced its advent in these obsolete terms: 'La feyriz vous fait-on cria, Se larron Il est trouva, Il sera pendu et exerpa'—'Hear all men! If a thief be found, he will be hanged and quartered.'¹

Among the most valued of their possessions were vineyards in the district of La Vaux, hempfields on the road which leads to the Bishop's tower at Ouchy, and delicious spots along the undulating hillsides below Lausanne, from the fountain of Georgettes to the pond of Chamblande.

The manuscript accounts of the town of this date indicate the values of property in the different centres. A house in the rear of St. Francis, for instance, was sold for 552 francs (present currency), while one near the cathedral brought more than

¹ Letter of M. Chavannes to the author, May 18, 1880.

twice that sum. It would, therefore, appear that St. Francis was not so desirable a residence as the Cité at that time.

We shall, nevertheless, see how eagerly the most attractive portion of the former charming surface, that of La Grotte, was caught up by one of the chief families of the Rue de Bourg, two hundred years later, when the Bernese authorities consented to release their hold on the Convent of St. Francis.

In passing, we may remark that it was only at the end of the twelfth century that patronymics began to be adopted in the Pays de Vaud. In the unpublished collections of M. du Lon, of Vevey, mention is made of the family of Mestral de St. Saphorin in the year 1190. Before that date the number of surnames was extremely small. The most ancient family names were those of estates. The illustrious House of Hapsburg, which originated in Alsace in the seventh century, took its present name from its castle of Hapsburg (Habsbourg), or Habichtsburg (Hawk's Tower), which it built in 1020, near Brugg, in Switzerland, whence Rodolph was called to wield the sceptre of Charlemagne. It is a tradition of the Earls of Denbigh that their name of Fielding is from Rheinfelden, a Hapsburg possession; and, though this has been denied by the learned Mr. Round, it is a fact that when the late Earl was in Rome he was received by the Austrian Ambassador with the honours due to a member of the imperial family.¹ To this branch belonged Henry Fielding, the famous novelist. The Lewis family, of Virginia, one of whom, Colonel Fielding Lewis, married a sister of General Washington, quartered the arms of the Earls of Denbigh, to whom tradition assigns him relationship.²

The de Blonays and the de Gru ères are also said to have taken their names from their seigniories, although I found that the peasantry in the neighbourhood of La Tour Ronde, the cradle of the former family in Savoy, believed that the name of de Blonay, running far into the night of time, was derived from the Celtic, and signified Man of the Blue Lake.³

¹ Statement made to the author by his colleague, the late Baron Münch Bellinghausen, while Austrian Minister at Athens.

² See Dr. Moncure D. Conway's *Barons of the Potomack and the Rappahannock*, chapter vii., in which the shield is engraved.

³ Alfred de Bengy, *Evian et ses Environs* (Geneva), p. 112.

To-day, the five oldest families remaining in Switzerland are, perhaps, the Tschudis, whose first family document, whereby the Emperor Louis made them free men, is dated 906 (although its authenticity has recently been contested);¹ the de Hallwyls, in whose castle the ancestor of the Hapsburgs, we are told, erroneously perhaps, was a page, and who, however this may have been, were later strong allies of the imperial house, and for generations marshals of the empire; the de Bonstettens, first mentioned in 1042;² the de Blonays in 1108,³ although their descent from the royal de Faucignys carries them much further back in time; and the de Mestrals, already cited, at the close of the twelfth century.

Fifty years later, a person who was designated in legal acts by the name of his father—as, for instance, Peter or John—was sometimes also distinguished by that of his wife. The latter is undoubtedly the origin of the ancient custom in the Pays de Vaud of adding the name of the wife's family to the name of the husband—as, for instance, de Blonay-Grandson. Other names, as has been the case in all countries, were formed from nicknames applied to persons by their neighbours.

The origin of the two families Blanc and Penneveyres at Lausanne is lost in the mists of antiquity. They were formerly in the Rue de Bourg; they are now in the *banlieue*, where there is a quarter called 'Chez les Blancs.' There are nearly thirty of this name in the Communal Council, and they all belong to the Conservative party. There is one, however, who is now a deputy, who belongs to the Liberal party. It may be stated as a rule that there is always a member of the family of de Cerjat—those intimate friends of Gibbon—among the deputies.

It should be added that six families remain at Berne who took precedence in the Senate or Lesser Council of twenty-seven members immediately after the bannerets. They are, according to Count Frédéric de Mulinen-Mutach, the lamented and distinguished historian, the following: The d'Erlach, 1196; the de Mulinen, 1221; the de Bonstetten, 1122; the de Diesbach,

¹ Letter of Count de Mulinen to the author, November 30, 1881.

² Aimé Steinlen, *Charles Victor de Bonstetten*, p. 375 (Lausanne, 1860).

³ Count de Foras, *Armorial de Savoie (Les Barons de Blonay)* (Grenoble, 1873).

1422; the de Watteville, 1350; and the de Luternau, 1235. Their representatives in the last century were friends of Gibbon.

The same high authority informed me that the dynastic families (nobiles) still existing in Switzerland are the de Bonstetten of Berne, the Socco and the de Mont of the Grisons, the de Blonay and the de Goumoëns, of Vaud, and the de Gingins as descendants of the Divonnes, also of Vaud.

M. Vulliemin states that many Savoyan and Vaudoisan nobles followed Peter of Savoy into England. Some of these intermarried with powerful families, and took up their residence in that kingdom. In this manner, he says, La Porte became Porter; Butillier, Butler; La Flechère, Fletcher; Grandson (de Grandisono), Grandison; and the Maréchals were the branch from which descended the Lords Marischal and the family of Marshall. But there are manifest errors in this account. For instance, the family of Marshal—Barons Marshal—derived its name from the office of Marshal of the King's household, which it enjoyed more than a century before the visit of Peter of Savoy.

It is impossible to ascribe a general date to the popular attributes given to the principal families of the nobility of Vaud, who, residing at their châteaux, formed in Gibbon's time the society of Lausanne, as the families themselves were more or less old. The characterisations, however, indicate the salient features of each race, as recorded by the verdict of their countrymen; for they are the results of generations of observations, and some of them go back to a very remote epoch. This we learn from Père Menestrier and other early authorities.

The following are the qualities assigned to the leading houses:

Antiquité . . .	Antiquity . . .	De Blonay	
Grandeur . . .	Grandeur . . .	D'Alinge-Coudré	Extinct
Noblesse . . .	Nobility . . .	D'Estavayer	Extinct
Franchise . . .	Frankness . . .	De Villarzel	Extinct
Hautesse de Cœur	Highmindedness	De Gingins	
Richesse . . .	Riches . . .	de Mestral d'Aruffens	
Hospitalité . . .	Hospitality . . .	D'Aubonne	Extinct
Accortise . . .	Gentleness . . .	De Martine	Extinct
Ingénuité . . .	Ingenuity . . .	De Saccoonay	Extinct
Naïveté . . .	Naïveté . . .	De Mestral de Payenne	
Gaillardise . . .	Jollity . . .	De Lavigni	Extinct
SimPLICITÉ . . .	Simplicity . . .	D'Ennezel	Extinct
Vivacité d'Esprit	Lively Wit . . .		

Indifférence . . .	Indifference . . .	Des Asperlin . . .	Extinct
Parenté . . .	Relationship . . .	De Joffray . . .	at Vevey
Piété . . .	Piety . . .	De Chandieu . . .	Extinct ¹
Bonté . . .	Kindness . . .	De Pesme . . .	Extinct
Prudence . . .	Prudence . . .	De Tavel . . .	at Berne
Sagesse . . .	Wisdom . . .	De Seigneux . . .	
Amitié . . .	Friendship . . .	De Goumoëns . . .	
Opiniâtreté . . .	Obstinacy . . .	De Dortans . . .	Extinct
Politique . . .	Policy . . .	De Cerjat . . .	
Chicane . . .	Chicanery . . .	Dugard . . .	Extinct
Gravité . . .	Gravity . . .	De Maillardos . . .	at Freiburg
SimPLICITÉ . . .	Simplicity . . .	De Rovéras . . .	
Mesnage . . .	Thrift . . .	De Loys . . .	
Vanité . . .	Vanity . . .	De Benarclens . . .	
Générosité . . .	Generosity . . .	De Praroman . . .	Extinct
Bonhomie . . .	Good-nature . . .	De Charrière . . .	

It will be seen that half of the twenty-eight families are already extinct.

I am indebted to Count de Mulinen for the characteristic attributes of the principal Bernese families who still retained their power when Gibbon wrote about them in the middle of the last century. Of the sixty-eight which follow, eight only are extinct :

Libertinage . . .	Licentiousness . . .	De Berseth . . .	
Promptitude . . .	Promptitude . . .	De Bondeli . . .	
Noblesse . . .	Nobility . . .	De Bonstetten . . .	
Diligence . . .	Diligence . . .	De Bucher . . .	
Vanterie . . .	Boastfulness . . .	De Buren . . .	
Activité . . .	Activity . . .	De Daxelhofer . . .	
Orgueil . . .	Pride . . .	De Diesbach . . .	
Noblessomanie . . .	The Mania of Nobility . . .	D'Effinger . . .	
Pesanteur . . .	Heaviness . . .	D'Engel . . .	
Célébrité . . .	Renown . . .	D'Erlach . . .	
Facilité . . .	Affability . . .	D'Ernst . . .	
Pédanterie . . .	Pedantry . . .	De Fellenberg . . .	
Amour des Arts . . .	Love of the Arts . . .	De Fischer . . .	
Légereté . . .	Fickleness . . .	De Fredenrich . . .	
Brusquerie . . .	Abruptness . . .	De Frisching . . .	
Réserve . . .	Reserve . . .	De Gatschet . . .	
Grands Souvenirs . . .	The Memory of Great Deeds . . .	De Gingins . . .	
Moderation . . .	Moderation . . .	De Graffenried . . .	
Décadence . . .	Decadence . . .	Gregorz . . .	
Vanité . . .	Vanity . . .	De Gross . . .	
Amitié . . .	Friendship . . .	De Goumoëns . . .	
Rusticité . . .	Boorishness . . .	De Haller . . .	
Abandon . . .	Abandon . . .	Hallwyl . . .	
Politesse . . .	Politeness . . .	De Hackbrett . . .	Extinct
Calcul . . .	Calculatingness . . .	De Herport . . .	
Curiosité . . .	Curiosity . . .	De Jenner . . .	
Causticité . . .	Causticity . . .	D'Imhof . . .	
Gravité . . .	Seriousness . . .	De Kirchberger . . .	Extinct

¹ Represented in the female line by the Marquis de Loys Chandieu.

Dénigrement . . .	Backbiting . . .	De Knech . . .	Extinct
Singularité . . .	Eccentricity . . .	De Lerber . . .	
Fanfaronnade . . .	Bravado . . .	De Lentulus . . .	
Folie . . .	Madness . . .	De Lombach . . .	
Insouciance . . .	Carelessness . . .	De Luternau . . .	
Sécheresse . . .	Dryness . . .	De Manuel . . .	
Opiniâtreté . . .	Stubbornness . . .	May . . .	
Bizarrie . . .	Oddness . . .	De Morlot . . .	
Hospitalité . . .	Hospitality . . .	De Mulinen . . .	
Durété . . .	Harshness . . .	De Muller . . .	
Personnalité . . .	Individuality . . .	De Muralt . . .	
Philanthropie . . .	Philanthropy . . .	De Mutach . . .	
Inconstance . . .	Inconstancy . . .	De Nägeli . . .	Extinct
Insignifiance . . .	Insignificance . . .	Othh . . .	
Importance . . .	Importance . . .	Ongspurger . . .	
Biendisañce . . .	Charity in Speech . . .	De Rodt . . .	
Impatience . . .	Impatience . . .	De Rhymer . . .	Extinct
Inutilité . . .	Uselessness . . .	De Schmats . . .	Extinct
Croissance . . .	Increase . . .	De Sinner . . .	
Application . . .	Application . . .	De Stuk . . .	
Entêtement . . .	Obstinacy . . .	De Steiger (white) . . .	
Présomption . . .	Presumption . . .	De Steiger (black) . . .	
Assiduité . . .	Assiduity . . .	De Stettler . . .	
Inconduite . . .	Misconduct . . .	De Sturler . . .	
Gourmandise . . .	Gluttony . . .	De Tavel . . .	
Contredisañce . . .	Contradictoriness . . .	De Thormann . . .	
Popularité . . .	Popularity . . .	De Tillier . . .	
Rouerie . . .	Profligacy . . .	Tribolet . . .	
Economie . . .	Economy . . .	De Tscharner . . .	
Loquacité . . .	Loquacity . . .	De Tschiffeli . . .	
Intrigue . . .	Intrigue . . .	Wagner . . .	
Illustration . . .	Illustriousness . . .	De Watteville . . .	
Paradozie . . .	Love of Paradox . . .	De Weiss . . .	
Fortanterie . . .	Braggadocio . . .	De Werdt . . .	
Magnificence . . .	Magnificence . . .	De Willading . . .	Extinct
Capacité . . .	Ability . . .	De Wursterberger . . .	Extinct
Ergotage . . .	Cavilling . . .	De Wyss . . .	
Paillardise . . .	Sensuality . . .	De Wyttenbach (ancient) . . .	
Assiduité . . .	Assiduity . . .	De Wyttenbach (new) . . .	
Vicissitude . . .	Varied Fortune . . .	De Zehender . . .	

Such dicta probably had their origin in the kingdom of Burgundy, for we find similar lists in Dauphiné and Provence. Cæsar Nostradamus, in his 'Histoire de Provence,' tells us that there formerly existed upon the cover of a book the following sobriquets of the chief families of Provence, written by the hand of 'René, roy de Sicile et Comte de Provence,' in 1434 :

Hospitalité et Bonté . . .	Hospitality and Kindness . . .	D'Agoult . . .
Libéralité . . .	Liberality . . .	De Ville Neuve . . .
Magnificence . . .	Magnificence . . .	De Castellane . . .
Sagesse . . .	Wisdom . . .	De Rambrands de Simiane . . .
Fallace et Malice . . .	Falsity and Malice . . .	Des Barras . . .
Simplease . . .	Simplicity . . .	De Sabran . . .
Fidélité . . .	Fidelity . . .	De Bobers . . .
Constance . . .	Constancy . . .	De Vintimille . . .

Témérité et Fierté . . .	Rashness and Pride . . .	De Glandevez
Prudence . . .	Prudence . . .	De Ponteves
Inconstance . . .	Inconstancy . . .	De Baux
Envieux . . .	Envy . . .	De Candole
Communion . . .	Sociability . . .	De Forcalquier
Riches . . .	Riches . . .	D'Aperioculos
Desloyauté . . .	Disloyalty . . .	De Beaufort
Gravité . . .	Gravity . . .	D'Aroussia
Sottise . . .	Stupidity . . .	De Grasse
Vaillance . . .	Valour . . .	De Blacacs
Opinion . . .	Self-will . . .	De Sado
Prud'homme . . .	Bashfulness . . .	De Cabassole
Bonté . . .	Kindness . . .	De Castillon
Sobilité . . .	Subtlety . . .	De Gerante
Ingéniosité . . .	Ingenuity . . .	D'Auraison
Grandeur . . .	Grandeur . . .	Des Porcellets
Vanité . . .	Vanity . . .	Des Bonifaces
Vivacité d'Esprit . . .	Lively Wit . . .	Des Fourbins
Légereté . . .	Giddiness . . .	Des Loubières
Finesse . . .	Diplomacy . . .	Des Grimands

The details concerning the nobility of Vaud may also be found in the work of Père Menestrier.

CHAPTER IX

The fourteenth century was not a period of peace and good-will throughout the Canton of Vaud. Rival claimants for power, ecclesiastical and civil, kept alive the fires of a contest which became a war between village and village, and finally between one rustic manor and another. Houses were burned, serfs pillaged, prisoners captured and released, knights in armour scourged the country, and the whole region was in a chronic state of bloodshed.

Years of dryness and sterility, and swarms of locusts, destroying the crops and stripping the trees, devastated the barony, creating a general gloom which oppressed alike the rich and the poor.

In 1315, nearly the whole of Europe was visited by an extraordinary rain which extended to Lausanne. It began on May 1, and it continued with but slight intervals until the end of December. The greater part of the world, says Baron d'Alt, was reduced to the direst misery.¹

¹ *Histoire des Helvétiques, aujourd'hui connus sous le nom de Suisses*, par M. le Baron d'Alt de Tieffenthal (Fribourg, 1749), i. 815.

In 1317 the seigniory of Châtelard came into being. Nine years later occurs the first mention of the ancestors of Gibbon as holding land in far-away England, at Rolvenden, in Kent; and, shortly after, John Gibbon is recorded as the *Marmorarius* or architect of King Edward III. Gibbon characteristically embalms his progenitor by telling us that the strong and stately castle of Queenborough, which guarded the entrance of the Medway, was a monument of his skill, and the grant of an hereditary toll on the passage from Sandwich to Stonar, in the Isle of Thanet, was the reward of no vulgar artist.

In 1348 the general persecution of the Jews in Europe, during which fifty thousand of all ages and sexes perished, commenced with the murder of the three hundred at Chillon, who were accused of having poisoned the fountains. There is an original document at Villeneuve giving an account of this massacre and its horrid accompaniments. The populace of that town, on a certain day, broke down the gates of the castle of Chillon, and burned or hanged all the Jews that they found therein, without even the semblance of a trial. One of the beams still remains in the vaulted cell, beneath the double arch of masonry, and the living rock juts out behind, as it did in that day, assuming fantastic forms, like devils mocking at the sad agony of the unfortunates.

In the following year, the city of Cologne, hearing that the Council of Berne had sent to Strasburg a Jew whose revelations might lead to the truth, wrote to the authorities of the latter city to say that Cologne desired information concerning the poisoning of the springs. The Council of Strasburg, without referring to the Jew in question, replied that it was necessary to exercise great prudence and impartiality in order to prevent the frightful scenes which had disgraced several cities, and not to condemn persons who were probably quite innocent. In its opinion, the great mortality reigning all over Europe should be regarded as an affliction sent from God, and should not be referred to the poisoning of the springs most wickedly imputed to the Jews.

The Cologne Council was apparently dissatisfied by this reply, and addressed itself directly to Aymon de Pontverre, châtelain of Chillon, and ancestor in the female line of the

notorious Ferdinand Bouvier, lieutenant of the same castle two hundred years later. The noble castellan did not hesitate to declare his conviction that the Jews were guilty, and in support of his opinion enclosed a copy in Latin of the *procès-verbal*. This curious document lay for a long time in the archives of Strasburg, but was finally brought to light by Schiltern, who published it in 1698, in Latin and in German, in his 'Supplément à la Chronique Allemande d'Alsace,' by Jacques de Königshofen, a work now rare.

The truth seems to have been that the populations of Burgundy, Savoy, Switzerland, and Alsace, finding themselves in the midst of a terrible plague which was destroying one-third of their number, entirely lost their wits, and, being influenced by the signs of death and mourning, seized with avidity upon theories which in a brighter moment would not have moved them. The experience of five centuries counts little against passion and prejudice; in our own time harsh measures have been taken against the Jews in various regions, to the shame of modern civilisation.

In the fourteenth century ideas of right were only beginning to be felt. People were groping in the dark. Violent actions were the order of the day. Desperate efforts to throw off crushing burdens were frequently accompanied by deeds of dastardly injustice. Feudalism had indeed begun to decay in the early thirteenth century (when the towns and villages owed certain liberties to the impoverishment of their seigniors by luxury and war), and it waxed more feeble as the century grew old.

Philip, Count of Savoy, seignior of Vaud, dying in 1285, had left to his nephew, Louis of Savoy, the barony of Vaud, consisting of towns and fiefs disseminated throughout that country, forming an appanage dependent upon the House of Savoy.¹ His son and successor, Louis II., Baron of Vaud, had been profoundly afflicted by the death of his only child, who fell fighting heroically at the battle of Laupen, and had himself vainly sought death on numerous fields in the foremost battalions of France.

In the battle of Laupen, which took place on June 21,

¹ Verdeil, i. 160.

1339, the House of Austria, the Counts of Arberg, of Kybourg, of Gruyère, of Neuchâtel, of Valangin, and of Nidau, with various other seigniors, and the city of Freiburg, were united against the forces of Berne and nine hundred men from the Cantons of Ury, of Schwytz, and of Unterwald. During the siege which preceded the battle, many authorities declare that Rodolph d'Erlach, vassal of the Count of Nidau, but *bourgeois* of Berne, said to his lord: 'My liege, up to the present moment I have well served you; but my country is threatened. Permit me, therefore, to partake of the dangers of my fellow citizens.' His seignior replied: 'Go to the defence of your native land. One man less will not change the aspect of things.' 'Count de Nidau,' returned d'Erlach, 'I will endeavour to show that there is one man less.'

On the night before the battle, the Bernese army of six thousand men, with d'Erlach, according to tradition, at their head, sallied forth from the town by moonlight, while the women and the old men, closing the gates, retired into the church to pray for the success of their arms. The Consecrated Host was carried at the head of the Bernese forces, and each man wore as a rallying sign a white cross, which is the origin of the emblem on the Swiss flag. The poet Olivier has well observed that there is something of green and white in the appearance of his country, and on this account the national colours have been well chosen. There seems to be something of the same appropriateness in the vine branch, sculptured on their ancient monuments, and now the garland around the national shield of Switzerland.

The young Baron of Vaud, who had been sent by his father to play the *rôle* of mediator, made many attempts to conciliate the opposing parties; but, failing in all his efforts, he mingled in the fray against the Bernese, and fell fighting gallantly. The defeated allies, says Vulliemin, lost four thousand five hundred men, eighty knights and fourteen counts, among whom was the general, Count of Nidau. In 1804 the skeleton of a warrior in rich armour was found in the hollow of an ancient oak near that battlefield. The wounded man—there is a hole in the helmet—had doubtless taken refuge there, and being too feeble to escape had starved to death. This armour is now in the

Arsenal at Berne. In sawing the tree which contained this extraordinary surprise, they sawed upon the cuirass, which yielded without giving way.

The Swiss, after the battle, returned thanks upon their knees and passed the night upon the field. The next day they interred their dead, and returned home in triumph. The Waldstetters received for their expenses 750 livres argent—the receipt for which still exists—besides an allowance for their losses in arms and horses.

A subsequent victory in the same campaign over the seigniors of Freiburg made the latter exclaim in their terror: 'Dieu est devenu bourgeois de Berne.' The end of d'Erlach, who has been called the Washington of his time, was unhappily not in accordance with his service. This traditional saviour of his country from destruction was killed by his son-in-law during his sleep, with his own sword, so gallantly borne at Laupen.¹

The preceding account is largely drawn from Deyverdun's unpublished writings, and I possess a manuscript in his hand containing his French translation of German verses entitled 'The Battle of Laupen.' It commences:

Voilà comme il faut s'en prendre, criait d'Erlach.

Critics of weight have recently called in question the ancient tradition of d'Erlach's leadership at Laupen. They contend that several of the points in the preceding narrative are manifestly incorrect: in the first place, that it was the invariable rule that the *advoyer* should lead the military forces in times of danger, and on this occasion Jean de Bubenbergh and not d'Erlach was *advoyer*; and in the second place, that if d'Erlach, who was the vassal of the Count of Nidau, led the forces which destroyed the latter, he would not have been appointed, as he was shortly afterwards, guardian of the Count of Nidau's children. In answer to this there is the invariable testimony of competent historians and the general burden of national tradition. Moreover, with regard to the second point, it may be remembered that at that time fighting was a profession which engaged people on one side of a question to-day and on the opposite side to-morrow.

In conversing with the late Dr. A. de Gonzenbach, for many

¹ Vulliamin, *Hist. de la Conf. Suisse*, i. 150.

years Secretary of Foreign Affairs of the Swiss Confederation, I found that he agreed with M. de Sturler, the archivist, who has written a treatise to prove that Rodolph d'Erlach did not command at Laupen. M. de Gonzenbach developed the objections already suggested, and said that what d'Erlach really did was to finish the war between Berne and Freiburg which was connected with the battle of Laupen, and to sign the peace between the two towns. He remarked, besides, that in one of the wars of the seventeenth century, the *advoyer* de Graffenried asked to be exempted from the command, as he had no military knowledge whatever. The answer was, that as the constitution, since the foundation of the town, required the *advoyer* to lead when the great banner of Berne was displayed, de Graffenried must go, and trust to Providence to help him through. If there had ever been an exception to this rule, de Graffenried would surely not have failed to cite it. It was just as at Rome, where the consul was obliged to command, and Cicero found himself leading troops against an adversary whom forensic eloquence could not vanquish.

Laupen, continued M. de Gonzenbach, was the most bloody battle in which the Bernese ever took part. The blacksmiths of the Abbaye des Maréchaux did especial execution with their heavy hammers. In his opinion, it was Bubenberg who commanded at Laupen: his son was in the town of Laupen itself, and there is a letter in existence informing him of the approach of the Bernese forces. M. George Weiss, of Zurich, President of the Swiss Historical Society, after several long and elaborate arguments, has finally found himself obliged to share M. Sturler's opinion.

Dr. Berchtold ('Hist. du Canton de Fribourg') says, in speaking of the battle: 'Everywhere preparations of war were made, and Berne, having learned that Laupen was the point towards which hostilities would be directed, tripled the garrison, which had been composed of two hundred men, and placed it under the command of Jean Bubenberg. The command of the troops which were marched to the succour of Laupen was unanimously confided to Rodolph d'Erlach. The *advoyer* Jean de Bubenberg remained at the head of those which were to defend the town.'

This statement naturally gives rise to the following question :

If this account be exact—that Jean de Bubenberg was shut up in the town of Laupen—what becomes of the theory that d'Erlach did not command the troops before Laupen? Count Frederick de Mulinen furnishes me with the following information in reply, through his son Count Hartmann de Mulinen: 'The Chronicles of Berne, from which Dr. Berchtold quotes, name Rodolph d'Erlach always as the conqueror of Laupen; but it must not be forgotten that these chronicles were written about two hundred years after the battle, and were based particularly upon tradition. We have only one account of the battle of Laupen written by a contemporary. The author is unknown. The document is entitled, "*Conflictus Laupensis*"—the "War of Laupen." The original of this is lost, and there remains but a single copy. In it Rodolph d'Erlach does not figure as being present at the battle of Laupen, although all the military chiefs of Berne are minutely named as follows: "*Erant autem eo tempore scultetus (advoyer) Bernensium videlicet dominus Johannes de Bubenberg miles, senior; secretarii ['secrets,' that is councillors of war] vero: Burckhardus de Bennenwyle, magister Burckardus machinarum, Johannes de Seedorf, Berchtoldus Glockner et Petrus de Krantzingen; et vexilliferi (bannerets): Rudolfus de Muleren, Petrus de Balme, Petrus Wentzschatz et Johannes de Herblingen.*"'

Then follows a narrative of the battle sufficiently detailed where there is no question of Rodolph d'Erlach at all. It is only in the latter part of the '*Conflictus Laupensis*' that Rodolph d'Erlach is mentioned. Here is the passage:

'*Erat eo etiam tempore ex parte Bernensium advocatus (bailiff) in Laupen dominus Anthonius de Blankenburg miles. Sed capitaneus et principalis in ea fuit dominus Johannes de Bubenberg miles iunior, cum magistro Burckardo magistro machinarum, et magistro Petro dicto de Krantzingen. Et unum vexillum Bernensium erat in Laupen, quod habuit et duxit Rudolfus de Muleren cum sexcentis viris adiunctis, tam de civitate Bernensium quam ex his qui ad civitatem de Laupen pertinebant et ad ipsam civitatem confugerant. . . .*

'*Feria secunda post octavam pasche (April 24, 1340) exeuntes Bernenses soli tantummodo cum vexillis et armis processerunt versus civitatem Friburgensium. Et exeuntes Friburgenses*

contra eos a facie Bernensium terga dederunt. Et fugientes Bernenses persequabantur eosdem usque ad portam civitatis, et ceciderunt illa die de Friburgensibus septingenti viri, qui armis Bernensium fuerant in flumine fugiendo submersi. Tunc quoque in illa victoria dux (erat) Bernensium fidelissimus eorum adiutor et quasi leo fortissimus bestiarum, nullius pavens nec timens aggressum, dominus videlicet Rodolfus de Erlach miles.¹

Here he only figures as chief of a Bernese detachment, whereas in the same war, at the battle of Hutwyl, the *advoyer* Jean de Bubenbergh commands *cum vexillo*—with the banner of the city—that is to say, in his quality of commander-in-chief.

In the time when the Chronicles were written, they had perhaps already forgotten and confounded the state of things. But, whatever may be the truth, the glorious history of Berne is not damaged, whether the conqueror of Laupen be called Bubenbergh or d'Erlach, for these two names are equally dear.

CHAPTER X

LOUIS OF SAVOY returned to his barony in 1343, at the moment of the death of the Count of Savoy, who had named him and Amadeus, Count of Genevois, governors of his younger son, and had instituted by the same instrument a Council of Regency, wherein that ancient Savoyan and Vaudoisan House, the family of de Blonay, was also represented.

Louis soon had occasion to raise an army in behalf of his ward, to repel the attempts of certain seigniors of Piedmont to take possession of a part of the latter's provinces in Italy. According to tradition, Count Amadeus VI. was at this time scarcely fourteen, four years younger than that flower of chivalry, Edward the Black Prince, when in the previous year he gained the battle of Crecy, and adopted the ostrich feathers and the motto 'Ich Dien,' afterwards borne by the Princes of Wales.²

¹ Letter of M. Hartmann de Mulinen to the author, February 16, 1882.

² Verdeil (i. 174) says Amadeus VI. was 'scarcely sixteen;' but de St. Genis, quoting Guichenon, says that he was born at the Château de Chambéry, January 4, 1334, and was consequently not yet fourteen.

The ruler of Savoy, emulating the example of his illustrious English contemporary, hastened (1347) to place himself at the head of his troops, and followed by the banners of the de Grandsons, the de Cossonays, the d'Estavayers, the de Gruyères, the de Gingins, and the de Blonays, and guided by his cousin Jacques d'Achaié, passed the mountains and swept down upon the plains of Italy.

At his approach the enemy disappeared like mist before the advancing sun (1348), and the Prince, preceding his army, returned to Chambéry, where he gave a series of brilliant jousts, tournaments, and fêtes, at which he appeared clad in richest velvet and adorned with green colours, whence he received the name of the Comte Vert.

The old chroniclers have preserved details of these fêtes, of which a brief specimen must here suffice.

The notification of the jousts being given by the heralds, and the seigniors and dames having arrived from far and wide, Count Amadeus advanced with eleven companions, all in a costume of green Oriental taffetas, their horses being covered with the same. With them were twelve dames, also clad in green, with saddles, bridles, and harness of the same colour. Each of these ladies led a knight with a green ribbon attached to the bridle. . . . The twelve green companions being come within the lists, the twelve dames each released her knight, and issuing from the lists mounted upon the surrounding daïs. Then the jousts commenced. The combat was very fierce and proud. It lasted from nine o'clock until darkness fell in such a manner that it was necessary to bring forward torches in great quantity. The fête being over for the day, the twelve dames came to retake their knights, whom they led once more disarmed to the castle. Then the court was held to all who chose to go. Each supped, and minstrels, trumpeters, and clarion-players commenced to sound, and mummeries were made in every fashion. When the banquet was finished the four first dames came one after the other to kiss Messire Antoine de Gramont, who had borne himself the best among those from a distance, and each one gave him a golden rod as a prize. He showed himself bashful, and thanked them. And thence once more sounded the musicians

of all kinds, and the feast was prolonged until after midnight.¹

Tournaments were the Olympian games of the Middle Ages. Steel-clad princes entered the arena instead of athletes shining with oil. The same anxiety oppressed all hearts, the same applause leaped from all lips. The scene and the actors, but not the action, had changed.

About this time, in 1362, the Comte Vert instituted, in company with the Count of Geneva and Galeas Visconti, the Order of the Black Swan. Twelve years afterwards this was replaced by the Order of the Collar of Savoy in honour of the fifteen joyous mysteries of the Holy Virgin, composed of only fifteen knights, of whom the head of the house of Savoy was one; he being also the permanent Grand Master. Berlion or Barle de Foras, the direct ancestor of Count Amadeus de Foras, the distinguished historian and antiquary of Savoy, and Amé Bonivard, brother of the progenitor of the famous François Bonivard, were among the members.

In the reign of Charles II., the insignia of the Order consisted of a grand golden collar with three love-knots embroidered thereon, in each of which were the letters 'F. E. R. T.' still to be seen on the Italian five-franc pieces; which signified, according to some ancient authors, 'Fortitudo Ejus Rhodum Tenuit,' in memory of the prowess displayed by his predecessor Amadeus I. at the siege of Acre in delivering the knights of Rhodes from the power of the Turk.

A correspondent of the London 'Times,' however, on the occasion of the visit of the King of Sardinia to England in 1855, remarked that these initials were employed by the princes of the illustrious House of Savoy long before the siege of Rhodes, and that he accordingly could not consider the foregoing interpretation as correct. He, moreover, declared that in the collection of medals belonging to his Majesty the King of Sardinia there was a golden doubloon, coined in the reign of Victor Amadeus I., bearing on one side the effigy of the duke and on the other four knots placed in the form of a cross

¹ *Feuilles d'Album. Extraits des Chroniques de Savoie, Mélanges d'Histoire, &c.*, par Jacques Replat. Annecy, 1826. From MS. by Servion.

bearing in the middle the shield of Savoy. These knots alternated with four groups of interlaced hands surrounded with the device 'Fœdere Et Religione Tenemur,'—'We are bound by our covenant and by the faith of our oaths.' In conclusion, he asks whether this is not the real interpretation of the famous device, and if it had ever been better applied than to the then reigning sovereign of Sardinia.¹

We shall find that these letters were employed by Amadeus VIII. in 1443, who had previously dwelt in La Grotte. In 1518 the number of the knights was increased to twenty; the fifteen roses were arranged in spaces between the knots, and from the centre hung an image of the Virgin Mary and the Angel, from whence the order took the name of the Annunciation.

The costume of the knights was composed of a white damask tunic, and a crimson velvet mantle furred with ermine, fringed and embroidered with love-knots, also with the letters 'F. E. R. T.' For funeral ceremonies, says the Count de Foras, the mantle, originally a white robe, which each knight was bound to give to the Chartreux, was made of black cloth and hung down to the ground.

Following the etiquette of the Court of Turin, the wearers of the Order were styled consins of the King, and took precedence immediately after the Princes of the Blood.

The meaning of the letters 'F. E. R. T.' seemed to Olivier the Vaudois poet and to many others a mystery; and even Signor Pozzo Giacomo, author of a recent beautifully illuminated edition of the arms of the House of Savoy ('Armi ed Imprese della Real Casa di Savoia'), which I owe to the courtesy of General Count di Cesnola, speaks of these letters as though unaware of their meaning and origin. The above explanations, therefore, are not out of place.²

From its foundation to 1860, a period of five hundred years, there were only a hundred and eight knights admitted to this order.

In 1366, Pope Urban VI. issued a call for a new crusade;

¹ London *Times*, December 6, 1855.

² De St. Genis, i. 356; Paradin, 294; Count de Foras, *Armorial de Savoie* (Grenoble, 1878).

but the enthusiasm had so entirely cooled that the Comte Vert alone replied to the appeal. Embarking upon the galleys of Venice with his barons and knights, he defeated both the Turks and the Bulgarians, delivered Gallipoli, and set Palæologus at liberty.

While at Constantinople one of his young knights, born in the Pays de Vaud of good lineage, took possession of the daughter of his host in such an open manner that the father and mother discovered the fact, and made complaint to the Count his master, who arrested the chevalier and asked the authorities of the city what punishment they inflicted in such cases. The latter replied that it was their custom to cut off the beard of the culprit in public. Thereupon the Count ordered this to be done; but it was discovered that, owing to his extreme youth, the guilty one had not yet any beard. All that it was possible to do, therefore, was to declare by the public crier that if the beard had existed it would have been cut off with appropriate formalities. The Count, moreover, admonished the young man in these words: '*Bel ami*, fortunate art thou in that the law is favourable to thee, apparently because it is thought here that so young a man could not commit so great a folly; but, *bel ami*, take care not again to fall into the like error; for, as God lives, thou shalt be punished, not *à la grecque*, whereby the beard pays for all, but *à la savoyarde*, where both beard and head are cut off.'

This anecdote is from a rare book entitled '*Grande Chronique*,' by Symphorien de Champier, published in Paris in 1516, by order of Louise of Savoy, Duchess of Angoulême and mother of Francis I.

Amadeus VI. eventually succeeded to the barony of Vaud, and in his reign, by a decision of Charles IV., Emperor of Germany, the Bishop of Lausanne agreed with the Count of Savoy to the following terms:

First. The Count of Savoy was to be represented at Lausanne by a judge called the *Juge de Billeus*, a name probably derived from that of the first judge chosen. This magistrate was to take cognisance of secular and feudal causes, and to impose fines and receive half of the escheats. In an unpublished manuscript of the banneret Secretan of the year

1776, which I owe to my lamented friend M. Ernest Chavannes, it is said that this court was held on the spot where, in the last century, existed the venerable house of the potter Beilon, below the gate of St. Martin. M. Blanchet, writing in 1863, says that this vicarial court was held near the church of St. Peter in the house called La Caroline, to which reference has already been made, and which M. Grand d'Hauteville possesses to-day.¹

Second. Justice, nevertheless, was to be administered in the name and under the authority of the Bishop.

Third. The rights of Lausanne were reserved and guaranteed in all their integrity.

Fourth. The division of the jurisdiction was only to be temporal, and to cease upon the death of Amadeus VI. and of the Bishop.

Amadeus promised to respect the rights, liberties, and privileges of the citizens, as well as those of the Bishop. It appears, however, that these promises were not altogether kept, and that the estates of the diocese were so much alarmed that they felt under the necessity of publishing in 1368, under the direction of the Bishop, Aymon de Cossonay, a consolidated code of laws and different charters guaranteeing the rights of the Bishop and those of his subjects. I have already alluded to this important legal collection, which was known under the name of the *Plaict Général*, and formed a centre around which were grouped the growing liberties of the citizen as opposed to the power of the feudal lord.

During the Count's reign a ludicrous affair occurred in the Pays de Vaud illustrative of mediæval humour. A pig, having killed a child at Chatillens, was brought to Lausanne, where the sheriff, having prosecuted him under the forms of the law and obtained his condemnation to death, delivered him up to the public hangman, who executed him in due form like any other criminal.²

Five hundred years have elapsed since the death of the Green Count, and his legendary fame to-day throughout the Alpine provinces and the Pays de Vaud rivals that of King Arthur in England or that of the Paladin Roland in Carlovingian Gaul.

¹ Blanchet, p. 141.

² *Mém. et Doc. de la Soc. d'Hist. de la Suisse Romande*, vii.

CHAPTER XI

SEVEN centuries ago the germs of many future liberties, large and small, were sown in Vaud. As early as 1291 the valleys of Ury, of Unterwald, and of Schwytz had entered into their first alliance. In 1308, exasperated by the tyranny of the imperial bailiffs, they rushed to arms, expelled the obnoxious officials, declared the independence of their country, and laid the foundations of the Swiss Confederation.

Seven years later, 1,300 Swiss defeated Duke Leopold's army of 20,000 men at the battle of Morgarten. Finally, after half a century's heroic struggles, success crowned the efforts of the allied towns, and Austria was forced, in 1368, to treat with the Confederation of the eight cantons.¹

In 1375 the famous expedition into Switzerland under Enguerrand de Coucy, Count de Soissons, took place.

This renowned warrior was the representative of the ancient and brave house of Coucy, whose domains were so vast, and whose power was so great, that its war-cry was :

Je ne suis roi ni prince aussi,
Mais bien le sire de Coucy.

As early as 1147, Raoul de Coucy had perished while crusading ; and less than fifty years after, his son had fallen by the King's side at the siege of Acre. Some historians pretend that the latter's heir, during the minority of Louis IX., refused the crown which was tendered by the greatest vassals of the kingdom.

Another Raoul, nephew of the first, was the hero of the mediæval romance entitled ' Le Chastelain de Coucy et la Dame de Fayel,' which was composed—says my late friend Bibliophile Jacob (M. Paul Lacroix)—by Jean Certain in lines of eight syllables, in the first quarter of the thirteenth century, and

¹ In the peace of Thorberg, which received its name from its negotiator, March 7, 1368, renewed 1369, 1375, and in 1376 (Daguet, *Hist. de la Conf. Suisse*, i. 247). Vulliemin, i. 115, places the formation of the league in 1291, August 1. There is an astonishing confusion of dates in this portion of Swiss history (Daguet, i. 175).

includes the following terrible adventure. De Coucy, while upon a pilgrimage in the Holy Land, received a mortal wound. Just before his death, calling his faithful squire, he made him solemnly promise to carry his heart to the Dame de Fayel, together with a lock of hair which she had given to her unfortunate lover. While the wretched squire upon his return was seeking to carry out his oath, the outraged husband surprised his secret, arrested him, and ordered de Coucy's heart to be cooked and served to his wife. When the Dame de Fayel discovered the horrible truth she died of grief.

Enguerrand de Coucy from his earliest youth had distinguished himself in various perilous engagements. After the battle of Poitiers, when the King of France was taken prisoner by the English, in 1356, de Coucy was one of the hostages to whom that monarch owed his deliverance; and he consequently passed some years in England.

Edward III., attracted by his manly beauty and his superior qualities, resolved to attach him to his cause. He accordingly made him Earl of Bedford and Knight of the Garter in 1366, and gave him his second daughter Isabel in marriage,¹ whose *dot* included, among other territories, the county of Soissons, which the King had received in ransom for the seignior of that name.

Not long after, war broke out between the two rival nations, and Enguerrand, vassal of the King of France and son-in-law of the King of England, refusing to take any part in it, repaired to Italy, where on several occasions he defeated the enemies of the Holy See.

In 1374 de Coucy resolved to vindicate the rights which he believed himself to possess through his mother over a portion of the domains of the House of Austria. It appears that Leopold of Austria, third son of the Emperor Albert—the same who had been beaten at Morgarten—married Catherine, daughter of Amadeus V., Count of Savoy, and niece of the Emperor Henry VII. The contract was executed at Zurich on April 20, 1310; but owing to the great youth of the *fiancée*, the marriage was not celebrated until four years after, at Basle, on Pentecost Day, 1314. This famous contract, which caused a war which

¹ *Burke's Dormant and Extinct Peerages*, sub 'Couci, Earl of Bedford.'

CHAPTER XI

SEVEN centuries ago the germs of many and small, were sown in Vaud. As early as 1308, the bailiffs of Ury, of Unterwald, and of Schwytz had declared the independence of their count- ties of the Swiss Confederation.

Seven years later, 1,300 Swiss de- feated a French army of 20,000 men at the battle of Mo- rgt. This was the result of half a century's heroic struggles, succes- sive victories, and Austria was forced to join the Confederation of the eight cantons.

In 1375 the famous expedition of Enguerrand de Coucy, Count de Soisso- ns, was defeated.

This renowned warrior was the rep- resentative of a noble and brave house of Coucy, whose do- minions were so great, that its war- riors were called 'the lords of the world.'

*Je ne suis roi ni prince
Mais bien le sire de Co-*

As early as 1147, Raoul de Co- curcy was a crusading ; and less than fifty years af- ter the battle of Hohenlinden, he was on the King's side at the siege of Acre. It was he that the latter's heir, during the minor- ity of the latter, was tendered by the King the crown which was tendered by the King of the kingdom.

Another Raoul, nephew of the first, was the hero of a mediæval romance entitled 'Le Chaste- l' de Fayel,' which was composed—says the author (M. Paul Lacroix)—by Jean C- o- urcy, in the first quarter of the

¹ In the peace of Thorberg, which received the sanction of the Diet of March 7, 1868, renewed 1869, 1875, and in 1876 (M. Paul Lacroix, *Swisse*, i. 247). Vulliemin, i. 115, places the formation of the Confederation on August 1. There is an astonishing confusion of dates in the history (Daguet, i. 175).

includes the following terrible adventure. De Coeur, while upon a pilgrimage in the Holy Land, received a mortal wound from the hands of a Saracen, calling his faithful squire, he made him solemnly promise to carry his heart to the Dame de Faye, a noble with a lock of hair which she had given to her betrothed lover. While the wretched squire upon his return was engaged to carry on his oath, the outraged husband suspected and arrested him, and ordered de Coeur's heart to be embalmed and served to his wife. When the Dame de Faye learned the horrible truth she died of grief.

Enguerrand de Coeur from his earliest youth had distinguished himself in various perilous engagements. After the battle of Marston when the King of France was taken prisoner by the English in 1213, de Coeur was one of the hostages who were allowed his deliverance; and he consequently passed some time in England.

John III., attracted by his manly beauty and his superior character, desired to attach him to his cause. He accordingly made him Earl of Bedford and Knight of the Garter in 1344, and gave him his own daughter Isabel in marriage. He resided among the nobles of the county of Somerset, and the King himself was near to the sovereign of that

Not long after the death of the two rival nations. Enguerrand, married to the King's daughter and son-in-law, the King of England, resided in it, remained in Italy, where on some occasions he was the enemy of the Holy See.

In 1374 de Coeur purchased the rights which he claimed himself to possess from the Emperor as a prince of the domains of the House of Austria, that Leopold, third son of the Emperor, who had been beaten at Marston, the same who had married the daughter of Henry VII. The ceremony took place at Zurich on April 20, 1310; but owing to the fact that the marriage was not celebrated at Basel on Pentecost Day, 1314. The Emperor's death caused a war which

Enguerrand de Coeur, Earl of Bedford.

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very nearly destroyed the Helvetic Confederation in its cradle, set forth in substance that Amadeus resigned to his daughter a *dot* of 8,000 silver marks payable in three instalments, for which he furnished one hundred sureties.

On his side, Leopold assigned to his wife in augmentation of her *dot* a similar sum, and gave a mortgage until its entire payment upon the revenues of Sempach, Sursee, Willisau, Arau, Lenzbourg, and Bremgarten, which he possessed in common with his four brothers, Frederick, Henry, Albert, and Otto. The document further expressly declared that if sons were born of this marriage they would succeed him in all the titles and properties which he held in common with his brothers; but if he had only daughters they would inherit merely his movable and allodial property, in accordance with the Salic Law of the country. The Emperor, Henry VII., moreover, gave to his niece as a wedding present 4,000 silver marks, to be collected from the revenues of his châteaux of Morat and Grassbourg.

Leopold died in 1326, leaving two daughters. The youngest, Agnes, gave her hand to Bonislas, seignior of Schweidnitz, in Silesia. The eldest, Catherine, married the Sire de Coucy, one of the most powerful seigniors of Picardy, whose castle was the marvel of feudal times and whose barony included 150 villages, towns, and cities. Both mother and father died early, leaving Enguerrand de Coucy sole heir of their united properties and prerogatives.

The latter determined to claim, if not the whole of his maternal inheritance, at least the six villages mentioned in the mutual contract of his father and mother; for it appeared that his uncles had never paid the 16,000 marks assigned to his mother. It is true that, according to Salic Law, he had only a right to the movable and allodial property of his grandfather, and not to the noble fiefs, which could not come to a representative in the female line. Being, moreover, more of a soldier than a jurisconsult, he appealed to his sword, and gave a latitude to his pretensions which success alone could justify. His cousins, Albert and Leopold of Austria, masters of a portion of the inheritance which he claimed, set themselves, on their side, to keep the whole. This was especially the case with Leopold, frequently killed by the Swiss at the battle of Sempach, whose

hereditary domains were situated on the borders of the Aar and of the Rhine.

Luckily for de Coucy, the truce agreed upon between the English and the French in the month of June, 1375, set free on both sides a large body of men, known under the name of 'routiers.' Taking advantage of this fact, de Coucy, with the consent of Charles V., who was delighted to get rid of them, engaged these free-lances in his service—after issuing a manifesto in which he gave himself the title of heir of the Grand Duke Leopold, and declared that he was about to take possession of his ancestral domains. The historians variously estimate de Coucy's army at from 40,000 to 70,000, composed of men of Flanders, Picardy, Burgundy, Lorraine, Brittany, and Wales, marshalled in twenty-five divisions. Among the principal officers was Thomas Holland, Earl of Kent, represented in our time in the female line by the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, the Earl of Jersey, and the Duke of Sutherland. Tschude tells us that the leaders wore magnificent costumes, drank out of silver cups, had a rich collection of plate, and superb tents. The common soldier was, however, badly clothed and barefoot.

This expedition, begun under the most favourable auspices, pushed its successful way to the disputed cities, but was eventually drawn back to Alsace in the following year by the united efforts of the Swiss Cantons, and de Coucy obtained only the counties of Buren and Nidau—for which he had already paid 48,000 guilders to the heirs of the last Count, upon the condition that he would formally renounce all pretensions to the Austrian domains. A few years later, however, these two places also fell into the hands of the Bernese.¹

Tradition says that the ancestor of the noble family of de Loÿs—who were proprietors of La Grotte for two centuries—was an English knight of Norman ancestry, who was engaged in this affair. If de Loÿs took part in this expedition, it is most reasonable to believe, with Vulliemin, that he was of Welsh origin; for de Coucy's foreign corps of 6,000 well-equipped horsemen, whose pointed helmets glistened in the sun, were Welsh, and not English. The best blood of Wales coursed in the veins of their leader, Jevann Griffith ap

¹ *Conservateur Suisse*, viii. 5-23.

Enyon, and de Loÿs, or Lewis, if present, was doubtless in his train.

This seems to have been the belief of the de Villardin branch ; for we find that more than two centuries ago, in 1671, they quartered their arms with the arms of the Lewis family, namely : Gules, a griffin segreant or.¹

In a memoir prepared by M. de Loÿs de Villardin, the father of M. de Loÿs de Warens, to send to a Mr. Horner, in 1725, it is said that in 1671 the family produced the title-deeds and family documents before the commission appointed by their Excellencies of Berne to examine into the state of the noble families of the Pays de Vand.

It is, moreover, said in the same place, that in 1686 the celebrated Dr. Burnet, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, finding himself at Lausanne in the house of a member of the family, saw the family arms, and asked to whom they belonged. The master of the house declared that they were his own ; whereupon the prelate said : 'Then your name is Loÿs,' continuing, 'I am well acquainted with the family of Lewis and their arms. It is illustrious in the Principality of Wales. One of them, who is a very rich man, is my intimate friend.'²

Whatever may have been the origin of Antonius de Loÿs, he was living at Vevey a few years later. He is called in the Latin acts, Dominus Anthonius Loÿs. This may be seen in the will of his widow, which was formerly in the muniment room of the seigniors of Villardin, and is now in the archives of their descendants, the family of the Marquis de Loÿs-Chandieu, at Lausanne.

M. de Loÿs de Villardin, father-in-law of the famous Madame de Warens, at the beginning of the last century used the following words : 'This term Dominus marks the fact that he was rather a knight than a doctor ; for in the same act those who are thus qualified, and who were doctors in law, were also named *Jurisperiti*, or *Jurium Doctores* ; whereas in speaking of Girard de Villarzel, who was a knight, he is styled in precisely the same way as Antoine de Loÿs—that is to say, Dominus

¹ Manuscript documents in the de Loÿs archives.

² Manuscript memoir of M. de Loÿs de Villardin (1725).

Girardus de Villarzel—without his being afterwards designated either as *Miles* or *Jurisperitus*.¹

Antonius Loÿs married Agnelette de Bernard, daughter of the grand cupbearer of Savoy, whose family carried a double-headed eagle displayed.

Their son, noble Mermet de Loÿs, removed to Lausanne, and was living there in 1401, as appears from a deed of sale of that date, to which is appended the city seal. He married noble Nicolette de Cheseaux, and became proctor or syndic of Lausanne in 1438.

From him proceeded a family of the highest respectability and influence in both Switzerland and France. For five centuries it has furnished many eminent men to the Church, State, and army, while distinguishing itself in science, literature, and law.

There are few noble houses whose family history is illustrated by such a quantity of authentic documents. I have seen several thousands, and from the elaborate lists which I have examined am compelled to express my admiration of the careful manner in which the family records have been preserved.

There is a peculiar propriety in referring thus in detail to this house, inasmuch as it is intimately associated with Gibbon and his mansion.

The Count de Mulinen tells me that the family of Jenner of Berne also claim, but with much less appearance of reason, to be descended from one of the companions-in-arms of Enguerrand de Coucy.

Voltaire has rendered the name of de Coucy familiar to modern ears through his '*Adélaïde du Guesclin*.' The groundwork of the piece was drawn from the annals of Brittany. The characters were the Duke of Vendôme, the Duke of Nemours, the Sire de Coucy, Adélaïde du Guesclin, Taïse d'Anglure, and Dangeste. Voltaire himself tells us that when it was first represented, in 1734, it was hissed from the very beginning; the disapproval increased in the second act, and at the end, when the Duke of Vendôme cried, '*Est-tu content, Coucy?*' several jokers replied, '*Couci-couci*.'

¹ Manuscripts in the possession of the Marquis de Loÿs-Chandieu.

It was again produced in 1765, and then met with the greatest success. In noticing this contrast, Voltaire remarks: 'The public is not the universe. The reading-public is composed of forty or fifty persons if the book is a serious one, of four or five hundred if it is light, and of eleven or twelve hundred if it is a dramatic work. There are always in Paris more than five hundred thousand people who never hear a word about all this.' We must remember that when he was speaking, Paris had not many more than this half-million inhabitants.

The foundation of this tragedy is not a fiction. A duke of Brittany, the author mentions, commanded, in 1387, the Seigneur de Bavalan to assassinate the Constable de Clisson. Bavalan the next day tells the duke he has obeyed him. The duke, sensible then of the horror of his crime, abandons himself to the most violent despair. Bavalan, after leaving him for some time to his remorse and repentance, tells him at length that he has loved him sufficiently well to disobey his orders, and that de Clisson lives. In the plot de Coucy takes the place of Bavalan, and his noble character is summed up in the words of Vendôme: 'Bon Français, meilleur frère, ami, sujet fidèle.'

It was my good fortune several years ago to discover and identify in the château of Mex (near Lausanne), belonging to my friend M. William de Charrière de Sévery, grandson of Gibbon's adopted son, an unknown manuscript memoir which Malesherbes, the noble defender of Louis XVI., prepared for Gibbon, and which the latter used in the sixty-first chapter of his great work. This historical document contains a reference to the Constable de Clisson mentioned by Voltaire. Malesherbes had been discussing the claims of the house of de Rohan to royal honours, and cites the following in illustration of his theme:

'I remember having read that du Guesclin was in his youth the brother-in-arms of Clisson, who afterwards succeeded him, and that they entered into an engagement mutually to defend each other against everyone, excepting the king and the Sire de Rohan. Those who have studied the history of Brittany say

that there are many similar proofs to be found there of the greatness of the de Rohans.' ¹

The distinguished genealogist and antiquary, Sir Bernard Burke, in speaking of Enguerrand de Coucy, says that he became, through his descent from Ada de Baliol, the representative of the royal house of Scotland, of the Anglo-Saxon kings, and of John de Baliol, father of the first king of that name, and founder of Baliol College at Oxford, a hundred years before de Coucy's expedition. In our day, the Count de Chambord was heir of the de Coucys, and through them senior coheir of the Baliols, having been the descendant of Enguerrand de Coucy's eldest daughter. The latter's youngest daughter married Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford, member of the illustrious family to-day represented in the female line by the Duke of St. Albans, and of whose race Chief Justice Crewe two centuries and a half ago said: 'I heard a great peer of this realm and a learned declare, when he lived, there was no king in Christendom had such a subject as Oxford. He came in with the Conqueror, Earl of Guynes; shortly after the Conquest was made Great Chamberlain of England, above five hundred years ago, by Henry I., the Conqueror's son, and by Maud, the Empress, Earl of Oxford; and confirmed and approved by Henry II.'

There is a characteristic allusion to de Coucy in an unpublished manuscript journal of Gibbon's tour in Switzerland in 1755 with his tutor, M. Pavilliard. I discovered portions of this interesting document, which is in French, and in the historian's own writing, in La Grotte at different times, which will be found in the second volume of this work. The following is Gibbon's reference to de Coucy under the date of October 15, 1755:

'In going to Berne, the capital of the Canton, we saw in passing near a village near Fraubrunnen the field of battle where an English army was beaten by the Swiss in the year 1375. The Bernese had erected there a column, but a long

¹ *Mémoire sur les personnes et sur les familles à qui on donne en France le titre de Prince*, par Chrétien-Guillaume de Lamoignon de Malesherbes, adressé à M. de Sévery et rédigé pour l'usage de Gibbon.

time after the event, on one side of which there is a German inscription, and on the other these Latin verses :

'Uxoris dotem repetens Cussinus amatae
 Dux Anglus, frater quam dabat Austriacus,
 Per mare trajecit validarum signa cohortum,
 Miles ubique premens arva aliena jugo.
 Hoc rupere loco Bernates hostica castra,
 Multos et cum justo Marte dedere neci :
 Sic Deus omnipotens ab apertis protegat Ursum,¹
 Protegat occultis et hostis ab insidiis.

'There are, nevertheless, two misstatements in this inscription. First, Cussinus, or the Sire de Coucy, was not an English general. He had espoused, it is true, a princess of England, and his army was principally composed of irregular troops of that nation. As for Cussinus himself, he was a French seignior. His family, one of the most illustrious in Picardy, became extinct in the fifteenth century. Secondly, the wife of this Coucy was not an Austrian; as I have already said, she was an Englishwoman. It was the dot of his mother, daughter of Leopold of Austria, who died in 1326, which he wished to recover, and this dot consisted in some towns of Alsace and of Aargau (Upper Argovia). I omit the little fault of talking of the Duke of Austria, her brother, although she was an only child.'

The memorial column on the field of Fraubrunnen, which Gibbon describes, seems to have disappeared before the Revolution of 1798, but is described in the works of Wagner, Faesi, and Baron Zur-Lauben. It was replaced in 1824 by a stone bearing the following words:

'In the year 1375, on St. John's Day, at the approach of night, the Bernese attacked the English army called by the peasantry Guglers, killed 800 men, and put the rest to flight. May God, who in His grace granted this victory, be eternally praised and adored!'

M. Thierry says that de Coucy finally fell into the hands of the Turks at the battle of Nicopolis, and ended his days in the prisons of Constantinople. His principal Welsh leaders, Ivain, descendant of Prince Llewellyn, beheaded at London in 1283, and Jevann Griffith ap Enyon, who commanded at Frau-

¹ A bear was in the arms of Berne. (Note by Gibbon.)

brunnen, were despatched by the poignards of assassins sent for that purpose by the King of England.¹

The battle is commemorated in the name of the hill called the English Hill, although the greater portion of the forces engaged under de Coucy were Welsh who had taken refuge in France, and who were opposed to England.

CHAPTER XII

THE state of the clergy at Lausanne at the close of the fourteenth century is illustrated by the fact that the Estates of Vaud, which assembled in that city in 1398, were so scandalised by the libertinism of the cathedral priests that they complained to the bishop. That ecclesiastic admitted the grievance, and excluded from the sacred precincts females of a certain class; he also assigned them a quarter at the foot of the hill, and ordered them to wear a white band upon the sleeve of their dress. The same manners necessitated similar precautions at Geneva.²

While the towns and the primitive Cantons fought against Austria and feudalism, Roman Helvetia, foreign to Switzerland by its manners, its tongue, and its interests, withdrew further and further, and turned all its regards towards France, Burgundy, and Savoy. In that direction lay all its sympathies of origin, habits, and language. The schools of Berne and of Zurich, says Verdeil, held out few inducements to those seeking to enter the Church, in comparison with the attractions afforded by Geneva, Chambéry, Lyons, and Paris.

The Vaudois were to be found fighting in the East, in France, in Italy, but never under the banners of Austria, or of the Swiss Confederation. It was not until a century later that the Swiss obtained their first foothold in the Pays de Vaud; nor were the Bernese enabled to render themselves masters of this beautiful country before 1536.

La Grotte had now weathered many storms, and age had shaken its hoary enclosures, when renewed prosperity overtook

¹ *Hist. de la Conquête de l'Angleterre par les Normands*, iv. 188.

² *Itinéraire de Genève, de Chamounix, du Valais et du Canton de Vaud*, par Marc-Théodore Bourrit, 1808, lettre 12.

it in the person of Amadeus VIII., first Duke of Savoy, who, having been elected Pope under the title of Felix V., stopped at Lausanne in 1440, on his way to the Council of Bâle, and, according to Verdeil, took up his quarters in the ancient monastery of St. Francis. His presence in the city, and that of Yolande, Queen of Sicily, attracted thither a throng of strangers, and the streets were filled by a multitude wherein many nationalities were represented.

Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, one of the secretaries of the Council of Bâle, and afterwards Pope under the title of Pius II., gives an interesting account of the reception and coronation of Felix in the city of Bâle, which is preserved in the '*Æneæ Sylvii Libri III. de Concilio Basileensi*,' now rare, and of which I give the following paraphrase :

There is before the cathedral a vast space, whereon had been raised a platform with an altar at its highest point. Precious tapestries preserved the whole from rain and sun. The Pontiff mounted the dais to be crowned, surrounded by 2,000 of the nobility and clergy.

Louis of Savoy, his eldest son, a prince of attractive person, benevolent affability, just mind and judgment, short in his stature, and with very clear, brilliant eyes,¹ had arrived the preceding day. Philip, Count of Geneva, the youngest son, brave, comely, and moral, also accompanied his father. In the suite was the Marquis Louis de Saluces, whose beauty disputed the palm with his eloquence.

A large portion of the nobility of Savoy accompanied Amadeus to Bâle, either because he was their prince, or was about to become their Pope; for the most noble seigniors of the country wished to witness the ceremonies. Thus there were present at least 4,000, all well mounted. Germany had sent the Marquis of Roetelin, shining with youth, whose blonde locks floated in the breeze; Conrad de Winsperg, hereditary chamberlain of the Holy Roman Empire, respectable alike for his prudence and his years; and the Count Thierstein, with whom no one could be compared for good looks, either in his youth, prime, or old age.

¹ ' . . . ipsius Romani Pontificis generatus : vir comis aspectu et affatu placidus, consilio et animo justo : statura illi medioeris, et oculi præalbi.'—*iii.* 171.

There were also to be seen deputies from Strasburg, Berne, Freiburg, and Soleure. All the nobility of the neighbourhood, moreover, had hastened thither, and such was the affluence of people that the streets could hardly hold them, and the wine of the city was scarcely sufficient to satisfy the parched throats of the 50,000 who sought its cooling effects.

In order to prevent any riot the town had armed a thousand young and robust burghers, whose bearing was as martial as their dress was handsome. Some of these guarded the platform; others surrounded the Hôtel de Ville. The windows, roofs, even the trees, were filled with men and women. The square was so encumbered by spectators that a grain of mustard-seed could not have found its place therein.

At dawn Felix, the Pope-elect, appeared in answer to the general expectancy. He is a handsome man, venerable on account of his white and shining hair, who bears upon his face an expression of the greatest wisdom. Like his sons, he is of middle height. His form is as graceful as advanced age permits, and his skin is not less white than his beard. His speech is laconic, but full of meaning.

Felix from his high seat surveyed the sacred relics about him, and the mitred prelates and clergy of Bâle seated beneath him. When silence had been proclaimed and the ceremonies had begun, Felix was so well acquainted with them that he needed no prompter. Who would have imagined that this prince, who had been occupied for forty years or more in the affairs of this world, could have found sufficient time to learn all the rites of the Church? Yet on this occasion he corrected the errors of the others, and permitted absolutely nothing which was foreign to the strict ecclesiastical form. He said Mass with imposing solemnity, and read and sang, omitting nothing and changing nothing. It was truly a marvel to see this aged father officiating at the high altar, and served with kindly attention by his two sons in all those things which are allowed to laymen.

A commentator on this account says that the eldest, to whom he had confided the government of his realm, offered him a loaf in gold, while the younger, Philip, Count of Geneva, presented him with one of silver. Count Jean de Thierstein served him

likewise with wine in a gold vase in the shape of a barrel, and the Margrave of Roetelin presented a similar vessel in silver.¹

Everyone, continues Piccolomini, said that the venerable man could justly be called Felix (the happy), for after a life laudably passed in the affairs of this world, in the wise government of his estates and the careful education of his family, he had been called by God to rule over the Universal Church. Many, with tears in their eyes, blessed Heaven for having allowed them to live to be witnesses of an event which, up to that time, had never been seen or heard of.

It is customary in the midst of such solemn ceremonies to offer up supplications on behalf of the Sovereign Pontiff. The eldest of the cardinal deacons begins them, and the secretaries and the apostolical judges take up the sacred song. But on this day the lawyers supplied the places of the judges. When, therefore, Louis, Cardinal of Sainte Sabine, a prelate of great repute, and very learned in the ritual, began his functions as cardinal deacon by intoning the anthem, the secretaries and lawyers in response gave utterance to such discordant notes that everybody burst into laughter. Some laughed even until the tears ran down their cheeks, and for a week people spoke of nothing but this barbarous singing. Although many took this incident in ill part and regarded it as an insult, I, who was of the number, by no means felt ashamed of my ignorance, for it is not given to everyone to be perfectly acquainted with Church music. When, therefore, on the following day it became necessary to repeat the same anthem in the Church of the Dominicans, I did not blush to do my part as well as I was able.

After the Mass and the consecration of the Pope, they brought forth the pontifical tiara, or triple crown, enriched with many precious gems; and in the presence of the attentive multitude the Cardinal Louis, in the place of the Bishop of Ostia, taking in his hands this magnificent royal emblem, valued at thirty thousand ducats, placed it on the head of Felix. Then from all sides arose the cry: 'Long live the Pope!'; and

¹ Guichenon, *Histoire G  n  alogique de la Royale Maison de Savoie* (Turin, 1780); *La Mani  re comment Papa F  lix fut re  u en la Ville de B  le, tir   d'un ancien manuscrit des archives de Turin*, ii. 64.

immediately after the clergy proclaimed plenary indulgences, which the people of Bâle had never before received.

When this was at an end the participants descended the platform and mounted their horses, and the procession began to move in the following order :

1. Simple laymen and the common people. 2. The suites of the nobility. 3. Nobles and knights. 4. Barons, counts, and marquesses. 5. The Duke himself, surrounded by his council, and wearing golden robes which trailed on the ground.

Everyone was as magnificently dressed as possible, some covered with purple and gold, others in knightly mantles charged with precious stones and chains of silver. Even the trumpeters, the players of *hautbois*, and the most insignificant of the musicians, were adorned in different ways, and were preceded by a troop of mimes, the like of which had never before been seen.

Now came the clergy of Bâle on foot, bearing the relics of the saints, and followed by a charming troop of young boys singing hymns, who were succeeded by a tabernacle, red and yellow in colour, surrounded by esquires of honour in red hats. Next should have appeared the captains of the ports and vessels of the Holy See; but in their absence and in their stead marched the hermits of Ripaille, called the Knights of St. Maurice, grave and aged personages, who had been the companions of Felix in the world and in his religious retreat, keeping the same dress that he had himself worn, and showing themselves worthy of the greatest respect.

After these a few priors in chasubles, but without mitres, preceded the secretaries and lawyers, who wore their chasubles bandoleer-wise, and whose dress was as awry as their song had been. The judges, who followed, should have worn the same costume, but they had only copes like the prelates. The abbots and bishops, who closed the march, were mitred, and mounted on caparisoned horses.

In this order we passed before twelve white coursers, such as Rhesus led to Troy, covered up to the neck in red trappings, and marching before the tabernacle. Next, in the midst of great lighted tapers, and after the bishops, was borne the body

of our Saviour, the care of which had been confided to John, Bishop of Arg, equally commendable for his learning and his zeal, who was performing the office of sacristan.

Now advanced two cardinals, with the bishops of Tortose and Vich, who held the place of cardinal deacons, and announced the approach of the Pope, who, blessing the people and attracting all regards, appeared under a golden tent, wearing his triple crown, and seated on a palfrey led by the Marquis of Rœtelin and Conrad de Winsperg. The treasurer and the *camérier* clerks, very decently clad, and throwing money to the people, followed the Pope. The cortège was closed by the ambassadors of the princes attending the Council, and a great multitude marching confusedly and without order.

We had thus traversed several streets when the Jews, who had been awaiting the passage of the Holy Father in delusive hope, presented him with the laws of Moses. The Sovereign Pontiff received them with respect, but condemned the Jewish ceremonies.

When we had come to the Church of the Dominicans, the prior and the brothers came forth before the Pope, and, offering him the keys of the convent, finally escorted him to the altar. When the *Te Deum* was finished it was three o'clock in the afternoon, and the Sovereign Pontiff retired to take repose rather than food, although he was still fasting.

Next day we all came back to hear Mass in this same church. After it was said, and certain remaining ceremonies had been completed, one gold and two silver medals were given to each of the prelates present, while all the assistants were invited to a banquet with which neither the Orchian, nor the Fannian, nor the Licinian, nor any other sumptuary regulation interfered for the purpose of regulating the price or number of the dishes.

It is uncertain whether it was a dinner or a supper, but, in a word, everybody dined and supped copiously and sumptuously. The repast lasted four hours, and over a thousand guests sat down. The two sons of the Pope served their father as cupbearers, and the Marquis of Saluces was master of ceremonies. Towards three in the afternoon we rose from table, and at five, preserving the same order which had been

observed in going, the Pope was conducted to the Church of Notre Dame, the principal one in Bâle, which he left by a back entrance to seek repose in his palace.

CHAPTER XIII

FELIX V. was so delighted with his former residence at Lausanne that three years later, in 1443, having quitted the Council of Bâle, he retired with four cardinals to the former city, and busied himself in benefiting his congenial retreat. Failing fortifications were strengthened, including the tower of La Grotte, and the entire monastery was revamped and richly endowed by the grateful Pontiff.

We may judge of its interior decorations by the list of the bed-hangings, chair-coverings, and wall-tapestries which the Prince had brought with him from Bâle.

There was one chamber furnished in crimson satin, bordered and strewn with gold and silver, and ornamented with sirens. The tester, the coverings, the curtains of red linen, and the eleven tapestries, were decorated in like manner. A second piece was hung in the same stuff with red and white stripes; a third in the same with embroideries representing foliage and amours; a fourth the same, but red, with garlands and the interwoven arms of Savoy; a fifth in Persian satin, with love-knots intertwined with the initial letters of the legend of the Grand Order of the Annunciation.

The reception-rooms were magnificently adorned with huge tapestries. The first contained hangings representing a tournament in the time of King Clovis, and other events in the reign of the first Christian King of France. The second was devoted to the days of Charlemagne. The third recorded the entire life of Theseus. The fourth depicted the duel of the four sons of Renand de Montaubon. The fifth was covered with giants; and the sixth set forth the acts of St. Margaret. Then followed others representing forests with stags and harts, birds of different kinds, various scenes of the chase, and, the most dangerous of all the latter, a love hunt (*unum de venacione amorosa*).

The ceremonial chairs and benches were covered with rich tissues ornamented with embroideries of original patterns, and with cushions of velvet and cloth of gold.¹

At this time the chapel, the grand refectory, and the guest-rooms wherein the Pope himself dwelt, formed the eastern wing, which included La Grotte, extending south from the Church of St. Francis, and united with the western wing by a fine building which stood on the spot now (1879) occupied by the house of M. Louis Grenier, next to La Grotte. In the latter were vast halls, decorated in the ancient manner, and overlooking Lake Lemman, the mountains of Savoy, and the famous château of Ripaille, built and enriched by the same Holy Father, who was now giving his beneficent labours to the Friary of St. Francis.²

Several years were devoted to the extension and embellishment of the monastery, and finally, in 1448, the famous Council which had been sitting at Bâle adjourned its sessions to Lausanne, and took its place in the great audience-chambers already indicated.

The Doyen Polier de Bottens, in an unpublished manuscript, remarks that in the Convent of St. Francis the terms of settlement were agreed upon for the final abdication of Felix V., and within its walls the great ceremonies connected with that occasion were magnificently arranged. Thus we find this great religious centre becoming a field of pacification to the Romish Church, as, less than a century later, by the preaching therein of Pierre Viret, Guillaume Farel, and Jean, Comte de la Croix, it became a salient point of departure of the Reformation, which rent in twain the Roman Catholic faith. Are not these singular facts, in connection with the home of the historian of the Decline and Fall?

At that period the long range of conventual buildings and outlying works formed an imposing mass, of which the church was the central point.

The city wall, beginning at the gate of St. Peter, ran along

¹ Le Chevalier Louis Cibrario, *Economie Politique du Moyen Age*, ii. 141.

² Le Doyen Polier de Bottens, *Remarques sur la Place St. François et sur l'endroit appelé Derrière St. François, dans la Tablette de la Paroisse de Bourg* (Lausanne, 1782). From a collection of documents loaned to the author by M. Ernest Chavannes, who is the most exact authority on mediæval Lausanne.

the southern limits of the rear of the gardens of the Rue de Bourg, and upon its arrival at the route which descends towards Ouchy was joined by a massive gate called the Porte de Rive, and sometimes the Porte de Condamine, still existing in Gibbon's day, which met a strong wall defending the rear of the church and the eastern wing of the convent, represented to-day by the ancient chapel, the house of Clavel de Brenles, and La Grotte.

At the south-east corner of La Grotte the city wall was further strengthened by a lofty tower, whose base was washed by the waters of the moat. This tower, in the early part of the last century, was diminished in height, and utilised as a part of La Grotte itself.

The walls, which in the time of Amadeus extended from this tower west to another tower which stood on the site of the terrace of M. Louis Grenier, became the foundations of the terrace which was later the charm and joy of Gibbon.

The line of fortifications there ran on to the gate of St. Francis, whose tall tower was rebuilt in 1445, at the expense of the city.

On August 29, 1444, the three Estates of Lausanne assembled in the court of the bailiff, and prayed the bishop to accord them help for the reparation and care of the fortifications of the lower town. The bishop accordingly allowed them to place a tax of an obole upon each pot of wine which should be sold at Lausanne during the three following years. As the worthy inhabitants were as much addicted to drinking *un petit verre* at that time as at the present, this privilege produced very handsome results, and aided materially in strengthening the defences of the town, which was threatened at that period by the *écorcheurs* or flayers, or, as they were sometimes called, the Armenjacks—a name given to bands of freebooters organised for pillage, who had in that same year succeeded in taking and sacking Vevey, as we learn from the account-books of the castellan of Chillon.

In the manuscript register of the archives of Lausanne, in the Cantonal Library, I found mention—as already indicated—of the reconstruction of the tower of St. Francis. The gate of St. Francis stood at the entrance to the place of that name, opposite to the present Rue du Grand Chêne; and from its

southern side a lower wall ran to the route descending to Ouchy, dividing the place of St. Francis into two nearly equal portions. In the inner enclosure, next the church, there stood a row of fine elms, afterwards cut down to make way for the *manège* in which Gibbon displayed his skill in horsemanship three hundred years later. In the rear of the church, between the two wings of the convent, was a monkish burial-ground, which was planted with fine turf and flowers.

The grounds outside the southern and western walls of the convent, which formed afterwards the orchard and the promenades of Gibbon, and now occupied by the Hôtel Gibbon and its grounds, and the domain of La Grotte, were in the time of Felix V. entirely devoted to the uses of the convent; and here doubtless His Holiness often took his walks and communed with his trusty councillors.

We may form some idea of the cost of living at Lausanne at this moment and at an earlier epoch by the accounts left us in the Cantonal archives and those of the Castle of Chillon. In 1257 an entire lamb cost, in value of our day, 4 francs 54 centimes; in 1279 a sheep was worth 9 francs 78 centimes; in 1289 a fowl sold for 71 centimes; in 1401 a dozen chickens at Lausanne brought 11 francs 12 centimes; while in 1427 a dozen partridges given to the bishop were 16 francs 60 centimes; and in 1436 a fine salmon was presented to the Emperor's ambassador at an expense of 18 francs 40 centimes. In 1448 the price per pound of beef was 25 centimes, of mutton 34 centimes, and of lamb 17 centimes.

It is most extraordinary how closely allied one historical association is with another concerning La Grotte. Who, at first sight, would ever imagine that there was any connection between Amadeus VIII. and George Deyverdun, the owner of La Grotte and the friend of Gibbon?

Amadeus VII., the father, had died under mysterious circumstances in 1391, and public opinion had accused Granville, the physician of that prince, of having poisoned him, and marked out Othon de Grandson as the instigator of the crime. Although a formal inquest was held by order of Amadeus VIII., not the slightest proof was found against Othon. Nevertheless, Gerard d'Estavayer renewed the accusation, and sustained the

same in a duel called in those times *un jugement de Dieu*, which was held at Bourg, in Bresse, August 7, 1397. Grandson lost his life in the combat, and all his property was in consequence confiscated by the House of Savoy.¹

George Deyverdun, above mentioned, although he probably did not know it himself, was, we are told by that excellent authority, Baron Louis de Charrière, a direct descendant of the illustrious house of Grandson, through the noble branch of Belmont.

A genealogy of the Deyverdun family in the possession of Count Frederick de Mulinen commences with Jacques de Belmont donzel, who purchased the métairie of Yverdon in 1280, and married the daughter of the Vidame of Moudon. His son, Pierre de Belmont, surnamed d'Yverdon, died in 1303. His descendants, Jacques and Pierre d'Yverdon, having dropped the word Belmont, were living at Lausanne in 1347.² From them descended the family of which George Deyverdun was the last surviving member.

As Deyverdun walked up and down the terrace of La Grotte in the last century, and conversed on many topics with Gibbon, it never occurred to him that he had any associations with the former occupant, Felix V., or that it became him as a relative to vindicate the fair fame of Othon de Grandson. But history, which has established the relationship between the two, has cleared the name of de Grandson from all suspicion. It is not a little singular, as indicating the changes which the whirligig of time produces, that the château of Grandson, near Yverdon, from which city Deyverdun derived his name, after an alienation of five centuries, has returned to the family connection in the person of Baron Gustave de Blonay, who descends from Amédée de Blonay, avoué of the abbey of St. Maurice, who married the daughter of Lambert III., Count of Grandson, in 1080.³

The château of Grandson left the hands of the de Grandson

¹ De Montet, ii. 471; Olivier, ii. 667.

² Genealogy of the Deyverdun family, in the possession of Count de Mulinen. MS.

³ My researches at the château of Grandson disclosed these facts (*Extrait de l'Armorial et Nobiliaire de l'ancien Duché de Savoie (les Barons de Blonay)*, par le Comte Amédée de Foras, p. 6).

family in 1397, and was repurchased by M. Gustave de Blonay within a fraction of five hundred years later.¹

I visited it in 1879, and found it undergoing extensive renovations in excellent taste. The utmost care had been taken to preserve its ancient features. A portion of the walls reminded me strongly of certain peculiarities which I had noticed at Cardiff Castle, one of the residences of the Marquis of Bute. The square, massive, and picturesque structure is flanked by four towers, and stands immediately outside the town of Grandson, to the right, next the lake, commanding a fine view of its fertile and wooded shores, and of the Alps of Freiburg and the Vaud. It is built upon a rock, whose sides are hidden by solid masonry. Over the entrance-gate are two shields with the nearly obliterated arms of Berne and Freiburg, for the castle was for a long time the residence of their bailiffs. A Bernese bailiff resided there for five years, and then was replaced by a Freiburg bailiff, who, after a similar period, again gave way to a representative of Berne. The origin of this vast Gothic edifice is unknown. The earliest mention that now remains to us is of the year 1049.

The ancient race of de Grandson, allied to the house of Savoy, which had placed many of its members upon the episcopal seats of Lausanne, Geneva, Bâle, Toul, Verdun, Laon, and perhaps even Exeter, in England; which had founded the abbey of the Lac du Joux and the Chartreuse de la Lance; and a representative of which was numbered among the warriors who aided William of Normandy to conquer England,² may be traced with certainty to Lambert, Count of Grandson, and his younger brother Adalbert, mentioned in the charters of the years 981 and 982. Its crest was a bell with a punning motto familiar to the popular ear even at the present day: 'A petite cloche

¹ Notice sur Grandson, par M. Gustave de Blonay, in the *Journal de la Soc. d'Utilité Publique* for August 1879.

² The name of Grandson is mentioned in an ancient charter deposited in Battle Abbey giving the list of the principal families of England which have sprung from the Conqueror's companions-in-arms. This is a curious fact to note, for it would appear to reveal the existence of an earlier branch of the Grandson family, whose establishment in England would thus have preceded by two centuries the branch which is said to have come over with Peter of Savoy. See Augustin Thierry, *Histoire de la Conquête de l'Angleterre par les Normands* (1826), ii., Notes et Pièces justificatives, No. 1 bis; *Notice biographique sur Louis de Charrière*, par Godefroi de Charrière, p. 44, note.

Grand Son.' To show the importance of this illustrious house, we are told that when Adalbert II., chief of the elder branch, appeared in 1049 before Pope Leo IX., he was followed by forty knights, his immediate vassals.

In 1235 the vast properties of this noble house were divided between the branches of La Sarraz, Champvent, and Grandson-Grandson. Montricher and Belmont had previously detached themselves from the parent stem.

The eldest line, that of La Sarraz, became extinct in the thirteenth century, that of Champvent in the fourteenth, that of Montricher in the fifteenth. The branch of Belmont disappeared from its ancient seigniory in the fourteenth century, but one of its members, having been invested with the *métralie* of Yverdon, as we have seen, gave the name of that town to its descendants, and we find them under the different forms of D'Iverdon, D'Yverdun, and Deyverdun. This part of the family became extinct in 1789 in the person of Jean Deyverdun of La Grotte, one of whose family was another link binding him to the memory of Felix V. For George Deyverdun was one of the deputies of Lausanne at the Council of Bâle, which afterwards elected Amadeus as Pope.

The branch of Grandson-Grandson had high destinies and great reverses. It played a preponderating part in the Pays de Vaud, where it possessed, besides Grandson, the Seigniories of Ste. Croix, Cudrefin, Grandcourt, Bellerive, and Aubonne, &c. Mr. Round, the highest authority on this period, kindly refers me to a letter of Otho de Grandison (1316), who was in England as early as 1270, and pertinently suggests that the Grandisons, like the Joinvilles, were brought into England by their Savoyan connection.

The English barony of Grandson, or Grandison, is to-day in abeyance between, among others, the Duke of Richmond, the Duke of Manchester, the Duke of Leeds, and William Gordon Cornwallis Eliot, Earl of St. Germans, great grandson of Mr. Eliot, afterwards Lord Eliot, the friend and connection of Gibbon.¹

¹ Since the above was written he has passed away, and been succeeded by his brother, Henry Cornwallis Eliot, the present earl, to whom also I am indebted for many interesting facts and anecdotes.

CHAPTER XIV

AMADEUS VIII., the illustrious resident of La Grotte, had founded near Thonon, in Savoy, in 1411, the priory of Ripaille, to which he joined in 1430 the hermitage of that name. He established also the Celestins of Lyons in 1407, the Dominicans of Bourg in 1416, and of Chambéry in 1418, and the Clarists of Vevey in 1425.

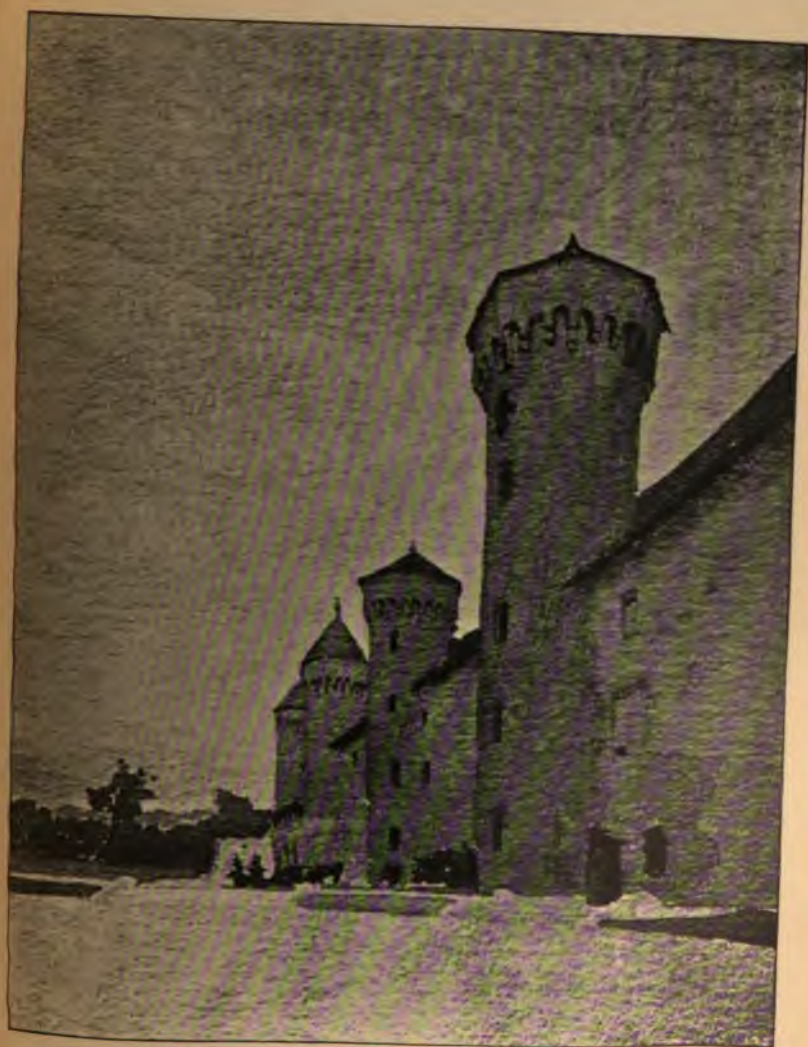
The death of his wife, Mary of Burgundy, in 1438 first led him to think of surrendering the direction of his temporal affairs to his son. This intention was confirmed by an attempt at his assassination by a nobleman of the very district in which Othon de Grandson had lost his life.

On November 7, 1434, he convoked the deputies of the three Estates of Savoy at Ripaille, and appointed his son Louis lieutenant-general of the duchy; but in the letters patent creating the latter Prince of Piedmont he reserved full and complete authority, intending expressly to keep until his death the entire administration of his estates. It was not until six years after, upon his acceptance of the tiara, says M. Francis Wey, that he emancipated his sons and abdicated the ducal crown.¹

Ripaille was originally a rendezvous for the chase, where Bonne de Bourbon had constructed a pleasure-house in 1372. From thence were afterwards dated various charters of privilege accorded to Thonon, and Amadeus VII. died there in 1391, under the suspicious circumstances already mentioned.

Duke Amadeus VIII. built next to the convent of the Augustins a kind of château, composed of seven apartments and of seven towers, each having a garden communicating with a great park planted in alleys of oak, and distributed in the form of a star, each of whose rays had, as a point of view in the perspective, a city or town in the Pays de Vaud. The ray which pointed to Lausanne included La Grotte and the monastery of St.

¹ De St. Genis, i., *Album de la Haute-Savoie*, par Francis Wey.



Ripaille

Francis. In like manner, ten years later, from his windows in La Grotte Amadeus beheld Ripaille.

The magnificent remains of this château are full of interest to the historical student and the lover of the picturesque. Whether approached from the land side or the lake side, it is equally attractive. As the steamer sweeps by, one remarks near the water's edge a tree whose luxurious foliage, issuing from the roofless summit of a round tower, crowns its apex and hangs in graceful festoons along the time-stained sides. It is believed in the neighbourhood that it was here that the devil once overcame a boatman who had just committed a foul murder.

Guillaume de Challant had, according to Grillet, consecrated the Church of Ripaille on December 10, 1411, and dedicated it to St. Maurice, chief of the Theban Legion. Two centuries before Peter of Savoy, then dwelling in the Castle of Chillon, had obtained from the abbot and ecclesiastics of St. Maurice of the Valais the legendary ring said to have belonged to the leader of the Theban Legion, the patron of a monastery which was a centre of religious belief even before Columbanus preached the Gospel in Helvetia.

Peter, returning from a brilliant campaign in the Val d'Este and Chablais, undertaken to avenge an insult offered to the house of Savoy, had stopped at this abbey to offer thanks for his victories. Here he was shown the bodies of the martyrs of the Theban Legion preserved in the church, together with other relics. Among the latter was this ring of the glorious and valiant St. Maurice. 'Then' (says the chronicler) 'my lord Peter of Savoy tenderly besought the abbot and all the monks to give him this ring, so that he might always bear in mind the martyrdom of the said glorious and holy captain of the noble legion, Maurice, in imitation of whom he would hold it his duty all his life to render service to the Holy Catholic Church and faith, thereto using all his strength, riches, and power. The abbot, seeing the goodwill and the holy resolution in well-doing of so noble and valiant a prince, willingly bestowed upon him the said ring of St. Maurice, begging him never to give it to any other than the counts of Savoy, whom he should charge on their faith to leave it to their successors and

inheritors from heir to heir in perpetuity, to be the true symbol and device of the lords counts of Savoy; which the said lord promised willingly and faithfully to do; and of this covenant and compact were given on both sides respectively letters of assurance.¹

This jewel glistened conspicuously on the hand of Amadeus VIII. at Ripaille, and afterwards at La Grotte, and remained in the possession of the house of Savoy until the French Revolution, when it was unfortunately lost.

The true or supposed portrait of Peter of Savoy, its first possessor, is to be found in the gallery of the princes of the house of Savoy at Montcalieri. It represents him at the age of thirty-seven. His face is round, his forehead high, his nose prominent, his beard short and thick, his eyes full of fire, his attitude and bearing instinct with command.

When Amadeus VIII. took up his abode at Ripaille five years before he was named Pope, he had reigned forty-three years, had largely augmented the fortunes of his house, greatly ameliorated the condition of his people, and proved his sagacity by the publication of a code of excellent laws.

To his honour it may be said that, in contravention of the ideas of his day, and in anticipation of modern times, he not only declared himself in favour of codification, but resolutely carried his thought into execution. After reuniting to his crown much territory, he introduced into his enlarged dominions the unity of legislation they needed. He placed this work in the hands of competent jurisconsults, at whose head was his grand chancellor, Jean de Beaufort. Thus were produced the Statutes of Savoy, a unique code, divided into five books, officially published at Chambéry, in the great hall of the castle, in 1430. It was from this code that France drew the idea of her own, in the same way that the Florimontane Academy, founded at Annecy in 1607 by St. Francis de Sales and the jurisconsult, Antoine Favre, was elder sister of the French Academy.²

¹ *Chronique de Savoye*, par Maître Guillaume Paradin, Chanoine de Beaulieu, p. 168.

² *Jugement rendu par Amédée VIII., avec un avant-propos et des notes*, par Jules Vuy, p. 6. Cited in Grillet's *Dictionnaire*, p. 7.



**Statuta Sabaudie Noua
et vetera Nouiter impressa**



**Venduntur a M. Jo. Belot Impressore
Ante Sanctum Petrum Gebenis.**

Amadeus VIII. Promulgating the Statutes

The life of Amadeus at Ripaille was simple, though not austere. His hours were passed between the wise discussion of public affairs and the close observance of religious exercises with the six seigniors who formed with him the new Order of religious chivalry known to-day in Italy as the Order of St. Maurice and St. Lazarus. Each companion of the Order wore a long beard, a grey habit with a golden girdle, a furred mantle decorated with a gold cross, a crimson bonnet, and a long, pointed grey hood, and carried in his hand a knotted and twisted stick.

M. Jules Vuy has well said, that whoever will read with attention the correspondence of Amadeus VIII. with the Duke Louis at the moment of the affairs of Milan, will be more and more convinced that the solitude of Ripaille was not one of futile indolence and vulgar leisure, but, on the contrary, full of serious and high preoccupations.

The contemporaries of Amadeus, with two exceptions, bore testimony to the respectable and useful lives of himself and his knights. The attacks, however, of these two pamphleteers, who were in the pay of his enemies, were preserved by Duclos in his 'History of Louis XI.,' and by Richelet in his 'Dictionary of the Words of the French Language' (Geneva, 1680); and they were further popularised by the malicious verses which Voltaire wrote in 1755:

Au bord de cette mer où s'égarant mes yeux,
Ripaille, je te vois. O bizarre Amédée,
Est-il vrai que dans ces beaux lieux,
Des soins et des grandeurs écartant toute idée,
Tu vécus en vrai sage, en vrai voluptueux,
Et que, lassé bientôt de ton doux ermitage,
Tu voulus être pape, et cessas d'être sage ?
Lieux sacrés du repos, je n'en ferais pas tant ;
Et, malgré les deux clefs dont la vertu nous frappe,
Si j'étais ainsi pénitent,
Je ne voudrais point être pape.

And here I indulge myself with a literary excursion before resuming our ancient history. I have found and identified among the manuscripts of M. Clavel de Brenles, the intimate friend of Voltaire at Lausanne, an original copy of the poem from which the above lines are taken. The portion relative to

the Duke of Savoy differs essentially, as will be seen, from the version printed in recognised editions :

Au bord de cette mer où s'égarent mes yeux,
 Ripaille, je te vois. O bizarre Amédée !
 De quel caprice ambitieux
 Ton âme fut possédée ?
 Duc, hermite, et voluptueux,
 Ah ! pourquoi t'échapper de ta douce carrière ?
 Comment as-tu quitté ces bords délicieux,
 Ta cellule et ton vin, ta maîtresse et tes jeux,
 Pour aller disputer la barque de St. Pierre ?
 Lieux sacrés du repos, je n'en ferais pas tant,
 Et, malgré les deux clefs dont la vertu nous frappe,
 Si j'étais ainsi pénitent,
 Je ne voudrais point être Pape.

This variation is mentioned in a note by Beuchot, who does not, however, explain it. It appears that the Count of Savoy was displeased, and insisted at Geneva that the passage should be suppressed. Voltaire, desiring to remain on good terms with that royal house, did not cut out the passage, but softened its expressions.¹

As was often the case, he sought in the beginning refuge from the storm he had raised by denying that he was the author of such a piece ; and he even assumed this three years later in a letter dated Lausanne, February 12, 1758, wherein he took very high ground with a poor theological student of Toul named Legier, who had the temerity to address to him some poetical congratulations on this epistle, which he called an ode. Here are his gentle words :

'Monsieur de Voltaire, gentleman-in-waiting to the King, and former chamberlain of the King of Prussia, has never dwelt at Ripaille, in Savoy. He has an estate on the road from Geneva into France. He is as unacquainted with the ode to which reference is made as with the château of Ripaille. He is at the present moment ill. His family has opened the package, which is surely not for Monsieur de Voltaire, for things are therein mentioned of which he has no knowledge. There are some verses in this bundle which are, without doubt, for some other person. In conclusion, the family and the friends of Monsieur de Voltaire inform Monsieur Legier that religion,

¹ Desnoiresterres, *Voltaire aux Délices*, p. 301.

honour, and the most ordinary rules of decency and courtesy inexorably forbid the writing of such matters, either to acquaintances or to strangers.'

In his own mind, Voltaire seems to have been justified in using strong language. For in letters of March 7 and March 22 in the same year, one from Lausanne, the other from Les Délices, and both addressed to Count de Tressan, he asserts that Legier's letter is simply the result of a plot against him: 'If there is any *esprit* in France, it does not exist among the scoundrels who dared to abuse your name, and who wrote to me under that of the little theological *débutant* of Toul. Those wretched abortions are even more wicked than stupid.'

Voltaire further declared that he had received a second letter in a counterfeit hand, whose style and contents were absolutely indecent, containing verses worthy of the coachman of M. de Vertemont, the celebrated ballad-singer of the Pont Neuf. This coachman is constantly mentioned in the works of Voltaire. He was named Etienne, and, a manuscript of the time says, made all the songs of his master.

Gibbon believed himself to be the indiscreet person who first made known this epistle, and, by the way, he calls it an ode. He says: 'The Ode which Voltaire composed on his first arrival on the banks of the Lemane Lake, "*O Maison d'Aristippe ! O Jardin d'Epicure,*" &c., had been imparted as a secret to the gentleman by whom I was introduced. He allowed me to read it twice. I knew it by heart; and as my discretion was not equal to my memory, the author was soon displeased by the circulation of a copy. In writing this trivial anecdote I wished to observe whether my memory was impaired, and I have the pleasure of finding that every line of the poem is still engraved in fresh and indelible characters.'

It is by no means certain that Gibbon first gave these verses to the public. But we find Voltaire writing, June 6, 1755, to M. Clavel de Brenles, whom he had styled in a previous letter the Cicero of Lausanne, as follows: 'It is true that I have been amusing myself by making some verses about your beautiful lake, and upon the freedom of your country. These are two fine subjects, but I have no more voice, and I cease to thunder. When I have the pleasure of seeing you, I

will show you this little performance. Je n'en suis pas encore content.'

Twelve days later, writing to the same gentleman, he sends a copy of the epistle, saying: 'I wait your prose [de Brenles' eulogy on Loÿs de Bochat], my dear friend, and I send you some verses; they are not too good, but they celebrate your country; I should praise it with much better heart if I were at Monrion with you.'

The copy which Voltaire enclosed in this letter is unquestionably the one I discovered in the collections of M. De Brenles, among the papers inherited by his learned nephew, M. Ernest Chavannes. This time-stained paper is in the handwriting of one of Voltaire's secretaries, and contains Voltaire's marginal notes—which are, of course, without the date 1756, which Beuchot attaches in a parenthesis to each.

In the unpublished letters of Madame de Loÿs de Bochat which I discovered at La Grotte there are several interesting allusions which throw light upon this matter. Under the date of Lausanne, June 24, 1755, she writes from La Grotte to M. de Brenles, then at Ussières:

'I will not make an indiscreet use of the communication of the fragments of the epistle, for I am sensible of all the consequences that might arise. The first part will not contribute to disarm the anger of the clergy against the author. What do you think of this line: "Fait à tout l'Apennin répéter ses clameurs"? Does one talk of *les clameurs de l'Allégresse*? And besides, the Apennines are rather far away to hear them. *C'est là leur diadème; ils en font plus de compte.* . . . The latter part of this line appears to me very prosaic, and I do not know whether one can say *faire compte de quelque chose*. *Tenir compte* is more usual. If the whole piece is in this taste, I fear that it announces but too evidently the decadence of the famous poet. I by no means recognise in the small number of lines before my eyes the strength found in his other works. They say he has been at Montriond for some days, but I am not sure of it.'

It is evident from another letter, of July 5 in the same year, to Madame de Brenles, that M. de Brenles had shown her letter to his wife, for Madame de Bochat says:

'Monsieur de Brenles was surely the gainer by the great

haste in which I wrote to him, for had I not been in such a hurry he would have received a long letter, in which I would have imitated his gaiety. I should have told him, in reply to what he wrote me, *that we poor writers of prose are not competent judges of poets*; that if the latter only made verses for their fellows they would write but seldom; and that immediately an author circulates his works he submits them to the censure—founded or unfounded—of those who read them. So much the worse for those who reason wrongly about them. I should have made many observations which would have proved to Monsieur de Brenles that I did not at all think it was you who had dictated all those fine maxims to him. To-day, Madame, that you leave me more room for disavowing him, I will commence by saying that I do not think poetical licenses were invented for such a poet as V., or, at least, he should despise having recourse to them. Thus his rhyme, *compte* and *comte*, will always appear forced and unworthy of him. I admit that it would be quibbling to insist upon *l'Apennin*, &c.; but, without criticising too closely, I attack the whole of that tirade, which continues to displease me, and which is not in keeping with the finer portions of the piece. Like you, I have looked for Hannibal, without finding him where it seems to me he would have been so appropriately placed; nor can I yet pardon the author for treating one of my heroes (Augustus) as a tyrant. I know quite well that he completed what Julius Cæsar had commenced—that he enslaved the liberty of Rome; but his reign was such a fine one, so gentle, so amiable, that I cannot let this epithet pass. *Mon Lac* has shocked a great many people; it is a proper name which I have seen in the History of France. Besides, this expression is without dignity. *O deux Divinités: ô deux*, does not sound well to the ear. I do not pick a quarrel with him for having rallied the Papal See; I only meant that he would not please the Roman clergy.

'In the article on the Fronde he does great honour to the French Government, and to the morals of the inhabitants of that kingdom, which are, nevertheless, extremely depraved, especially in the capital; but it is allowable to VO—to be flattering with regard to his country. He is not less so

towards the Swiss; but it is to be desired that they should resemble perfectly the portrait which he has made of them.

'I am much flattered, Madame, to be of the same mind with you with respect to the piece which pleased you : *Je ne me vante point*, &c. I am all the more charmed because what the author says in this part is founded on truth. Besides, it seems to indicate in effect that he believes in another life after this one. This is of good augury. This last production is, besides, no longer a mystery. It is printed, and is sold, I hear, for six cruches at the bookshop of M. Vernai. What is beautiful and noble in this poem fully compensates for that which is not so, but one expects more unity in an author such as he is. I submit, however, all the points I have raised to your judgment, which is, without question, safer than mine. I have assured M. de Watteville, who seems to pay much less attention to the subject than to the rules, that I have never thoroughly studied them, and that, provided the idea seems to me true, and nobly expressed, and the verse properly cadenced, I demand nothing more.'

In another letter, of August 9, 1755, Madame de Bochat, writing to Madame de Brenles, reverts to the subject thus :

'If, up to the present, you have not ventured to undertake reading the philosophical works of Voltaire, judge, Madame, if I can think of doing so? I am content to admire his seductive prose in other works more within my scope. His last production—I mean the *Epistle on Liberty*—is generally looked upon at Geneva as a proof of the decadence of this famous poet.'

The title of the *Epistle* in the printed versions is : 'L'Auteur arrivant dans sa Terre, près du Lac de Genève. Mars 1755.' In the original manuscript in my hands it runs thus : 'Épître de Monsieur de V—— en arrivant dans sa Terre, près du Lac de Genève, en Mars 1755.' Some editors and commentators of Voltaire's works (among these M. Desnoiresterres) have thought that these lines were written at the *Délices*, near Geneva; others, that they first saw the light at Lausanne. But a careful study of his correspondence has convinced me that they were really composed at the château of Prangins, about twenty-five miles west of that town. Voltaire did not visit Lausanne until

about the middle of the month of May, 1755. He was at Les Délices on May 9, but writes on the 15th from Monrion, at Lausanne, that he is detained there by the strong north wind.

Ripaille is almost directly opposite Prangins, and Voltaire notes the fact in a letter to Monsieur Dupont on January 7, 1755, thus: 'Mais je suis à Prangins, vis-à-vis Ripaille.' He had already written on the 14th December preceding, 'Me voici dans le Château de Prangins,' and towards the close of that letter had said: 'Il ne me faut que vous et la liberté'; and thenceforth he continually recurred to this word liberty. He had, therefore, begun to think of the latter portion of his subject at that date. He had also previously written from Colmar to M. Clavel de Brenles, on November 5, that he had spoken to the *advoyer* de Steiger, of Berne, of his desire to seek a retirement upon the borders of the beautiful Lake of Geneva: 'comme Amédée à Ripaille,' like Amadeus at Ripaille—or, as he might have added, at La Grotte; for Voltaire had at this time for a moment the idea of occupying this other old home of Amadeus.

The ideas which he had been caressing undoubtedly found their way to paper during his stay at Prangins, although to celebrate the importance of his entrance upon his estate near Geneva he dated them in the month of his departure from Prangins, and of his arrival at Les Délices.

M. Desnoiresterres is inclined to think that Gibbon was introduced to Voltaire by M. Pavilliard, his tutor. But it is evident that Clavel de Brenles, Voltaire's intimate friend and correspondent, who was likewise the *protégé* and eulogist of Loÿs de Bochat, whose wife was the aunt of George Deyverdun, was really the person to whom the youthful future historian (he was then only eighteen) was indebted for his introduction to the veteran poet. The original copy of the Epistle, which I have now under my eye, was unquestionably the one which Gibbon was allowed to read twice, and which imprinted its contents so clearly upon his memory that in the latter part of his life he was enabled, as already mentioned, to repeat the lines without the loss of a word.

Grimm, in his correspondence of July, 1755, more than agrees with Voltaire's own estimate when he says: 'The Epistle of M. de Voltaire upon the Lake of Geneva has not yet found a

single defender against the general censure of the public of Paris. It cannot be dissimulated that it is too poor to merit the applause of anybody. It is one of those spurious children whom its father, if he had been a Spartan, would have condemned to perish from its birth.'

He then gives some current verses which were attributed at the time, probably unjustly, to the Abbé de Voisenon :

O maison de Voltaire et non pas d'Épicure,
 Vous renfermez une tête à l'envers,
 Qui, sans connaître la nature,
 Veut la célébrer dans ses vers.
 Plutus est le dieu qu'il adore,
 C'est pour lui seul qu'il a vécu ;
 Il donnerait Pomone et Flore
 Pour un écu.
 Non, dit-il, le parfait bonheur
 Ne se trouve point sur la terre.
 Pour le trouver, divin Voltaire,
 Sais-tu qu'il faut avoir un cœur ?
 Grand philosophe sans morale,
 Toi qui te fais un dieu de l'or,
 Oses-tu nous chanter encor
 Les douceurs d'une vie innocente et frugale ?
 Ma foi, qui m'offrirait ton lot
 Avec ton humeur incertaine,
 J'aimerais mieux celui d'un sot
 Vivant sans soucis et sans haine.
 Quitte Berlin, quitte Paris,
 Tu ne seras mufti ni pape ;
 Mais je ne serais pas surpris
 De te voir un jour à la Trappe.¹

The idle words of Voltaire, thrown off in a bilious moment, like many another of his acts, worked great injustice to a noble character. For they changed utterly the opinion of posterity in regard to Amadeus VIII., by giving a wrong meaning to the proverbial expression, 'faire ripaille,' which from that day to this is supposed to mean 'to lead a voluptuous and epicurean life' ; whereas as late as 1673 this phrase signified simply 'jouir dans le repos des plaisirs innocents de la campagne'—to enjoy the repose of innocent country pleasures. This may be clearly seen by referring to the Historical Dictionary of Moreri, published at Lyons in the above year.

¹ *Correspondance Littéraire de Grimm*, iii. 49.

CHAPTER XV

AMADEUS VIII., as we have seen, was elected Pope by the Council of Bâle in 1399, during his residence at Ripaille. On January 6 following he abdicated the ducal dignity in favour of his son, the Prince of Piedmont, in the chapel of the château of Thonon.¹

Although to ensure the repose of the Church he eventually divested himself of the papal tiara while residing in St. Francis's Monastery at Lausanne, at the request of the French, English, and Sicilian kings, and the Dauphin of the Viennois, he preserved great ecclesiastical honours. Guichenon tells us in his *History of the House of Savoy*, that with the title of St. Sabine he was invested with the dignity of cardinal-legate and vicar perpetual of the Holy See in all the estates of Savoy and Lyons, and in the dioceses of Lausanne, Aoste, Sion, Coire, Constance, Bâle, and Strasbourg. The Council assigned him the first place in the Church after the Pope, decreeing that whenever he entered the presence of the latter His Holiness should salute him, and give him his mouth to kiss; that he should be permitted to wear the pontifical ornaments; and finally, that it should be unnecessary for him to appear in person at the Court of Rome, or in any Council.

Upon the occasion of Amadeus's abdication at Lausanne as supreme head of the Church the following memorial verse, says Guichenon, was made:

LVX FVLSIT MVNDO CESSIT FELIX NICOLAO.

According to the 'Délites de la Suisse,' by changing the s of FVLSIT into an x, and adding together the Roman numerals contained in this verse, the year of the abdication, 1449, may be formed; the letter D not being used in those days to designate 500.

He lived, as we have seen, at Lausanne, at Turin, at

¹ Whose site is now occupied by the public square, and whose materials were used largely in erecting the neighbouring convent.—Letter of Count de Foras to the author, December 16, 1879.

Thonon; died at Geneva (some say at Lausanne),¹ January 7, 1451, and was buried in a magnificent mausoleum at Ripaille, which was destroyed, in 1536, by the soldiers of the Bernese Army. A fine monument to Amadeus VIII. is still shown in the cathedral at Lausanne, although the guide remarks, in pointing it out, that the ex-Pope was buried at Ripaille, and his remains afterwards carried to Turin. According to Guichenon, this last statement is correct.

The following note, which I found in La Grotte, in the handwriting of George Deyverdun, is curious as indicating that he had investigated the career of Felix V., perhaps on account of the Pope's connection with the convent of St. Francis, and in consequence of the unjust verses of Voltaire:

'On November 17, 1439, at the Council of Basle, Amadeus VIII., Duke of Savoy, was elected Pope, under the title of Felix V. in the place of Eugène IV. He abdicated April 7, 1449, and died in 1451. . . . Eugène IV. having been deposed in 1438, in the thirty-fourth session of the Council of Basle, in 1440 Amadeus, Duke of Savoy, was elected in his place under the name of Felix V. He had already lost his wife when he came to Basle. Here is a passage from Philip de Bergame upon Felix V. He is, says he, a man adorned by all sorts of virtues, by means of which he has wonderfully extended his States, as well on this side of the mountains as beyond them. After having reigned forty years, he left the government of his possessions to Louis, his only son, and retired to a hermitage named *Ripaille* with six noblemen, living there *virtuously*. He was drawn from thence to be crowned Pope at Basle, but as he was humble and peace-loving he ceded, of his own accord, the Pontificate to Nicholas V., after the death of Eugène IV., and returned to his retreat with the dignity of *Legate a Latere*. He died at a very old age (in 1451), in the odour of *sanctity*.

'He had been created Duke by the Emperor Sigismund in 1416. The character of Felix may be thoroughly examined in the "History of the Council of Basle."

'All the foregoing is extracted from the "Poggiana" of Mr. L'Enfant, Part II., page 202.'

¹ Pellis, ii. 119, says: 'Amédée VIII. mourut à Lausanne. Son corps fut porté à Ripaille, sa résidence ordinaire.'



Amadeus VIII.

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It will be seen from Deyverdun's italics that he dwells with pleasure on the saintly character of Felix. This Pope undoubtedly possessed a varied genius, a sincere and indulgent heart, always open to the finest sentiments of humanity, and his whole career proved the reality of his religious convictions.

Deyverdun's protégé, the Doyen Bridel, says that he asked upon one occasion at a village library near his residence for the 'History of the Council of Basle,' by l'Enfant, and he found written upon the borders of the pages a variety of curious notes. On page 203 he discovered the following canon of 1421:

'We have learned with grief from various quarters, and we have seen with our own eyes, that in many places the women adorn themselves immodestly, with long trains in the form of asps, and other ornaments of an excessive sumptuousness. There are others who with their veils, their hair, and other decorations, turn their heads into monstrosities before and behind. Considering, therefore, that these vanities cause scandals in the souls of the simple-minded, and give rise to evil speech; that thereby many are ruined, because, having exhausted their patrimony, they begin to steal in order to cover their expenses; that, moreover, this luxury gives rise to exhibitions which provoke carnal desires; We, by the approbation of the Holy Council, beseech the faithful in the name of God, under the penalty of excommunication for disobedience, to restrain their wives, their daughters, and their female servants within the bounds of modesty, and to the avoidance of all superfluities. In the same manner, under the pain of excommunication for disobedience, we order all wives to obey their husbands.'¹

It would appear from this that the times have in some respects not greatly changed, and the ancient proverb in the patois of Vaud, *Lo train medje lo bein*—Display devours wealth—has as much point to-day as in the middle ages.

The Doyen, with sly humour, describes another marginal note which he professes to have found in the same work, pencilled in such a small and indistinct hand that he was obliged to use a magnifying-glass to decipher it. It was, he pretends, written

¹ *Conservateur Suisse*, xiii. 277. (I suspect the Doyen took more trouble to invent than to consult.)

opposite another canon, uselessly repeated at each Council, which forbade, under pain of excommunication, all ecclesiastics from the Bishop to the Chaplain, to frequent cabarets, or to indulge in games of chance, commerce, plays, masques, lay clothing, and the chase—whether simple, or with nets, or with a dog, or with a falcon—as things scandalous and injurious to the Church and unhealthy for the members of the clergy who gave themselves up to them. Bridel's amusing note runs as follows :

‘As in time of war all the enregistered citizens should, by the constitution, defend the country, and as ecclesiastics are not borne upon the military lists, but are exempted from carrying arms on account of their condition as men of peace—seeing, nevertheless, that many among them carry them by choice for hunting, I propose the following method of utilising them. Let them be formed, then, into a corps, under the name of *Escouade de Ste. Venerie* ; the uniform to be black, the linings and trimmings blood-colour. The Colonel shall have the title of Nimrod, his lieutenant that of Grand Veneur ; the soldiers to be called whippers-in ; the flag shall bear upon it the design of a gun and a pastoral staff saltire-wise in the horn of St. Hubert. The motto shall be 666, the number of the Beast in the Apocalypse. When the army of the defence enters upon a campaign the *Escouade de Ste. Venerie* will follow it, under the understanding that it is to be free from all other service, excepting the special duty of providing hairy and feathered game for the table of the general and his staff. Its pay will be the skins, the feathers, the antlers and horns, and other uneatable remains of all the beasts taken or killed, which objects will be sold and the proceeds divided in exact proportion to rank. Every morning the levite bugler shall play the air of the Thirsty Stag, and the *Escouade* shall commence its marauding in the woods, the vineyards, the fields, and the tilled or fallow lands, reserving to itself the right, without danger of reprisals, of breaking into rural enclosures, of treading down the cereals, and of following the scent of the pack even into gardens and cemeteries. In this manner the ecclesiastics can exercise their courage against the beasts without running any risk from men, thus being enabled to remain faithful to the ancient canonical

maxim—that the Church has a horror of human blood—even while rendering a real gastronomical service to the army. The order of St. Hubert shall belong to them as a matter of course, and every ecclesiastic who shall prove that he has killed ten beasts with horns or antlers shall wear the proof thereof in his button-hole, suspended by a black and red ribbon. The wives of the said huntsmen or their chambrières [which means both chambermaids and horsewhips], if they have any, can accompany the army, but they must remain in the tents, and cannot be allowed at any time to accompany them except to hunt woodcock.’¹

Paradin, in his Chronicle of Savoy, in closing his account of Amadeus, refers in the following quaint terms to the invention of cannon and printing. His French is of the sixteenth century, and his style is so naïf that I have thought it worth while to preserve the original in a note.

‘In the time of this good and pacific prince were invented in Germany two things of very great and inestimable consequence, of which the first, which is the art of fabricating, charging, and firing off bombs and fiery artillery, is as pernicious, formidable, unhappy, and damnable as the other is profitable, happy, salutary, and recreative, which is the art of impression and the fashion of making writings and books, for this, by its excellence and nobleness, is nothing other than a sweet peace, perfect love, and entire pleasure. The other, on the contrary, is but an impetuous noise, hate, and importunate vexation. This one contains naught but good and profit, the other but evil, loss, and damage. In a word, printing runs to nourish and save men; and cannon do not cease to go off in order to kill them and send them to all the Devils. A noble knight of Mayence on the Rhine, called John Gutemberg Zuniungem, a man of a divine mind, discovered this fashion of printing. A wicked monk of the same country, through his diabolical spirit, imagined the fashion and manner of shooting off cannon.’²

¹ *Conservateur Suisse*, xiii. 278.

² ‘Du temps de ce bon et pacifique Prince, furent inuentees aux Allemagnes deux choses de tres grande et inestimable consequence, dont la premiere qui est l’art de fabriquer, charger, et tirer les Bombardes et Artillerie à feu, est d’autant pernicioieuse, formidable, malheureuse, et damnable, que l’autre est proufitable, heureuse, salutifere, et recreative, qui est l’art d’impression et

As my book is full of curious coincidences, it may be mentioned in passing that Gibbon describes a cannon employed at this time by Mahomet II. at the siege of Adrianople, and that Uckfield in Sussex, which was afterwards the residence of Gibbon's 'adopted son,' M. de Sévery, was the birthplace of the first cannon cast in England.

During his sojourn at La Grotte, Felix V., as we have already described, rebuilt the church of St. Francis, whose history is clearly traceable to the year 1280. The tower of the church was not constructed until 1523, when the syndics and Jean de Fluvio and Sebastien Grand laid the first stone in the presence of the three councils, but the tower on the gate of St. Francis had been built as early as 1445, at the same time as those on the gates of St. Peter and of St. Laurent.¹

If one examines the church now with a little attention, one finds at a certain height the remains of the arches of the ancient windows, and one recognises the new materials employed in the construction of the great windows, which still remain. In the upper part of the great window on the north, near the tower, there exist still the arms of Amadeus VIII. and of his wife, Marie of Burgundy; to the left, a white cross on a red field; to the right, a half-shield bearing fleurs de lys upon an azure field. The same arms were formerly to be seen on the western angle of the stalls placed in the front of the pulpit to the right.

While preparing at my request a plan of the Church of St. Francis, M. Maurice Wirz, an architect, discovered some slight vestiges of portions which formerly existed. The church has apparently undergone notable architectural vicissitudes, corresponding no doubt, more or less, with the social and religious changes that have gone on around it in eventful centuries.

façon de moller les escritures et liures, car ceste cy par son excellence et noblesse n'est autre chose, que vne douce paix, parfaite amour, et entier plaisir. L'autre, au contraire, n'est sinon vn impetueux bruit, haine, et importune facherie. Ceste ci ne contient que bien et prouffit, l'autre que mal, perte, et domage. Somme l'impression court pour nourrir, et sauuer les humains. Et la canonnerie ne cesse de tirer, pour les tuer et les enuoyer à tous les Diables. Vn noble Cheualier de Maience, sus le Rhin, appellé Iean Gutemberg Zuniungen, homme de diuin esprit, trouua ceste façon d'imprimer. Vn meschant Moyne dudit pais, par esprit diabolique la façon et maniere de canonner.'
—*Cronique de Savoye*, par Paradin, Lyon, M.D.LII. p. 883.

¹ Blanchet, 128. Note communicated by M. de Gingins.

In the fifteenth century devotion declined, and we are told that the Bishop Guillaume de Challand neglected his cathedral, and allowed it to be filled with filth, while he employed his treasure to build upon the same hill the castle destined for his residence. At this time the republican spirit penetrated into the towns, but that of chivalry still animated the nobility. The arm of the noble was the sword, that of the bourgeois the dagger. The peasant, covered from head to foot with boiled leather, carried in his hand a club hardened in the fire.¹

CHAPTER XVI

THE Burgundian war towards the latter half of the fifteenth century brought other associations of La Grotte into bold relief. For in February, 1475, an early member of the family of the worthy Pavilliard, Gibbon's instructor, the *advoyer* Pavilliard of Freiburg, was despatched to Morges to demand reparation of the representative of the Count de Romont for an outrage committed upon the Swiss Commissioners near the Château des Clées.

In the following October, the Bernese declared war against the Count, and, advancing from town to town, presented themselves finally before the Château des Clées. Thereupon there ensued a series of furious conflicts, followed by a terrible massacre. The château was commanded by Pierre de Cossonay, and among those who distinguished themselves on that occasion, and fell fighting bravely under his command, was the ancestor of the noble family of de Charrière,² whose descendants were the most intimate friends of Gibbon, and occupied the foremost place in all the entertainments at La Grotte three centuries later.

Of the 150 men composing the garrison, only seventy survived. They were immediately conducted to Orbe for execution, and there arranged in a circle ready to mount the scaffold in turn. All were awaiting their last moment, when a difficulty arose which had not been anticipated. There was not an execu-

¹ Vulliemin, *Canton de Vaud*, 167.

² *Notice Historique sur la Famille de Charrière*. MS. prepared by Colonel Godefroi de Charrière for the author.

tioner to be found in the army, as the Bernese had a short time before themselves cut the throat of the only one they possessed, at Estavayer, for having deprived them by his maladresse of the spectacle of the drowning of the Vandois who had escaped from that horrible massacre. On that occasion the Swiss, who, says Verdeil, were still thirsting for blood and murder, had discovered eleven soldiers of the garrison in hiding, whom they delivered up to the executioner of Berne to be drowned in the lake. The unfortunate creatures were bound together on the same cord, like beads on a rosary, then dragged to the lake and thrown into the waters. Their cries of despair began to rejoice the Swiss, when the cord broke, and those who attempted to escape by swimming were pierced with pikes. In their fury at being deprived of the full measure of their entertainment the Swiss soldiers fell upon the luckless executioner and finished him.¹

As the bloodthirsty victors of Clées were foolishly looking at one another, it occurred to one among them to ask if there was not a man among the prisoners who, in order to save his own life, would be willing to decapitate his companions. A German, the valet of Pierre de Cossonay, offered his services. His great stature and his nationality pleaded in his favour. He was accepted, and five heads quickly fell beside him. In the meantime darkness had arrived, and it was necessary to interrupt the bloody drama. The unhappy beings who were destined to receive death on the morrow were hastily thrown into a dungeon so small and foul as to anticipate the sufferings of the Black Hole of Calcutta, and nineteen perished, suffocated under the weight of their companions. The horrible tragedy was consummated next day by the official assassination of Pierre de Cossonay and four of his companions.

While examining the swords of justice in the arsenal at Berne, I found that each continued in use only until it had cut off 101 heads. The executioner was an outlaw, and, like the sword, must behead 101 persons. When he had reached that number he became an honest citizen again, and dressed like other people, instead of wearing the blood-red costume. He was also no longer obliged to live in a separate place, and obtained

¹ Verdeil, i. 257-260.

the bourgeoisie ; but if he had a son, the latter was compelled to succeed him as headsman. It happened once at Griefensee, during the war of Toggenbourg, that there were so many to be decapitated that the headsman refused to continue, saying that he was not compelled by law to exceed the stipulated number. One of the swords now at Berne was used on that occasion, but the name has been effaced by a careless workman.

There is another Gibbon association with the Château des Clées. About the year 1830 an English gentleman, Mr. Halliday, was journeying along the road to France. When he came to the valley of the Orbe, with the river rolling beneath a bridge of immense height thrown from rock to rock, and the Château des Clées crowning a lofty summit, he was so enchanted by the picturesque scene that he purchased the ancient donjon, turned it into a residence, and placed therein a portion of the library of Gibbon, which he had bought at Lausanne from Dr. Schöll. He passed several seasons in this historical place with his wife and servants, dividing his time between reading, fishing, and exploring the romantic surroundings. The Tower of Clées is now the property of the family of de Cerjat, descendants of Gibbon's friends, who use it as a rendezvous for the chase.

The Burgundian war of 1475, mentioned above, brought into view another name intimately associated with La Grotte. For the forces which had destroyed the Château des Clées burned Montagny, near Yverdon, the seigniorial residence of the family of that name, seated there from a very remote period.

The noble Albert de Montagny figures in an act of the year 1199. In the fifteenth century the male line became extinct, and the family heiress married noble François d'Arnay of Orbe. Their daughter became the wife of the noble Humbert de Molin, seignior of Treytorrens, who was thus enabled to transmit to his descendants the seigniorship of Montagny. His representatives in the last century, the proprietors of La Grotte, were sometimes called by the family name, sometimes by the name of this seigniorship, and sometimes the two names were joined.

Pierre de Molin was the owner of one-half of the seigniorship of Treytorrens as early as 1396, and his great-grandson Pierre, father of Humbert, commissioner of the Duke of Savoy, received

additional titles of nobility from the Emperor Charles V. at Milan in 1541.¹

I found at La Grotte a great number of original and inedited parchments, which amply attest the dignity and antiquity of this remarkable family, and upon which I shall draw from time to time.

After the battle of Grandson in 1476, whose commemorative fête was celebrated at Lausanne in 1876, Lausanne witnessed another magnificent pageant; for after his defeat at that battle, the Duke of Burgundy, having placed himself in communication with Antoine de Illens, bailiff of Lausanne, belonging to the family of that name with whom Gibbon was intimate, encamped in the plains of the Loup below the city, where he consolidated the remains of his army, and received reinforcements during a sojourn of two months.

On Easter Day, says M. de Gingins, the Duke of Burgundy, with the Duchess Yolande of Savoy, attended High Mass, which was celebrated with great pomp in the cathedral. That venerable edifice was decorated with magnificent Flemish tapestries from the pavilions of the Duke, while many other imposing ornaments were contributed by the Duchess.

Early in the day the Duke, richly robed and accompanied by the Prince of Tarnete, the Pope's legate, the ambassadors of the Emperor, and the principal seigniors and captains of his suite, repaired to the cathedral, where the Duchess Regent of Savoy, the Duke Philibert, her son, and the ambassadors of Milan and Naples awaited him with the whole court.

Before the celebration of Mass the Duke's chamberlain solemnly proclaimed peace with the Emperor. The ratifications of the treaty were then exchanged with great ceremony, to the chiming of all the bells and in the midst of a brilliant flourish of trumpets.

At this time Lausanne was encumbered with troops of all arms, and the city overflowed with strangers. The Duchess Yolande, Regent of Savoy, who had arrived from Geneva with her children and her court on March 29, preceded by three thousand horsemen and as many footmen, was lodged in the

¹ Martignier, 228; *Article Montagny le Corbe*; *MS. Pedigree of the Family of De Molin*; *Archives of the House of De Molin*.

imperial castle of La Caroline. The Castle of Menthon, all the monasteries, and all the hostelrys of the Rue de Bourg were filled with guests. The embassies from Milan and Naples were lodged at the Lion d'Or, a building still standing in the Rue de Bourg, now numbered 16, where Charles James Fox stayed during his visit to Gibbon in 1788.

St. Francis and La Grotte had their complement of royal guests. The latest arrivals were obliged to content themselves with quarters in the abandoned villages from St. Sulpice to Lutry. The lack of provisions soon made itself felt, and gave rise to troubles in the army, which were only quelled by the energy of the Duke.

It was in one of these bloody encounters that an English knight was killed, whose skull was found in the ancient cemetery of the Madeleine at Lausanne, holding between its firmly shut teeth a rose noble—a gold coin of the reign of Edward IV.

A few days later Charles the Bold was seized with a violent fever, and was transported, tradition says, to a large house in the Rue de Bourg, known to-day as the *Maison Bauverd*, but which belonged in the last century to the famous Polier de Bottens, the father of Madame de Montolieu. This hospitable mansion was a favourite resort of Gibbon and Deyverdun.

Charles was threatened with dropsy, and for several days his life was in danger. He was treated by his ordinary medical attendant, Don Salvator, and by Dr. Bartolomeo, physician of the Duchess. So long as his condition excited anxiety the latter attendant never left his side.

Upon his recovery the Prince ordered a general review of his troops upon the plains of Ecublens, where, 374 years later—namely, in the month of May 1800—the First Consul, Napoleon Bonaparte, reviewed his army before he passed the St. Bernard and gained the battle of Marengo.

CHAPTER XVII

I WILL not linger over the defeat of the Duke of Burgundy at Morat, June 22, 1476, and the sacking of Lausanne by the Count de Gruyère. The Bernese finished what the latter began; for, the moment they heard of De Gruyère's expedition, they hastened thither themselves, and entered one end of Lausanne as the Count issued out at the other, guarding a long file of wagons filled with booty. The arrival of the Swiss confederates put the finishing touch to the misfortunes of the citizens of Lausanne. Rendered furious by being forestalled in the pillage, the Bernese sacked both public and private edifices, and swept up everything that had escaped the hands of De Gruyère's followers.

The cathedral of Notre Dame was obliged to contribute its candelabra and its vases in gold and silver, while priceless reliquaries garnished with precious stones disappeared like magic from the treasury of the Holy Virgin.

The church and convent of the Madeleine, where the archives and riches of the city were kept, especially suffered. The enemy forced open all the iron coffers, which they supposed were filled with silver, but had their trouble for their pains. They found only the charters of liberties and privileges of the Commune.

The pillage lasted five days. The church and convent of St. Francis and La Grotte did not escape the common fate; but there is no record of the loss of their relics and precious vessels, owing doubtless to secret recesses and subterranean passages in their labyrinthine vaults. The Swiss forces were only arrested at the gates of Geneva by the voice of Louis XI., and it was only through his intervention at the Congress of Freiburg, July 25, 1476, that Berne was prevented from obtaining, in payment of the expenses of the war, the Pays de Vaud, Geneva, and Chablais.

It was in the course of a visit in October, 1476, of a Swiss embassy composed of the men who had commanded at Morat,

that Louis XI. first conceived the idea of committing the safeguard of the person of the sovereign of France to the fidelity of a Swiss Guard. His son, Charles VIII., gave to the company of the Cent Suisses a banner with the glorious device: 'Ea est fiducia gentis.' The idea was further developed in 1616, when was organised that famous Swiss Guard whose successors fell in the wholesale massacre of October 10, 1792, while defending the Tuileries.

The unfortunate Duke of Burgundy, having lost the battles of Grandson and Morat, as already related, finally perished in 1477, in the battle of Nancy. The death of this unhappy Prince removed one grave danger from the ambitious path of the Bernese at a moment of the greatest importance, when the questions which have since agitated mankind were coming to the front, and the success of the Swiss had brought republicanism face to face with monarchy.¹

The treaty of Freiburg really gave the confederates a recognised foothold in the Pays de Vaud; it left them in possession of Cerlier, Grandson, Montagny-le-Corboz, Orbe, Echallens, Morat, Illens, Everdes, and the four jurisdictions of Aigle; while their devoted friend, the Count de Gruyère, held Aubonne and Oron. The Bishop of Lausanne now only feebly asserted his rights over the territories of the bishopric—Avenches, Bulle, Laroche, Courtilles, Lucens, Lausanne and its outskirts, and the four parishes of Lavaux.

The House of Savoy was permitted an apparent sovereignty over some towns and scattered seigniories. But its power seemed a mockery because weighted with a heavy mortgage in favour of the Cantons.

Even these vestiges of the glory which had followed the fortunes of the Savoyan house in the days of Peter and Amadeus VIII. were only wrung from the unwilling victors through the masterly combinations of the noble Humbert de Cerjat, seignior of Combremont and La Molière. This distinguished patriot, who was bailiff of Vaud for the Duke of Savoy and the Count de Romont, was employed at intervals between 1450 and 1487 upon various embassies, in the course of which he displayed proofs of sagacity and ability, and justified the family attribute

¹ *Conservateur Suisse*, i. 67; *Valliemmin*, i. 275; *Johnson*, iv. 682.

which popular judgment had anciently embalmed in the word Policy. As deputy at Freiburg he conciliated the esteem of the confederates, and was recognised as an eloquent and successful defender of his country's liberties in the Assembly of the Estates convoked by the Bernese, November 24, 1475, at Moudon.¹

Owing to the intimacy of the family of De Cerjat with Gibbon, and their close connection with La Grotte, some further details may be interesting. The Cantonal Archives at Lausanne, those of Moudon, the *Lexicon Helvétique*, Ruchat's History, and the family archives and genealogies, embracing more than 2,200 parchments, from the year 1280 to the Reformation,² furnish ample information, which we can only glance at in passing, concerning a name which has been illustrious in the Pays de Vaud, Savoy, and England, since the fourteenth century.

The magnificent diploma, with its beautifully emblazoned arms and its great seal, still in perfect preservation, was given on October 9, 1415, by Sigismond, King of the Romans and King of Hungary, Dalmatia, and Croatia, to Rodolph de Cerjat the elder, and his descendants, in confirmation of the nobility of his family—the ancient possessors of the seigniory of Denezy, and of the metraly of Moudon and other estates.

Humbert, above mentioned, the son of Rodolph, was originally intended for the Church, and in fact received, in 1425, the first clerical tonsure in the Church of St. Maire, an ancient and interesting monument of Lausanne, still standing next the gate of the same name, but now literally a church militant, having been turned into barracks.³ Although Humbert abandoned religious affairs to enter on an illustrious career in the State, he did not forget his Christian duties, nor neglect to manifest his appreciation of the blessings fallen to his lot. He founded in 1487 a chapel dedicated to St. Peter in the Church of St. Mary of Moudon, and endowed it with a fund of 100 golden reals to ensure the celebration of two masses.⁴

As a result of the battles of Grandson, Morat, and Nancy, the power, influence, and renown of the Bernese had gained such

¹ De Montet, i. 136.

² Collection of M. Dulon of Vevey; MS. volume entitled *Familles Anciennes*.

³ *Feuille d'Avis de Lausanne*, Dec. 20, 1879. (All torn down 1890.)

⁴ Martignier, 496; *Conservateur Suisse*, xii. 364, note 12.

headway, that fifteen times within two years they were called to act as arbitrators in various international differences.

The Bishop of Lausanne, who had not remained indifferent to the pretensions of his subjects to independence, undertook to protest. But in 1525, the city of Lausanne, having entered into an alliance with Berne and Freiburg, seized the city gates, and placed them under the guard of her own troops instead of those of the Bishop; and finally judgment was given against the Bishop in the arbitration confided to Berne and Soleure, in 1533.¹

As long ago as 1517 (not 1532, as some declare), when Charles III. of Savoy visited Lausanne, its independence of the Bishop and its general character as a free town were vindicated by the subsequent burgomaster, Louis de Seigneux, of the ancient and noble house of that name, the ancestor of a family allied to the Deyverduns, and of Baron George de Seigneux, the friend of Gibbon and the amateur author of an interesting series of silhouettes of his eminent contemporaries.

Advancing towards the Duke of Savoy, De Seigneux, the leading member of the Council, presented to him the keys in the name of the city, with this significant compliment: '*Has claves nostrae civitatis tibi trado, non ut in eâ domineris, sed ut in eâ securius dormias*'—which fortunately he took care to explain in French: '*Je vous remets ces clefs de notre ville, non pour que vous y dominiez, mais afin que vous y dormiez avec plus de confiance.*'

The above version, which is to be found in '*Les Délices de la Suisse*,' is confirmed by the historian Ruchat; but I am indebted to M. Ernest Chavannes for the following rendering, taken from the contemporary manuscript records of the city: '*Illustrissime princeps, presentamus vobis claves villae nostrae, ut in eadem possis tute et secure quiescere et non alio modo.*' M. Chavannes believes that Ruchat had access to other contemporary documents, so that we are at liberty to take our choice between the two readings.²

The banneret Secretan, a connection of the Deyverduns, in the unpublished manuscript already cited, says that the different

¹ Martignier, 502.

² Pellis, ii. 174; Levade, 170; *Délices de la Suisse*, ii. 253; Olivier, ii. 753.

attempts of the Dukes of Savoy to obtain sovereignty over Lausanne, and the haughtiness with which each exercised his pretended vicariate, caused the Assembly of the Estates of the Bishop to annul, in 1518, the recognition of the Savoyan vicariate, and to reaffirm the status of the Bishop as seignior prince and imperial vicar, in accordance with the Emperor Maximilian's bull of December 2, 1510.

Difficulties again arose between the Bishop and the burgesses (among whom was the above Louis de Seigneux), who established a herald and a council of two hundred. Rome decided in favour of the Bishop, and Charles against him, by a sentence in which he attempted to take up the position of suzerain of Lausanne. Thereupon there was a meeting of the three orders of Lausanne with the delegates of Freiburg, Soleure, and Berne. They annulled their recognition of the Duke of Savoy's vicariate, and reaffirmed the Bishop's sovereignty.

Among those present in the second estate was Girard Grand, Doctor of Laws (a relative of the Deyverduns), whose will I found in La Grotte. Claude Tissot, of the family of Gibbon's famous physician, was a deputy of Villarzel; while Louys Bugnion of Chexbres, one of whose family occupied La Grotte in Deyverdun's time, was one of the representatives of the parish of St. Saphorin and the Château of Gleyrolles; and on behalf of the village of Belmont appeared Jehan du Bugnion, who belonged to a family whose name in the Roman language signified a spring. Hence the heraldic fountain still carried in its arms.¹

The Bugnions are mentioned at Belmont as early in 1321 in a Latin act of donation to the charitable brotherhood of the Holy Ghost in that locality. A branch established itself at Lausanne in the fifteenth century; and in the accounts of the town of 1475, when Charles the Bold was quartered there with his army, and levied contribution, the widow of Claude Bugnion is recognised as having paid the tax upon a place situated near her house, which formed the city gate opening upon Montbenon. Nine years before Jehan du Bugnion's official presence at Lausanne, his kinsman, Dominus Girard Bugnion, founded

¹ MS. of M. Secretan.

two masses to be said weekly in the Chapel of St. Maur attached to the Cathedral.¹

Anthony Bugnion, who acquired the bourgeoisie in 1601, was the ancestor of a distinguished family whose descendants were intimately allied with Deyverdun, Gibbon, and La Grotte. His grandson, Anthony Bugnion, born in 1663, who was castellan of the Bishopric and Councillor of the Two Hundred, was brother-in-law of the Councillor Isaac Grand, whose descendants are the present family of Grand at Lausanne, represented by Colonel Paul Grand, and Grand d'Hauteville, represented by M. Grand d'Hauteville, proprietor of the Château of Hauteville, near Vevey. One of Isaac Grand's posterity was Gibbon's 'Nanette' Grand,² daughter of the Chevalier George Grand, seignior of Esnon, who married the distinguished English General Augustin Prevost, and became the mother of General Sir George Prevost, Governor-General and Commander of the Forces in British North America, who was born in New Jersey. Another is the present M. Frederick Grand d'Hauteville, now resident in the United States, and allied to the family of General Macomb, Commander-in-Chief of the United States Army, who defeated the above Sir George Prevost at the battle of Plattsburg on September 11, 1814.

CHAPTER XVIII

THERE was a continuance of the spirit of chivalry in the Pays de Vaud and in the Court of Savoy in the sixteenth century. An illustration of this was the tournament of the married and unmarried. Simon de Blonay defended the cause of the Benedicts, and the Sieur de Corsant that of the bachelors. The two champions were distinguished by their gallant bearing, but the married men conquered in the person of chivalrous Simon de Blonay, and De Corsant set out to perform penance and to cry mercy of the Dame de Blonay. Not finding her at the castle of St. Paul, on the Savoyan side of the lake, he

¹ Letter of M. C. A. Bugnion to the author, Sept. 15, 1881.

² Notice on the Bugnion family prepared by M. C. A. Bugnion for the author (MS.); also Genealogy of the Grand family (MS.).

crossed the Lemman at night, and reached the venerable castle of Blonay, above Vevey, still in excellent preservation. The noble châtelaine entertained him at a banquet, where he won all hearts and lost his own to Yolande de la Villette; and the château witnessed a sumptuous marriage feast twelve years after Columbus proceeded on his first voyage.

And now we come to another mention of St. Francis convent and La Grotte. In 1528, the Vicar of Prilly and some other persons killed a chaplain named Louis Perret. He was arrested by the Bishop and imprisoned, but having made his escape betook himself instantly to that convent, which enjoyed the right of sanctuary. At the request of the Bishop, who acted firmly on this occasion, the council of the town deputed four of its members to demand the surrender of the criminal from the guardian of the monastery. The delegation succeeded, after making a formal declaration that the action of the conventual authorities on this occasion should not be held a precedent, or jeopardise in any way the immunities of the establishment.

In the meantime the Reformation had penetrated to Berne, and in the same year, at the close of a public discussion, the Council of the Two Hundred, inspired by the reformer Haller, abolished mass, adopted the reform, and seized the property of the clergy. But Lucerne, Uri, Schwytz, Unterwald, and Zug remained faithful to the Roman Church and hastened to take up arms. At Cappel they encountered the Protestant forces of Zurich and Berne, to which Lausanne, though still Catholic, had contributed a corps of arquebusiers in virtue of its treaty with Berne.

The shock was terrific. Zurich lost her best warriors. Zwinglius fell pierced with mortal wounds, and the Protestants were put to flight. Nevertheless the Catholic cantons after their victory offered terms of peace which were quickly accepted, and the Protestants and Catholics retained their faiths and preserved their respective rights.

Religious troubles also broke out at Geneva, and the citizens expelled the Bishop and his partisans. The refugees were warmly received in the châteaux of the Pays de Vaud, and the one of Pontverre, whose castle had been burned by the Bernese during the Burgundian wars, became chief of the league called

Chevaliers de la Cuiller—Knights of the Spoon—from an incident at a banquet of the chiefs in the château of Sacconay-Bursinel. One of the seigniors, in applauding the principles of the League, expressed his determination to maintain the same: 'Aussi vrai que je la tiens'—holding up his wooden spoon—'nous avalerons Genève.' The rest of the company applauded with enthusiasm, brandishing their spoons, and finally attaching them to their sides like daggers, as a mark of their association.¹

There is in that most faithful picture of the Vaudois life and society of the sixteenth century—the '*Memoirs of Pierrefleur, Grand Banderet of Orbe*'—the following later reference to this society: 'It is to be noted that all the noblemen of the Pays de Vaud did make a common alliance, under the name of the Confraternity of the Spoon, with the requirement that all the members must be noblemen, subjects of the Duke of Savoy, and that each should wear round his neck a silk ribbon, from which should be suspended a gold or silver spoon, and that he who failed to bear this emblem should be subject to a certain fine.'²

Dr. Jacob Spon, whose travels in Greece in 1675-6 afforded me pleasure during my long residence at Athens, published at Lyons (1680) a history of Geneva full of information concerning this period. Therein are to be found many details touching the Noblemen of the Spoon, although he incorrectly assigns the first movement of this political body to the year 1527 instead of a year later. Poor Spon, who was born at Lyons, and rendered invaluable services to archæology and history, was obliged to leave France on account of his Protestantism, and finally died in great poverty in the hospital at Vevey in 1685, aged thirty-eight. His '*History of Geneva*,' though meritorious, contains many errors, in a measure corrected in the edition of 1730 by the useful notes of Jean Antoine Gautier. Spon wrote in good faith, but was betrayed into misstatements through the unreliable chronicles of Bonivard. The latter, in order to gain money in addition to the pension allowed him by the Council of Geneva, composed a series of historical romances

¹ Verdeil, i. 312.

² *Mémoires de Pierrefleur, Grand Banderet d'Orbe, 1580-1561*, publiés par A. Verdeil, Lausanne, 1856, pp. 8-12.

instead of availing himself of the veritable historical materials placed at his disposal.

When the Bernese arrived at Moudon—ancient capital of the Pays de Vaud—a commission came out to surrender the town. It met with a favourable reception, securing for its city the most liberal terms, and the largest liberties and privileges. One of the principal members of this deputation was the councillor Boniface Bridel, ancestor of the Doyen Bridel, the *protégé* and friend of Deyverdun and Gibbon.

Rumours of the speedy approach of the hostile forces were not long in reaching the authorities of Lausanne. In January 1536 the Bishop, Sebastian de Montfaucon, had quitted Lausanne and betaken himself to his château of Gleyrolles, whose remains attest the splendour of its former occupants, although the family motto here and in the cathedral of Lausanne, *Si qua fata sinant*—‘If the fates permit’—seemed a presentiment of the evil days that overtook them.

On the 25th of that month the Bishop wrote to his bailiff at Vevey, announcing to him his intention to oppose in every possible manner the advance of the Bernese. This was the first proof which the latter obtained of the enmity of that ecclesiastic. The Bishop returned the next day from Lavaux full of hope, which died within him as he marked the unfaltering progress of his foes, and that Lausanne not only refused to serve under him, but even sent a contingent to reinforce the invaders marching to conquer the Pays de Vaud and succour Geneva.

A curious recital of all these movements was recorded in the manual of the Council by the secretary of the town of Lutry. This volume, which was consulted by the historian Ruchat, has disappeared; but a detailed extract (MS.) made at an early period is in the possession of M. Louis Carrard, former pastor of Lausanne, who has kindly placed it in my hands. A portion of it would seem to have been included in the excerpt found among the papers of M. Ruchat; but M. Carrard has made an addition to it from an ancient copy found among the papers of M. Guillieron, pastor at Cully, which has never been published.

The author, John Marsens, gives a full account of the hurrying, the alarm, disturbance, agreements, disputes, and finally the despair of the faithful; and he notes, as an important fact,

without explaining why, that the three parishes of Lavaux resolved together that each of their inhabitants should wear a blue mark in front and a red one behind.

Lutry is to this day a queer old town. The streets have no names. The place is divided into the quarter of the Bourg Neuf, that of the Temple, and that of the Hôtel de Ville. The church is the eastern boundary of the last, and here are many narrow ways and venerable houses with graceful galleries and arches.

Hither finally came the army of the seigniors of Berne to dine on Sunday, March 26, 1536, having left Lausanne undisturbed. The authorities furnished an abundance of wine; both Bernese and citizens drank freely. Discussions were followed by assaults, in which one of the Bernese was killed and several wounded. The amount which the inhabitants of Lutry were afterwards obliged to pay on this account indicates that the Bernese valued the life of one of their soldiers at 100 gold crowns, equal to 1,135 francs of modern money. They exacted for a man wounded in the legs 20 gold crowns or 237 francs, and 15 crowns or 170 francs 25 centimes for one wounded in the nose. They only required the payment of 8 crowns or 34 francs 5 centimes for three blows from stones—that is, 11 francs 35 centimes for each blow. However, they recovered in addition, says Verdeil, the expenses incurred during their illness, and the charges of the barbers who bound up their wounds.

CHAPTER XIX

On the day following the feast of the Bernese at Lutry, March 27, 1536, they invested Chillon, which was defended for the Royal House of Savoy by the Châtelain Antoine de Beaufort¹; and yet Mr. Tennant, who visited it in 1821, has deliciously reversed the position of the respective parties. He declares that Charles V., Duke of Savoy, stormed and took it in 1536; that he there found great hidden treasures, and many

¹ MS. extract from the *Memoirs of the Council of the Town of Lutry.*
12

wretched beings pining away their lives in dungeons, among them the good Bonivard !¹

The castle of Chillon is built on a rock in the lake, and surrounded by water so deep that the plummet descends eight hundred feet. It is at the foot of a mountain, between which and the fortress there was then a passage only wide enough for two horsemen abreast.

Before the discovery of gunpowder Chillon was impregnable. Various assaults had been made upon it, notably by a German army in 1265, which, while encamped near the present Church of Montreux, was overwhelmed by Peter of Savoy. The ancient chapel there, now used as a church library, was erected, according to tradition, upon the spot where the battle took place, and (says M. Vulliemin) in commemoration of that event. But this legend is incorrect, for there formerly existed at Montreux an ancient charter in Latin, which mentioned that the chapel was built in the twelfth century, at the cost of a stranger, who came thither an invalid, and, having recovered health, embodied his gratitude in this form. So that this chapel may be considered a monumental proof, 600 years of age, of the value of Montreux as a health resort. The delighted foreigner not only founded the chapel, but endowed it with three daily masses, to be said for ever for the repose of his soul.

The charter above mentioned was formerly in the possession of Mr. Sherman, a Moravian minister from Yorkshire, who lived at Montreux and died at Lausanne. He found it in a chest of old papers in the chapel itself, and showed it to Mr. Blackbyrn, a warden of the English Church at Montreux, who mentioned the facts to me.

Before returning to the thread of my story, let me remark that Peter of Savoy's victory at Chillon is one of the most important events in the history of the Pays de Vaud. It was followed by the surrender of Yverdon and submission of the Lausannois, and it brought this whole region under the rule of one man, whose domestic, warlike, and statesmanlike qualities enabled him to place it on the road to fortune, and endow it with the germs of institutions which afterwards carried it to the highest prosperity.

¹ *The Complete Works of Lord Byron*, Paris, 1835. Note signed E., p. 818.

In 1266 the bones of the slain were carefully gathered, and an ossuary was formed, whose remains the venerable Dr. Louis Levade—who died at Vevey in 1839, aged ninety-two—said he had seen in his youth, near the church, at a point where skulls were found in 1877, one being now in the museum.

The battle of Chillon ought to be commemorated by the parish of Montreux by the erection on its site of a handsome marble memorial with appropriate inscription.

But to return to the Bernese and their attack upon Chillon. On March 28, 1536, the bombardment began. Towards night the commander of the castle offered to retire with his men and their arms and baggage. But Nægueli, the general, replied that it was sufficient that Beaufort and his Italians should depart; that the others, their own fellow-citizens, must be delivered to them in safety. But while the pourparlers were going on, the chief with his men escaped in a great galley, and, eluding the Genevan fleet, crossed the lake to Lugrin, where he cast his artillery into the water, burnt his ship, and fled with his followers to the mountains.

Agony seized on the hearts of the Bernese, and they returned in deep grief, thinking that the poor prisoners had perished in the flames. On reaching the castle they hurried with anxious steps to the dungeons, passed the hall of execution, and beheld with indignation the wheel, cord, axe, and other instruments of torture. Reaching the inner prison, they found the Prior of St. Victor chained to a column.

‘Bonivard, thou art free!’

‘And Geneva?’

‘It is also free.’

We are told that he seemed indifferent to the thought of seeing once more the blue sky; as he crossed the threshold he turned and bade a long farewell as if quitting his father’s house. He had lived so long in semi-darkness and with shadows that the light of day wounded his enfeebled eyes.

He was really an unworthy man; but his six years’ imprisonment had surrounded him with a halo of martyrdom. Thus it came to pass that this strange mixture of faith, of scepticism, of devotion, of indifference, of hatred, of malice, of gaiety, and of unblushing licentiousness, became a popular idol,

ultimately immortalised by Byron in his 'Prisoner of Chillon.' History is full of such contradictions.

It is a sufficient commentary on Bonivard's character, that he allowed his last wife, an ex-nun, to be executed upon a false charge of adultery, although he said upon her trial that he had nothing to reproach her with, except that she pressed him often to preach, and considered that he did wrong to drink so hard with his friends. It should be added that, having made a vow of perpetual chastity, he did not hesitate to marry four times, nor to take a concubine into the bargain.¹

He was born in 1493 and died in 1570. His portrait is in Baron de Grenus' 'Biographical and Historical Fragments' (Geneva, 1815).

On October 31, 1542, Bonivard was officially commanded to set to work upon the chronicles of the town.

Two weeks later, the city authorities gave Calvin a tun of old wine for the care he had taken of Geneva; and a month afterwards the Council ordered the word 'Jesus' to be engraved upon the city gates.

In the following year Bonivard was permitted to print a ballad upon the Ancient and New Device of Geneva. About the same time, Farel having come into town with ragged clothing, the authorities gave him a new costume. On June 16, 1545, Bonivard, having spoken injuriously against one of the authorities, was condemned to prison, and to ask pardon of the aforesaid magistrate; but six months afterwards an order was made, giving a box of sugared almonds to noble Francis Bonivard while working upon the Chronicles, and a pair of shoes to his servant, who writes under him.

In September 1546 the Dame Corne, wife of Francis Bonivard, having attended Mass, and complaints having been made against her, it was ordered that 'she shall be treated

¹ J. Galliffe, *Notices Généalogiques sur les Familles Genevoises*, Genève, 1886, iii. 68, 69. This author says that Bonivard was married four times, and that the third wife was beheaded; but De Montet, i. 72, names his four wives, and declares that the last was executed by drowning. Consult also *Le Protestantisme dans la Mâconnais et la Bresse au XVIe et XVIIe siècle*, François Bonivard, sa vie et ses écrits, par Edmond Chevrier. Also *Les Ecrits de Bonivard*, par Antoine Flobert; and *Bonivard*, par le Docteur Chaponnière, Genève, 1846 or 1847. Lettre sur Bonivard au commencement du deuxième volume des Réformateurs, à la date 1527.

mildly in consideration of her husband and of the syndic Corne.'

On April 11, 1547, Bonivard made a present of his books to the town, at whose expense a secretary is furnished him. On June 5 he requested from the Council a communication of all the documents that might serve for his 'History of Geneva,' as he could not continue beyond the time when he was taken a prisoner to Chillon, not being sufficiently informed as to later events. He also prays the Council to assign him, during the approaching winter, a cleaner place to work than his house, not being able to compose in a proper manner in the room where he is in the habit of eating with his family. He declares, however, that he places himself entirely in the hands of the Council as to the reward of his labours. Whereupon it is resolved to accede to his demands, and to beg him also to prepare the history of the time during which he had been in prison, taking care to inform himself as to what he had not seen through those who had been witnesses.

On October 24, 1549, it was resolved that it would be *à propos* to join to the history of Bonivard two paintings, one representing the city of Geneva 'as it was before the wars and the demolition of the faubourgs, and the other as it is at the present time.'

The next entry indicates a strange custom. On the representation of Calvin, it is expressly forbidden that men and women should bathe together in the same tanks—*ce qui est une chose honteuse*, adds the decree; and soon after an additional rule orders all bathers above the age of ten to wear a breech-cloth, indicating that before this both sexes had disported themselves together in a state of nature.

On January 20, 1551, Bonivard, in pursuance of his determination expressed four years previously, makes a present of his books to the town after his death, to commence a public library.

The last entry concerning Bonivard is in the year 1558, and directs that proper aid shall still be extended to him, in consideration of his having just returned thanks to the authorities for attendance and nourishment during his illness, and recommended himself to their continued care *in his extreme old age*.

Bonivard seems to have desired to impose upon the good nature of Geneva, for at this time he was only sixty-five in years.¹

Galiffe, in his notice of the family of Bonivard, says that the latter always wrote his name with a single *n*, and that the family was seated in Savoy in the early part of the fifteenth century. They owned at one time the stronghold of Grillie, afterwards the Château of Blonay, in Evian; and they inter-married with the Russins, seigniors of Allamand, near Evian, in Savoy.

Count Amédée de Foras ('*Armorial et Nobiliaire de Savoie*') says that the first mention of the Bonivards is in 1244, but that the first certain ancestor of Bonivard was Rodolphus, who lived at the close of the fourteenth century.

Aymon Bonivard was castellan of the Allinges and of Thonon in 1357, and possessed a house at Chambéry ten years later. He was the brother of Bonivard's great-great-grandfather.

Ludovicus Bonivard, who bought the seigniorie of Grilly, and the château, now the casino, at Evian, was born in 1495, and was the brother of Francis Bonivard's grandfather.

This line of the Bonivards died out at the close of the sixteenth century. A branch which lived at Vimines, near Chambéry, went to Nice at the commencement of the seventeenth century, and finished in the family of Isnardi.

The Bonivards were not of knightly origin. They were ancient bourgeois of Chambéry, but simple merchants. From the thirteenth century, however, they possessed feudal properties, and it is probably in this way that nobility came to them. One of their number, Amé Bonivard, already mentioned as a member of the Annunciation, filled many embassies, and took an active part in the events of the glorious reign of the Green Count of Savoy.

Antoine de Beaufort, who arrested Bonivard in 1530, as described by Bonivard himself, belonged to the family of De Beaufort of Savoy, whose name was originally De Menthon. St. Bernard was a member of this noble house, and in his day his branch still preserved the name of De Menthon. His father was Richard de Menthon, and the head of the other branch was the Baron de Beaufort.

¹ *Fragments Biographiques et Historiques extraits des Registres de Genève*, 1815.

The traditions of the neighbourhood state that this family of De Beaufort, which is now extinct—although the De Menthons still exist in Savoy—erected castles in Palestine in the time of the Crusades, in which they took part. It was formerly thought that the celebrated families of De Beaufort, of France and England, sprang from this stock, but Count Amédée de Foras pronounces this assertion inadmissible.

There is something sad in tracing the history of these historic houses, and in finding that they have disappeared, leaving none to perpetuate their name or honours. Sometimes the change from ancient grandeur to modern poverty is so appalling that one can scarcely regret the death of one so situated. For instance, François de Chissé, a humble preceptor at Aix-les-Bains, died there in 1879, without children. He was the last male heir of a family of which Count Amédée de Foras says, 'After the sovereign house of the name and of the province of Faucigny, and the branches issuing from it, the race of Chissé is certainly the most illustrious of this country.'¹

CHAPTER XX

ON the evening of March 31, 1536, under the command of General Nægueli, the Bernese army made its entry into Lausanne.

When it took possession of the castle, the Bishop, Sebastian de Montfaucon, made good his escape by an underground passage, the scene of the assassination of an unfortunate woman by one of Montfaucon's canons, in Professor Deneley's romance, 'Les Egyptiens.'

The rapid success of the Bernese in the Pays de Vaud may be attributed to the hope, founded upon positive promises, that all kinds of privileges, including representation, would be maintained; but it should be partly ascribed to the spread of the religious Reformation. This movement had acquired such an ascendancy over the inhabitants of both town and country, that they welcomed the Bernese army as friends coming to their

¹ *Armorial et Nobiliaire de Savoie*, par le Comte Amédée de Foras.

relief in a great spiritual crisis. The preachers of the new doctrine had indeed, in the beginning, encountered difficulties, but, being warmly sustained by Berne, they received in the end welcome throughout nearly the whole canton.

The Bernese now completed their possession of the country, and put an end to the dynasty of the Savoy Barons of Vaud. The Fribourgeois and the Valaisans shared the spoils, while Francis I. made himself master of Turin, and deprived Charles III. of Piedmont, and the rest of his dominions.¹

On July 5, 1536, appeared the edict of the seigniors of Berne, which ordered a public dispute on religion to take place at Lausanne, October 1 following. The Emperor Charles V. thereupon addressed a letter dated Savigliano, July 16, 1536, to his 'imperial city' of Lausanne, directing the Council and the community to reject this dispute, as well as all other changes in matters of faith. The municipal bodies of Lausanne accordingly decided to continue to live as good Catholics, while awaiting the convocation of a general council, and refused to become subjects of a foreign city, or to enter upon the mode of life which Berne, without even consulting the three estates of Lausanne, desired to impose upon them.

These resolutions were carried to Berne with great solemnity, but at the moderate cost of 176 francs and 80 centimes, by three members of the Council—M. de Dortans, seignior of Berchier, Fey and St. Cierge (maternal ancestor of Gibbon's friends, the De Saussures of Lausanne, who inherited these seigniories), M. Burdet, and Dr. Girard Grand, who were received with honours.²

Berne now inaugurated the policy which she successfully carried out during the next two and a half centuries. Giving an evasive answer, she played cat-like with the good people of Lausanne, until their strength was exhausted in futile struggles, when she quietly asserted her power and carried her points.

On the day selected the cathedral was crowded to listen to a discussion, whose result had been foreshadowed in the reply of Bishop Sebastian de Montfaucon when invited to send his most learned canon to take part in a similar conference at Berne, in

¹ Pellis, ii.

² Verdeil, ii.

1527: 'I have no one sufficiently versed in the Scriptures to assume this duty.'¹

The Dominican Monbouson; the physician Blancherose; Drogui, Vicar of Morges; Mimard, schoolmaster at Vevey; Berrilly, Vicar of Prévessin; Jean Michel, Doyen of Vevey; and Ferrand de Loÿs, Captain of the Society of the Youth of Lausanne, sustained the Roman Catholic side; Farel and Viret, assisted by Master John Calvin, then comparatively unknown, were the triumphant leaders of the Reform.

Four Bernese Commissioners were present, and the meeting was presided over by two Reformers and two Roman Catholics, one of the latter being the Doctor of Laws, Girard Grandis, of the Council of Lausanne. Four secretaries engrossed the proceedings, and recorded the final victory of Protestantism; also the abjuration of the Roman religion by several who had warmly advocated its claims during the debate.

Bocion has transferred this striking scene to canvas. Two of the Bernese Commissioners—the Chancellor Pierre Zyro, and the former Provost Nicholas de Watteville, the ancestor of one of Gibbon's friends—occupy the left of the picture. The four notaries are seated around the table, which is in the centre. Farel occupies the reading-desk with the Bible in his hand, and is arguing—a little man of poor appearance, with a vulgar face, a narrow forehead, a naturally pale, and now sunburnt, complexion, a small chin with two or three tufts of red hair badly combed, an expressive mouth, and a fiery eye. Seated near him is Calvin, with Viret standing at his side. Opposite are the Catholics, the Cordeliers being in the foreground. In the pulpit is Dr. Blancherose, and near him Mimard and Drogui. Jean Condé is expressing his admiration of the Reformer's words, and taking off his monkish garb, in token of conversion to the new faith.

This reminds one of a similar incident which occurred at Geneva towards the close of the seventeenth century. Chauvigny, the French Resident, had challenged a Protestant divine to a public discussion, and took his secretary Desmarets with him to witness his triumph; but to his astonishment the latter, who was a Catholic, declared himself convinced, not by his

¹ Levade, 171.

master, but by his master's opponent, and thereupon enrolled himself upon that side of the religious question.

Noble Ferrand de Loÿs, who supported the Roman Catholic views in the debate at Lausanne, was seignior of Cheseaux, Prilly, and La Bathie. He was the uncle of Pierre de Loÿs, seignior of Marnand and Bettens, the first proprietor of La Grotte, and the ancestor of Jean Philippe de Loÿs de Cheseaux, the astronomer, and of Charles Louis de Loÿs de Cheseaux, physician and economist, a relative of Deyverdun, and a friend of Gibbon. Noble Ferrand became burgomaster of Lausanne, and, being converted to the new faith, was a zealous partisan of the Protestants of France during the civil wars in that kingdom.¹ His honourable services in this direction were fully recognised in a letter addressed to him by the Duke de Soubise, who thanked him in his own name, as well as in behalf of the Prince de Condé and the Admiral de Chastillon, for having employed himself for the King and the Reformed Religion of France with their Excellencies of Berne. These three distinguished personages, moreover, asked him to endeavour to obtain further contributions of money towards the war, and assured him that both himself and his family would be amply recompensed. The original document, dated at Lausanne August 9, 1562, signed Soubise, and bearing his seal, is in the archives of the Marquis de Loÿs-Chandieu.

Ferrand de Loÿs' early life had been stormy. In the towns of the Pays de Vaud there already existed a Society of Youth, the head of which was styled Abbot or Captain. The members were often insubordinate. They indulged in charivari, carnival amusements, military parades, and in the punishment of certain immoral personages whom the law did not reach. It was the rule in this organisation that each one should defend his comrades against all comers, whether right or wrong. A short time before the Reformation, Ferrand de Loÿs was at the head of this club. On Sunday, May 18, 1533, a dispute arose during a game of tennis between a banneret of Lausanne and a curate of St. Paul, son of Barthélemy de Prez, Seignior of Corsy above

¹ *Le Chroniqueur*, p. 79; and Olivier, ii. 872; *Catalogue des tableaux du Musée Arlaud à Lausanne*, p. 6; *Le Rétablissement du Catholicisme à Genève*, par Billiet; Ruchat's *Ecclesiastical History*, vi. 558; Martignier, 528.

Lutry. This ecclesiastic, one of the twenty-four canons of the cathedral, was a better soldier than chorister ; and he had been seen a short time before leading a company of Lavaux against Geneva. On this occasion the fiery canon gave the lie direct to the magistrate, and then assaulted him. A complaint was at once lodged with the captain of the Youth of Lausanne, who immediately assembled his troops, and demanded reparation from the aggressor. Upon the latter's refusal, the tocsin was sounded, and it was determined that the house of the canon should be delivered up to pillage. But the cure had been garrisoned by the friends of the clergyman, and the resistance was almost as lively as the attack. Several persons lost their lives in the mêlée, and others were wounded. The place was finally carried by assault, and the captain, entering at the head of his men, destroyed the interior without mercy. This youthful escapade, however, did not prevent Ferrand de Loÿs from becoming a worthy member of the Church and a distinguished public servant.

Dr. Girard Grand, who took part as one of the presiding officers in the religious assemblage at Lausanne, was the first cousin of the Rev. Jean Grand or Grandis (sometimes written Grant or Grandi), Doctor of Laws and Divinity, and Canon of Lausanne, in 1536. The latter afterwards, like many of his colleagues, established himself in the Valais. He made his will in 1548, in the 'uppermost chamber' of the house of Johannette Frely, in the curious city of Sion, whose picturesque hills, covered with massive ecclesiastical ruins, are to me mediæval reminders of Lycabettas, Philopappus, Mars Hill, and the Acropolis at Athens.

Dr. Jean Grandis left the great house, garden, and stables in the Rue de la Mercerie at Lausanne, inherited from his father, and another garden by the side of that of his brother Pierre Grand, at the Escaliers du Marché, to his aforesaid cousin Girard, and such of his male descendants, to the seventh generation, as should have practised law, medicine, or theology. He named as his general heiress his well-beloved niece, Christine, daughter of his brother Pierre, and wife of Noble Louis Deyverdun, citizen of Lausanne ; and directed that the property coming to her from him should go to her male descendants in

the direct line as far as the seventh generation, and in case of failure of such issue should revert to the male descendants of the aforesaid Girard.

George Deyverdun was the great-great-great-grandson of Christine, wife of Noble Louis Deyverdun. Thus it came to pass that a hundred years after George Deyverdun's death, I found in La Grotte this unpublished will, yellow with age. It contains many extraordinary provisions. The testator, humbly committing his soul to God, directed that immediately after his death his body should be placed in a strong case, securely fastened in all parts, in order that it might be impossible to see it; fearing lest his friends, afflicted by its sight, might abandon themselves to excessive grief, or that his enemies might be led to indulge in excessive rejoicing.

He desired to be buried in the Church of our Lady at Sion, in the middle of the great nave, at the side of the altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the Holy Innocents, between it and the pulpits. He also ordered that his body should be borne to the tomb accompanied by twelve poor men robed in black, each carrying a waxen taper weighing sixteen ounces; these tapers to be used afterwards in Divine service—four on the High Altar, four on the Lady Altar, and four on that of his own church.

It was, moreover, his will that, instead of the chalice usually to be seen upon the bier of a deceased priest, there should be placed at the head of his coffin two books, one of Canon and the other of Civil Law, for he had used them both as judge and counsellor, and as priest. He forbade that anyone should bring a woman on his arm to accompany his body to the grave, and that any sort of repast should be given on the occasion of his funeral, except to twelve persons without women, who should happen to be around his grave.

The funeral expenses usually indulged in were to be rigidly avoided, and the money given to the poor.

He provided that in case of the failure of the male descent of Girard Grandis, the great house in the Rue de la Mercerie should pass to the male heirs of Christine Deyverdun. He prescribed that, while the Mass founded by him for himself and his heirs was being celebrated in the cathedral at Lausanne, there should be distributed to the young priests a half measure of

wheat; and if that church should not be honoured again by those Divine offices which she possessed before the advent of the Lutherans (which God forbid!), he certified that the seigniors of the Lesser Council of Lausanne should receive the wheat and distribute it to the poor for the love of God.

For the support of this charitable offering, he charged his vineyards, situated in the most favoured part of Lavaux, in the territories of Riex, Villette, and Epresses. He also gave one hundred livres to the Church of the Virgin Mary of Sion, and to MM. the Canons and Acolytes, who were to chant a mass yearly upon his tomb; and he directed that, during these services, a quarteron of wine and a loaf of bread should be assigned to each of them.

He gave, moreover, to the already mentioned Johannette, daughter of François Frely of Sion, as a recompense for her care of him during his long infirmity, and for other services while living with him, a little vineyard he possessed on Montbenon at Lausanne, next the one which had belonged to Noble Benoit de Monterloz, and that of the heirs of Noble François Gimel.

He named as executors for that portion of his property situated at Lausanne his well-beloved cousins Girard Grandis and Guillaume Delalex. For his possessions in the Valais he selected Noble Jean de la Place, Captain Desen of Sion, and the 'discreet man,' Jean Thivens, citizen, castellan, and seignior vidame of Sion.¹

CHAPTER XXI

I CAME upon the foregoing quaint will in La Grotte immediately after my return from a delightful excursion to Sion, and there seemed to be a happy coincidence in the fact. I had gone to the Valais to examine the remarkable remains of a city whose bishops were counts and princes of the empire seven centuries ago.

¹ Testament du Révérend Jean Grandis, Docteur dans les deux Droits, Chanoine à Lausanne et Official à Sion, oncle paternel de Mme. Louis Deyverdun, 26 Février, 1548. (MS.)

These formidable ecclesiastics, whose territories reached to the diocese of Lausanne, vied in importance and authority with their powerful neighbours. The Château of Chillon—mentioned for the first time in the year 830, when Count Wala, uncle of the Emperor Louis the Gentle, was detained prisoner within its walls—was in the possession of Hughes, Bishop of Sion, a century and three-quarters later. This we learn from an act of exchange passed between the Bishops of Geneva and of Sion in the year 1005.

At the beginning of the twelfth century the Bishops of Sion gave Chillon, then merely a great town, to the House of Savoy as a fief, reserving to themselves the right of homage.

Some of the later struggles of these bishops with the princes of Savoy are recounted in a large unpublished manuscript folio, entitled 'Collections and ample Memoirs of the First Foundation of the town of Evian in Chablais, taken from ancient histories of the Roman Emperors, most Christian Kings of France, Seigniors, Counts, Princes, and Dukes of Savoy, by Noble François Prevot, castellan and very affectionate compatriot of the said town of Evian—1622 and 1623.'

This ancient register was formerly in the hands of Father Antonin, guardian of the Capucins of Annecy. From him it passed to his nephew, M. Arminjon, counsellor of the Court of Appeals of Chambéry. The original is written in a fine hand of the seventeenth century, and never belonged to Dr. Andrier, as has been asserted. The latter, then Syndic of Evian, was only allowed to read it by his cousin, M. Arminjon. There is a very old copy in the Cantonal Library at Lausanne which I have had occasion to consult, without much profit I must confess, for it is in an impossible hand, and seems to have been done by an ill-conditioned pin and not by a pen.

An unauthenticated tradition exists to the effect that the library formerly asked ten thousand francs for this perplexing volume. There is, however, a handsome manuscript copy in the possession of my friend M. Laurent, honorary counsellor of the Court of Appeals at Chambéry, and now resident at Evian, to which I have had access.

Prevot was not only Castellan of Evian, but his sister was the nurse of one of the children of the Duke of Savoy, then

living at Thonon. It was on account of these two circumstances that the chronicler had access to the archives of the House of Savoy.

Peter of Savoy, says the worthy Prevot (who places the event in 1236, although other authorities say 1244), having heard of certain acts of hostility and disloyalty on the part of Henry of Rarogne (Bishop of Sion, and of his general, Eberhardt of Nidon, Governor of the Valais in the name of William of Holland, Pretender to the empire, of which Frederick was the legitimate head), hastened back from England and endeavoured to fall upon Eberhardt, who was posted in the steep pass of the Bret among the rocks of Meillerie above the lake. Checked in his impetuous design for a moment, he eventually reaped success through the advance of the Evian troops, which, pushing through the Valley of Abondance, turned Eberhardt's position, and, falling upon his rear, enabled Peter to overcome the Valaisans, whom that prince slew in great numbers at Port Valais. Having destroyed the fortress and humbled his opponent, Peter was enabled to establish the House of Savoy in the dominion anciently called *La Tête du Lac*.¹

In return for the invaluable services of its soldiers, the Count of Savoy, Amadeus IV., brother of Peter, bestowed upon the town of Evian all the lands in the vicinity of the above fort and château, whose ruins, still seen near Meillerie, were celebrated by Rousseau in his '*Nouvelle Héloïse*,' and almost the scene of another tragedy through the narrow escape from drowning of Byron and Shelley. This grant, however, gave rise to disputes with the monks of St. Bernard, former possessors of the soil. All the papers relative to this affair are likewise in the manuscript collections so admirably classified by M. Laurent, to which I shall again have occasion to refer.

In passing Villeneuve on the way to Sion, I saw on the left the dry bed of the Eau Froide, which sometimes carries devastation from the mountains to the plains when swollen by snows or rains. Beyond, near Neuville, is the supposed scene of the victory of Divicon, the Helvetian chieftain, 107 B.C. After the battle, Cassius, the Roman general, and his lieutenant

¹ See the Genealogical Table of the House of Savoy in M. de St. Genis's *Histoire de Savoie*, vol. ii.

were beheaded, and, the flower of their army having perished, the remainder passed beneath the yoke in the midst of the triumphant demonstration of their conquerors.

The historical uncertainties which weaken belief in the exactitude of this tradition did not arrest the magic pencil of the celebrated Vaudoisan painter Gleyre, who has treated the subject in a masterly manner. He represents the humiliation of the Romans after the fight as taking place near Clarens; for the lake, the mountains, and the Dent du Midi are in the background of the picture, which is in the Musée Arlaud at Lausanne. I found a fine engraving of it by Girardet in the municipal building of Villeneuve, once a chapel, founded by Aymon de Savoie in 1236.

Leaving Ollon St. Triphon, whose tower-crowned hill lifts its square mass to the sky, I noticed that the valley of the Rhone expanded and the mountains of Savoy fell away on either side. But the sudden and intense change from the richness, fertility, and neatness everywhere apparent in the Pays Romand to the squalor visible on all sides in the Valais mastered all other impressions, and entirely engrossed my thoughts from that point onwards.

Sion has its Lycobettas, the Château Rouge; its Philopappus, the Valeria; its Acropolis, the Tourbillon. The last-named castle must have been immensely strong. The hill upon which its ruins stretch their majestic length commands, like the great central point at Athens, all the heights in its immediate vicinity. The approach to it on every side is steep and difficult. Between it and its neighbour is a deep winding gorge, whose bed is a vast grain field, over which sweep wind and sun with such deceptive lights as to induce the belief that one is standing upon the brink of a raging torrent. One sees on all sides the traces of that frightful conflagration which consumed, on March 4, 1788, the castle of Tourbillon and the archives, the episcopal palace, and a portion of the unfortunate town. In 1384 and in 1417 conflagrations had already invaded the place.

The difficulties encountered in exploring the Tourbillon were not rendered less real by the persistent shots of some youthful marksmen, whose guns swept the gateway I had to pass; but by moving between the intervals of fire I managed

to acquire an accurate idea of the changes that have taken place in this castle even within a hundred years. When Bridel, friend of Gibbon and Deyverdun, visited it a century since, he found vast halls unfurnished, deserted, silent, the greater part with unglazed windows, through which the breeze swept, rattling the dry leaves it bore. The walls were of immense thickness, and he examined with interest the secret passages and sallying ports which still existed. He speaks of one gallery whose subsequent loss we must especially deplore ; for it was filled with portraits of the bishops. Even the poetic Philip's imagination could not betray him into the belief that the likenesses from the fourth to the thirteenth century were veritable ; but, taking as a starting-point that of Guillaume de Saillon, elected in 1203, he felt that they bore an air of truthfulness and vitality which made him believe in their authenticity. He found there—with only one or two exceptions, which proved the rule—a series of Valaisan physiognomies ; and if one looks to-day at the list of bishops, one is certainly struck with the small number of strangers who have borne the mitre of Sion.

Bridel remarked that the heads were generally fine, but announced more energy than *esprit*, and more courage than policy. The long face and strongly marked features, the war-like air and the haughty bearing of the famous Cardinal Mathieu Schiner, the friend of Dr. Grandis, dominated the crowd of his predecessors and successors. His great talents had drawn him from obscurity, but the military prevailed over the ecclesiastical element.

The Cardinal was born of extremely poor parents ; and when he was at Berne, pursuing his studies, was obliged to beg from door to door for his daily bread. A working woman almost as indigent as the Valaisan scholar himself gave him shelter under her wretched roof, and lavished on him a mother's care, without asking reward. Many years afterwards, Mathieu revisited Berne as Cardinal-Legate of the Pope, followed by a *cortège* worthy of his high rank. His first act was to seek the poor woman who had befriended him in youth. He carpeted and furnished her humble abode throughout in the most magnificent manner, and ordered a sumptuous repast to be transported thither. When all was ready, he sat down to table with several senators whom

he had invited, and placed his benefactress at his right hand. In order to relieve her from confusion, and to place her entirely at her ease, the Cardinal called her his mother, and begged her to make use of the same pet name which she had applied to him when he was a boy. He settled her fortune on a solid basis, and poured out on her proofs of his affection.¹

M. de Gonzenbach informs me that Cardinal Schiner procured for the Swiss the title of *Defensores libertatis ecclesiae*, which was not an empty one, as was proved at the election of Charles V. to the Empire. The influence of Switzerland was so important that Charles's rival, Francis I., sent a deputation to the Swiss people, asking them to exercise it with the Pope in his behalf. The reply of the Cantons was: 'We are Germans, and we hold for a German Emperor. Not only will we not give you our support, but we will write to the Pope and to the Cardinals requesting them to put the imperial crown on none but a German head. Our liberties came from the Empire, and we are therefore in favour of the Empire, but it must be a German one.'

In return for this service, Charles V. wrote to the Bernese authorities from Flanders, inviting their deputies to visit him at the Diet; but they replied that it was too far to go, and they would wait until the Emperor was nearer at hand. Accordingly, when Charles was at Augsburg, the Swiss deputies went there to meet him.

CHAPTER XXII

THE view from the fortress of Tourbillon, says Bridel, is unique of its kind; and the three ruined châteaux of Gradetz, upon an island in the Rhone, are not the least picturesque portion of it. As a rule, he remarks, there is in the greater part of the landscape of the Valais a sublime mingling of cultivation and desolation, of laughing sites and horrible forms, evidences of ravages by time and by man, proofs of the decrepitude of a world hastening to its end, and at the same time of the courage

¹ *Conservateur Suisse*, ii. 129, ix. 288.

of those who steadfastly defend the soil which nourishes them against the glaciers, tempests, torrents, and earthquakes which seek to devour them. No other part of Switzerland, perhaps, offers so many natural and political phenomena.

Bridel thought that it was on account of the destruction which seemed in every sense to have threatened them for so many centuries that the inhabitants of Sion were fain to believe that they were referred to in the phrase of a Psalm, which has become the town's motto: 'Dominus dilexit Sion super tabernacula Jacob.'

There were formerly three reliquaries in the cathedral. First, that of St. Altheus, Bishop of Sion in 780, which has two fine enamels, one containing four figures, whose faces are distinguished by a whitish carnation. It is interesting to note in this connection that Alfred the Great's jewel, in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, is characterised by the same peculiarity of colour, though believed to be a century later than the other.¹ It is now ascertained that it is only since the eleventh century that enamellers have been enabled to give the colour of flesh to the carnations. This reliquary is in the shape of a metal bag, and closed with a lock and key.

The second precious object is of the time of Charlemagne, and the third has been ascribed to the thirteenth century. A dishonest official made away with the two latter, selling the Charlemagne reliquary for six hundred francs to a person who resold it for twenty-five thousand francs.

There is a fine collection of bishops' robes, some of them several centuries old. I observed that, although the bishops have long since ceased to have sovereign power, the arms of the present incumbent are embroidered upon his vestments, surmounted by a count's coronet with a bishop's mitre above.

An ancient seal of the Chapter of Sion, of the year 1206, represented a church upon a rock, with a tower at the left. On the church is placed the name 'Valeria.' The bishop's seal attached to the same document portrays a bishop with his crozier and mitre in the act of benediction. On his right is a sword, with the point down.

¹ Blavignac, *Histoire de l'Architecture sacrée du quatrième au dixième Siècle dans les anciens États de Genève, Lausanne et Sion* (Paris, 1853), p. 134.

According to M. Boccard, seventy-eight bishops have ruled at Sion since the time of St. Heliodore, who transferred the episcopal seat thither towards the year 580.

The Valaisan officer's legend of his patron saint is too amusing to be omitted here. St. Théodule was Bishop of Sion in the time of Charlemagne. Having, on a certain important occasion, vigorously supported the policy of the Court of Rome, his Holiness manifested his satisfaction by presenting to him a beautiful bell, entirely new. The gift was extremely well chosen, but it was a very embarrassing one. How would it be possible to transport such a heavy weight along the narrow and bad footpaths of the Alps! And even if the experiment were successful, a whole year's revenue of the diocese would not cover the expense. After mature reflection, the saint found no method so sure and so cheap as that of having the bell transported by the devil from Rome to Sion. Consequently, he summoned him and proposed the enterprise. The Evil Spirit declined upon all sorts of pretexts, good and bad; but he was at length obliged to give way to one stronger than himself. He swung the bell on his shoulder, and within twenty-four hours arrived at his destination. He shook himself with an ugly smile several times during this forced journey, and when he returned we are told that he was in such a bad humour that he beat his wife.

Nicholas Schiner, Bishop of Sion in 1498, struck a coin bearing on one side his own effigy and his titles of Prefect and Count of the Valais, and on the other St. Théodule in grand episcopal costume, having at his feet the devil with a bell. When Mathieu Schiner reached the episcopate in 1500 he also preserved the memory of this extraordinary affair by coining gold, silver, and copper pieces having on their face the devil fully arrayed with horns, tail, and claws, and carrying a bell on his back. His successors preserved only the bell, for they found that it led to the adoption of the devil as a patron saint.¹

In its beginnings the walls of Sion only extended to the sides of the two principal hills. Later, the defences of the town were carried as far as the Sionne; but as early as the twelfth century the lines of the ramparts of to-day were traced.

The church of Our Lady of Valeria, which bears in ancient

¹ *Conservateur Suisse*, ix., xii.

documents the title of *St. Mary of Sion*, and is that in which Dr. Grandis is buried, is said by unauthentic traditions to have derived its name either from a certain Roman captain commanding a station of legionaries in the Valais, or from Valeria, a Roman matron, mother of the Prefect Campanus.

Whatever may have been its origin, this is one of the most curious ecclesiastical edifices that I have examined. The nave appears to belong to the twelfth or thirteenth century, and the choir and its interesting chapels perhaps to the tenth. The capitals of the columns in the latter offer some very singular specimens of Carlovingian sculpture. Here one sees our Saviour crowned, as in the Byzantine crucifixes, holding in check the evil spirits represented by rams. There are remarkable ornaments formed of flowers, of shells, of pine-cones—which the architect Blavignac says he has not encountered elsewhere—and of eagles devouring serpents, which are more common. Some capitals depict mystic scenes: enormous heads, with yawning jaws, which may be supposed to recall the mouth of the infernal pit, whence escape the ‘spirits in prison.’

Something in these artistic decorations reminded me of emblems on the walls of the ancient chapel in the island of Salamis, where men and women are undergoing a variety of tortures at the hands of devils, vomited from a huge dragon representing the Evil One. The latter is part of a painting of the Judgment, where the condemned souls are departing for the lower regions, while the saved, twelve in number, without a woman among them, are seated on a high shelf, gloating over their less fortunate fellows.

There is no doubt that Valeria was from the earliest times a fortress. Within its walls the Romans erected a church, which later became the cathedral, called in the most ancient Acts known—those of 999, 1005, and 1053—*St. Mary of Sion*, a name retained even after the construction of the cathedral in the town. The Deans of Valeria for a long time took precedence over those of the city cathedral.

It is believed by some important authorities that the roof of the nave of the present church was built by one of the first princes of Savoy. They arrive at this conclusion from the fact that the eagles which decorate the capitals of the columns were

the original arms of that house ; for the cross which it bears to-day did not make its appearance until the middle of the thirteenth century.

The Chapter had the right of sanctuary, and exercised absolute jurisdiction through a canon-châtelain. The Acts of 1364-1365, in the archives of Valeria, declare that no stranger could enter without the permission of this official. If any persons arrived at night they could only be admitted between the first and second gates. The guard would only sound the horn and lower the drawbridge by the express order of the châtelain, upon the advice of the resident canons.¹

The whole air of Sion is that of an episcopal city even at the present day ; it seems to be the abode of ancient manners, and to convey an idea of the ancient method of life. At dawn of day the bells call the faithful to the first mass, and the cathedral entrance is thronged by pious worshippers, who here and there cast a curious eye upon its primitive pictures. In the midst is the Holy Virgin and the Divine Child. To the right and left are pictured bishops on their knees before Him—among these St. Théodore, patron of the Valais.

A letter addressed by the Council of the town in 1804 to Chateaubriand, then just named Resident of France in the Valais, curiously illustrates the atmosphere of the place :

‘ We have heard of your nomination to the post of Minister of France near our republic. We congratulate ourselves upon the honour of possessing you within our walls. In order to give you a proof of these sentiments we have determined to prepare for you a lodging worthy to receive you, filled with furniture and effects fitting for your use, so far as the locality and the circumstance will permit. We pray you, sir, to accept this offering as a proof of our sincere desire to honour the French Government in the person of its envoy, *whose person is particularly agreeable to a religious people.*’

This was immediately after the publication of the ‘ Genius of Christianity,’ when Chateaubriand said : ‘ I entered politics by religion. My work opened its doors for me.’²

¹ Boccard, p. 870 ; *Sigilli de' principi di Savoia*, par les Chevaliers Cibrario et Promis, p. 35.

² Gaullieur, *Etrennes Nationales* (1855), p. 134.

A few years later he prepared his 'Essay upon the Revolutions,' and I remember that when my friend, M. Sainte-Beuve, died, in 1869, I was anxious to purchase at the sale of his library a copy of the earlier work, upon the margins of whose pages Chateaubriand had written in his own hand, and in the full tide of confidential self-communings, a vast number of notes in direct contradiction to the ideas which he set forth five years afterwards. Upon consultation with M. Troubat, the lamented critic's private secretary, I decided to offer two thousand francs for this literary curiosity; but at the last moment I was informed that the members of M. de Chateaubriand's family desired to possess these important memoranda, and withdrew my proposition.

Sainte-Beuve touched upon the various spiritual phenomena of the brilliant poet-statesman in a perhaps unnecessarily unsympathetic manner, for he himself had passed through several spiritual phases and waverings. His 'Joseph Delorme,' with no trace of faith, was a fair picture of his early youth. Although it appeared when he was twenty-five, it did not reflect his actual condition. This is evident in his 'Consolations,' which saw the light one year later. Count Othenin d'Haussonville recognises this volume as the beginning of his leaning towards faith, and disputes the assertion of M. Levallois, one of the later secretaries of M. Sainte-Beuve, that his devotion was only of the head, and not of the heart. His biographer insists that it was Sainte-Beuve's heart, on the contrary, which was filled with devotional feelings during some years.¹

It was in this interval that Sainte-Beuve remarked to the Swiss bard, Juste Olivier: 'Chateaubriand n'est pas chrétien. Il n'a qu'une religion d'imagination. Il en est toujours à René.'

Sainte-Beuve is intimately associated with the Pays de Vaud. It was in the most acute stage of his religious and moral being that he arrived at Lausanne in 1837, and opened that course of lectures which were afterwards developed into the ten volumes of his 'History of Port Royal.' By him we leap into direct communion with the eighteenth century on the banks of the Leman. For his most intimate friend in Switzerland was Olivier, whose poetical godfather was Philip Bridel, the intimate of Gibbon and

¹ Vicomte d'Haussonville, *Sainte-Beuve: sa Vie et ses Œuvres*, p. 74.

his surroundings, and who survived to hear one phase of the religious movement of the seventeenth century treated in a brilliant manner which still seemed lacking in conviction.

In his analysis of Gibbon in the '*Causeries du Lundi*' one perceives that the author is familiar with the localities at Lausanne which Gibbon frequented; and here one catches another glimpse of the peculiar curiosity of Sainte-Beuve in all spiritual matters, and his keenness of observation in his remark upon Gibbon's conversion to Catholicism, which, he says, was characteristic of Gibbon, for it was brought about entirely by books.¹

But we must return to Dr. Grandis, a worshipful example of the Catholicism which Sainte-Beuve once loved.

Dr. Grandis in his will makes mention of that Mathieu Schiner, Cardinal Bishop of Sion, already described, who was so powerful that his alliance was courted by the sovereigns of Europe, and who had a force of forty thousand men at his disposal, as Francis I. had reason to believe.

The daughter of Girard Grand, also named in this will, married Noble Nicholas Rambert, Mayor of Clarens; and they are mentioned in the manuscripts of the family of de Crousaz in 1574. Twenty-two years later, Noble Marguerite, daughter of this same Girard Grandis, of Lausanne, and Jean Rambert, Mayor, donzel of Clarens, sold the half of a domain at Chailly, near Lausanne, the other half of which belonged to their cousin, Noble Isbrand de Crousaz, co-seignior of Crissier and of Corcelle-le-Jorat.

The Ramberts are represented to-day at Lausanne by a distinguished advocate, whose residence, Mon Port, at the foot of Gibbon's lawn, once sheltered the famous Bishop of Orleans, Monseigneur Dupanloup; and at Montreux by Professor Eugène Rambert, whose critical and poetical writings are dear to all lovers of the Lake of Geneva.

¹ Sainte-Beuve, *Causeries du Lundi*, viii. 437.

CHAPTER XXIII

IN 1539 the Latin language was suppressed by order of their Excellencies in all public Acts throughout the Pays de Vaud, and two years earlier the city manuals of Vevey began to be written in French ; but, curiously enough, there is no mention in them of the passage of that town from the rule of the Dukes of Savoy to that of the Seigniors of Berne.¹

At the close of the year 1536, or the beginning of 1537, the Bernese founded the Academy of Lausanne, wherein Viret and Farel gave lessons in theology to converted priests and other proselytes disposed to follow the pastoral career. Conrad Gessner became professor of Greek, and Merlin of Hebrew ; and the institution was recognised by an official Act in 1540 as having been for some time in existence.

During that century many of its professors were men of European reputation. Among them were Samuel Marlorat, Jean Scapula, Henri Estienne, Girard de Bergeries, Cœlius Secundus Curio, François Hottoman, Mathurin Cordier, Théodore de Bèze, and Antoine de Chandieu.²

The latter was the maternal ancestor of the families of de Charrière and de Loÿs. He belonged to a younger branch of the sovereign Counts of Lyons, Forest, and Beaujolais. This noble house appears to have derived its origin from Ratburne, Viscount of Vienne, Seignior of Chandieu, second son of Gerard, Count of Lyons and of Forez, a relative through his mother of the Emperor Louis, surnamed the Blind, and of Kings Hugh and Lothair. He married the daughter of Rodolph, King of Transjuran Burgundy, and in 942, with his wife, gave the church of St. Peter of Chandieu to the Abbey of Cluny.³

The family adopted its surname from its chief dependency, which contained twenty-two parishes, and extended from near

¹ Old MS., vol. W, p. 49, belonging to M. Dulon, of Vevey.

² Martignier and de Crousaz, p. 520 ; *Histoire de l'Instruction publique dans le Pays de Vaud*, by Gindroz ; Gaullieur's *Etude sur l'Histoire littéraire de la Suisse française*.

³ *Genealogy of the de Chandieu Family*, MS. from the de Loÿs Archives.

Vienne in Dauphiny up to and including the Faubourg de la Guillotière at Lyons. It even reached, says a historian of that period, 'as far into the Rhone as a horse and its rider can go without being drowned.' The same author also affirms that these estates bore the name of barony or sireship, and comprised a circle of nine leagues in the province of Dauphiny.

The mediæval castle of Chandieu is still seen near the station of that name crowning the round and wooded summit of its hill several hundred feet above the plains. The château presents the aspect of decrepitude. The walls are rent in many places, and the interstices filled with bricks or straw.

It was originally a massive building flanked by four strong towers. Towards the end of the fifteenth century a building of more elegant architecture was added. One of the towers is still decorated with bas-reliefs, which have, however, also suffered from time, and with the shield and arms of the de Chandieus—gules, a lion rampant or, tricked with azure. The shield is supported by two angels clothed in dalmaticas, each bearing in the opposite hand a banner with the arms of this house and the war-cry, 'Chandieu.' Beneath is their motto, 'Eternity.'

The Château of Chandieu commands a vast semicircular panorama, framed by the mountains of the Grande Chartreuse, of Savoy, of Bugey, of Lyonnais, and of the Loire. To the west Lyons is dominated by the slopes of Fourrières and St. Irénée, and those of Ste. Foi. To the north is the plateau of Bresse, running to the feet of Rivarmont. The Rhone describes an immense arc from the point of its issue from the gorges of Vertrieu to its entrance into the valley of Givors.¹

The different generations of the owners of this venerable stronghold distinguished themselves as warm supporters and benefactors of the Church.

In 1178, Guy de Chandieu was sent by Humbert of the White Hands, second Count of Savoy, as his ambassador to England to conclude the marriage of Prince John, son of the King, with the Count's daughter.

Berlion III. of this family was in 1218 one of the securities for the payment of the two hundred marks in silver which

¹ *Description of the Château of Chandieu*, MS. from the de Loys Archives.

Thomas I., Count of Savoy, had promised to his daughter Margaret of Savoy in the marriage-contract with Hermann, Count of Kybourg. Like his father, he was sovereign of Mezières and Cessier, which he held directly from the Emperor.

Alix de Chandieu was a shining light at the Court of Charles II., King of Naples; her wit and virtue were celebrated by Pistolleta, the Court poet, a famous bard in his day.

A descendant of Berlion, Clémence de Chandieu, married Renaud de Coligny, Admiral of France, whose daughter Louise married William of Nassau, Prince of Orange, in 1583.

Milles, Seigneur and Baron of Chandieu and of Pôle in Beaujolais, and of other places, perished in the battle of Dreux in 1562. He had been made prisoner at the battle of Pavia with King Francis I.¹

But of all the members of this remarkable race, perhaps none was more useful or more distinguished than the latter's son, Antoine IV., Baron and co-Seigneur of Chandieu, Seigneur of Pôle, Propières, Chabottes, Grévilley, Vieillecœur, La Roche, and Folleville.

There is an ancient unpublished French manuscript, a description of the life of Antony Sadeel, or de Chandieu, translated from the Latin of Melchior Adamus, to which I have had access, and which throws an interesting light upon the career of this personage.

He was born about 1534, in the Château of Chabot, the residence of his mother. Having lost his father when four years of age, he was sent to Paris, where his preceptor, Mathies Frantionis, implanted in his young heart the germs of Protestantism. His views were confirmed while pursuing his legal studies at Toulouse. From thence he went to Geneva, where Calvin and Théodore de Bèze further strengthened his convictions.

Returning to Paris, he renounced law, and adopted theology as his profession, and, on account of his abilities, was received as a clergyman at the age of twenty years. Shortly after he was thrown into prison for having written in favour of Calvinistic assemblies, but was forcibly rescued by Antoine de Bourbon,

¹ *Manuscript unpublished Notice on the Family of de Chandieu*, 4to.; *Lettre of Baron Louis de Charrière*, June 18, 1871, from the de Loÿs' Family Archives. Loaned to the author.

King of Navarre. He presided over the first Synod of the French Reformed Churches held at Paris, and was the author of the preface accompanying the Confession of Faith presented to Henry II. by Admiral de Coligny.

In the following reign his zeal forced him to leave Paris, where the enemies of the Reformation endangered his life by treacheries of all sorts. He finally retired to Geneva, and was received as a minister of religion in that town. He subsequently removed to Lausanne, where a professorship of theology was given him in 1570.

He was not, however, destined to pass his life in the peaceful discharge of educational duties; for Henry IV., who esteemed him highly, drew him from his retreat, and confided to him many important missions. He assisted at the Synod of Vitré, in 1588, and discharged the office of camp chaplain at the battle of Contras in 1587.

On his return to Geneva to seek refuge from the turmoil of courts and camps, he was admitted to the *bourgeoisie* of that city; and he died there on February 23, 1591, aged fifty-seven, leaving a numerous family by his wife, Françoise de Falin, Dame de Folleville.¹

There is a fine portrait of him in the château of his descendant, M. de Charrière de Sévery, at Mex, which represents him in his robes as almoner to Henry IV.

His eldest son and heir, Jean III., was Gentleman of the Bedchamber to the King, colonel of a regiment of infantry, and captain of fifty light horse.

The latter's son, Jacques, sold Chandieu; his grandson, Charles de Chandieu, qualified in official documents as Marquis de Pole and also Marquis de Chappes—although usually called Marquis de Chandieu—died without heirs, and was consequently the last of the French branch; and his younger grandson, Frederick, married his cousin, Elizabeth de Chandieu, Dame de la Chaux, and was therefore founder of the branch of Chandieu de la Chaux, in Roman Switzerland, which died out in 1812 in the person of Madame de Grancy.

Isaïe, who comes next, brother of Jean III., married Marie

¹ De Montet, i. 145; Article by M. Fabarand in Michaud, vii. 473; Letter of Baron de Charrière, previously cited.

de Dortans, Dame de l'Isle, and consequently became the founder of the seigniors of de Chandieu de l'Isle in the Pays de Vaud.

Isaïe's second grandson, Messire Charles de Chandieu, Seigneur of l'Isle and also of Chabottes in Mâconnais—an estate inherited from his uncle Albert—had a brilliant career under Louis XIV., became Lieutenant-General and Colonel of a Swiss regiment, and Captain of the Swiss Guard.

It was he who built, after the plans of Monsard, the actual Château of l'Isle, near Cossonay; while the equally celebrated Le Nôtre laid out the magnificent gardens, groves, and promenades which surrounded it. The château, erected upon the site of its predecessor, recalled the splendours of the reign of the great king. He was known and officially styled at Versailles and at Paris as Marquis de Villars, the name of one of the villages of his seigniorship of l'Isle.

He married Catherine de Gaudicher, Dame d'Averse in Anjou, and his four grandchildren, the daughters of his son Benjamin, were Catherine de Chandieu, who married Solomon de Charrière de Sévery and was the intimate friend of Gibbon; Henriette de Chandieu, who married Arnold Louis Juste de Constant, the brother of Voltaire's friend, and became the mother of Benjamin Constant, the celebrated publicist; Anne Marie Adrienne, who married Count de Nassau-Overbeck, lived at Lausanne in the house originally occupied by Voltaire in the Rue du Grand Chêne, and to whom her nephew, Benjamin Constant, addressed letters as yet inedited; and Antoinette Pauline, who married Jean Samuel de Loÿs—who distinguished himself as a writer upon agriculture, and is the direct progenitor of the present de Loÿs family at Lausanne, the only surviving branch—nephew of the distinguished General Etienne de Loÿs de Middel.

The last male member of the de Chandieu family died in 1787, at the age of ninety, in the person of Noble Charles Isaïe de Chandieu.¹ An interesting obituary notice of him appeared in the 'Journal' of Lausanne of March 3, 1787. Therein mention is made of a magnificent sapphire, mounted in a ring, which was

¹ 'M. Louis de Charrière's articles on the Seigniorships of l'Isle and la Chaux,' *Mém. et Doc.*, xv. 596–606 and 304; *Description of the de Chandieu Château*: Note of M. William de Charrière de Sévery; *Genealogy of the Families of de Loÿs and de Constant*.

given by Henry IV. to Antony de Chandieu as a mark of friendship and of gratitude for his services.

This ring is now in the possession of his descendant, M. William de Charrière de Sévery, the great-grandson of Gibbon's friend. The stone is a large oblong of a deep, rich colour. In examining this relic I was reminded of a historical letter of Henry IV., which was given to me some years ago by the late Duke de Gramont. It had been sent by that prince to the latter's ancestor, the Count de Gramont, to enable him to convoke the legislative body of the kingdom of Navarre, in order to recognise formally the accession of Henry upon the death of his mother the Queen. St. Bartholomew's Day having come on in the meantime, Henry was shut up in the Louvre, and consequently no use was made of the letter. This valuable document is accompanied by a historical sketch in the handwriting of the Duke de Gramont setting forth the above fact.

Since becoming interested in whatever relates to Gibbon, I have remembered that the late Duke was a descendant of the historian's friend, the Duke de Guiche, who passed some time at Lausanne in 1793; and I have added this association to others connected with this curious relic.

CHAPTER XXIV

IN 1549 the Bernese authorities established the library of the Academy of Lausanne. They gave a considerable sum in the beginning to buy books, and endowed the establishment with a small annual revenue. This was the origin of a collection constantly used by Gibbon during his several residences at Lausanne, and which to-day embraces many rare works and valuable manuscripts. Among the former are nearly one hundred volumes given by Gibbon in his will, as is shown by the receipt, signed March 22, 1794, by François, Professor and Rector of the Academy.¹

¹ ' Je déclare avoir reçu pour la Bibliothèque de l'Académie de Lausanne le legs que feu Monsieur Gibbon lui a fait des ouvrages suivans :—

' 1° *Thuani Historia*, 7 vol. in-folio.

' 2° *Erasmii Opera*, 10 vol. in-folio.

The immense change which took place in the religious institutions of the country owing to the ascendancy of Berne and the spread of the Reformation effected a total revolution in the monastery of St. Francis and La Grotte.

In its church, in fact, the new doctrines were first preached at Lausanne. On March 21, 1536, Jean Viret—brought into the town by the contingent of arquebusiers returning from the siege of Yverdon—was ushered into the cloisters of St. Francis, whose doors had been broken open by his escort.

Viret was at this time a young man, of dark complexion, with handsome black eyes, and in delicate health—for he had not recovered from the attempt to poison him, in the previous year, at Geneva. His nose was Dantesque in its form and length, but otherwise his features were not irregular. His face was long and finely cut, and terminated in a pointed chin. His manner was insinuating rather than hard and cutting like that of Calvin. He possessed sensibility and intelligence, as well as a vast memory, assiduously nourished with classical learning, the writings of the Fathers, and the Bible. He had the power of speaking and composing with enthusiasm. Refinement of mind and nobility of character distinguished him; an amiable and gay humour was his companion in greatest trials, and lighted up the last moments of his life.

There is an original portrait of him in the Library of Geneva. The family of Viret preserved another, which may be still in existence.

The bishop, councils, and great majority of citizens of Lausanne were unacquainted with his character, or indifferent to its attractions, for they witnessed with indignation his ascent into the Roman Catholic pulpit, and learned with horror that a handful of excited innovators had profaned the sacred premises and broken the venerable images.¹

¹ *Macerrii Opera*, 12 vol. in-folio.

² *Biographia Britannica*, 7 vol. in-folio.

³ *Corpus Histor. Byzantine*, 23 vol. in-folio.

⁴ *Muratorii Opera*, 38 vol. in-folio.

⁵ 'à Lausanne : le 22 Mars 1794.'

⁶ FRANÇOIS, *Professeur et Recteur de l'Académie.*

[From the extensive collection of Gibbon MSS. in the possession of M. William de Charrière de Sévery.]

⁷ Olivier, *Le Canton de Vaud*, ii. 820; Verdeil, ii. 7.

The signal once given, however, led to increasing disaffection. The movement which began within the walls of St. Francis's swept irresistibly onwards. On April 1, 1536, the Bernese commander, Jean François Naegueli, mounting to the castle of St. Maire, directed the arms of the house of Montfaucon and the emblems of episcopal power to be removed, and the red-and-black flag of the Bernese Bear to be unfurled to the breeze. He pronounced the destitution of the prince-bishop; he proclaimed the sovereign rights of Berne, and her assumption of all the powers belonging to the bishop of the diocese of Lausanne. At the same time he promised to protect in an equal manner the two Christian faiths.

On April 4, Viret obtained from the councils of Lausanne the use of the convent of the Dominicans. In May, says an ancient manuscript which I found in La Grotte, Berne suppressed the bailiwick of Vaud and all the episcopal authorities. She divided the new province into eight bailiwicks or governments: first, Yverdon; next, Moudon, with the towns of Cossonay, Morges, and the whole of La Côte as dependencies; third, Lausanne, which embraced also the three parishes of Lavaux—Lutry, Villette, and St. Saphorin. They also established at this point a lieutenant-bailiff, who had under his charge Lucens and other localities which had belonged to the bishop. The fourth was Avenches; the fifth, Vevey, or Chillon; the sixth, Thonon; the seventh, Ternier; and the eighth, Gex.¹ These were afterwards increased to thirteen, and were all under the Bernese; while those of Morat, Grandson, and Echallens remained under the joint domination of Berne and Freiburg, and were called 'mediate bailiwicks.'

Each bailiff presided over a court of quarter sessions, justly named 'cour baillivale,' for, though he consulted with the assessors composing it, he alone pronounced the judgment. The Court of Appeals was formed by a magistrate from Berne, called 'Treasurer of the Pays de Vaud,' and by a certain number of judges, all Bernese, who sat at Moudon, and whose decision was final.²

¹ Manuscript discovered in La Grotte by the author, entitled *Fragments Historiques de la Ville et République de Berne*. Concerning this work see Olivier, ii. 1020, note 2.

² Pallis, ii. 195; Verdeil, ii. 9.

The Bernese forbade all general assemblies of the people. They hindered in every way the exercise of the Catholic religion, and zealously protected the ministers of the Reformed Church.

Among items in the accounts of Lausanne at this time are payments for three days' work of a mason to remove the great stones of the altars of St. Francis and of the Madeleine, at the rate of 4 sols 2 deniers a day, and for fifteen days' to remove certain altars from the church of Notre Dame. The mason, therefore, got fifty centimes per day for work whose effects were felt far beyond the diocese.

Sebastian Naegueli was named bailiff of Lausanne on May 13, and at the Gate of St. Etienne took the oaths, as the bishops before him, to maintain, guard, and observe the rights, franchises, and customs, unwritten as well as written, of the nobles, citizens, and burghesses of the whole commune of Lausanne and its dependencies.

The cortège then mounted to the castle, where it found all the authorities of the bailiwick dressed in the livery of their excellencies, and handed to the bailiff the keys of his residence, after a complimentary address from the Academy, whose members were drawn up in a body.

On the following day the newly appointed official was presented to the authorities in the cathedral by the treasurer of the Pays de Vaud, and in his turn received the oath of the magistrates of Lausanne and the bailiwick, amidst the firing of cannon. A few years later, on a similar occasion, the council presented to a new bailiff two beautiful boxes of sugared almonds, six pots of hippocras, six partridges, six capons, twenty-four thrushes, six woodcock, and a fat sheep.¹

After having assured the authority of Berne over the three parishes of Lavaux, and the temporal dominions of the bishop, Naegueli, keeping around him a strong garrison in the castle of Lausanne, sent his troops to take possession of other places and seignories. At the same time a commission, consisting of six members furnished with full power, visited all parts of the conquered provinces, and organised the Bernese government.

At Yverdon they pronounced the abolition of the Catholic faith, and let loose upon the churches and monasteries a band

¹ Martignier, 515, 990.

of fanatical reformers, who pillaged the sacred edifices, and burned in the public squares images of the Holy Virgin, of St. Léger, St. Marcel, St. Anthony, and others. The commissioners also ordered the destruction of the castle of Belmont, cradle of the Deyverdun family.

The day after the religious discussion at Lausanne the crowd of the newly converted forced the doors of the cathedral, broke down the altars, laid low the great crucifix, and even the venerated image of Our Lady of Lausanne. They drove from their residence the canons, of whom a souvenir remains to this day in an inscription over the door of a large house in the Rue de la Cité Derrière, formerly inhabited by them : ' Scimus enim nos, cum nostræ hujus terrestris domus tabernaculum dissolutum fuerit, ædificium ex Deo habere in cœlis.'¹

The bailiff also actively employed himself in going about with a strong escort to destroy images and overthrow altars in all the churches throughout his bailiwick.

The people of Lutry, warned of his approach, took the crucifix out of their church, and hid it in a grotto with the baptismal fonts and sacramental vessels. This retreat, unknown to the reformers, became a holy place, thronged by the faithful ; it was lighted and arranged like a sanctuary.

An amusing incident is related of the Bernese general, Naegueli, some years later. The treasurer, de Steiguer (Baron of Rolle and seignior of Oron, of the white de Steiguers), one of the richest men in Switzerland, was his declared enemy. One day, when he was alone in the castle of Bremgarten, de Steiguer suddenly appeared before him armed with an enormous sword. Naegueli at once placed himself in an attitude of defence, when de Steiguer informed him that he had come for the purpose of putting an end to their dispute by asking the hand of his daughter in marriage. The astonished statesman willingly accorded the request.²

General Naegueli possessed the seigniorship of Bremgarten, near Berne. The approach to his castle is through Bremgarten Wood, whence one crosses the Aar by a picturesque wooden bridge, whose arches frame charming views. The road ascends

¹ Verdeil, ii.

² Olivier, ii. 909, and Sinner's *Voyage*, ii. 262.

abruptly on the other side, and brings one through an unwooded country to the neighbourhood of the château, whose proximity is first announced by some fine trees. There are two châteaux of Bremgarten—one, the ruin in the forest on the Berne side of the river, the other, that of which I now speak.

In the year 1367 the Bishop of Bâle threatened to come at the head of some thousands of his subjects to cut the wood of Bremgarten; but the Bernese having replied that they would await him with grindstones, the matter rested there, as the ecclesiastic thought that his own head and those of his followers, as well as their weapons, might come into contact with this refining influence.¹

The ancient residence of Naegueli still displays on its tower his arms in colours: Gules, two nails argent—Naegueli in German meaning *nails*.

The château, like Berne, stands on a terraced peninsula, surrounded on three sides by the river; but the land between it and the end of the promontory, formerly within its domain, has now several owners.

The principal drawing-room is an imposing oblong hall, whose high doors are framed in yellow marble, and decorated above with white carvings, enclosing rural scenes in the style of Watteau, belonging to a much later period than Naegueli's. In one picture the Bernese bear is complacently regarding two lovers seated beneath him. The vaulted ceilings are decorated with tablets representing Cupids, painted in distemper on a gold ground, and surrounded with rich carvings. There are ancient portraits on the walls, a venerable view of Berne in oil, and a curious mirror adorned with a fine landscape.

From the garden one beholds a little church, in which repose the remains of Naegueli and his family.

The portraits of Naegueli and his son-in-law, de Steiguer, both *advoyers* of Berne, hang together in the picture-gallery of the chiefs of the Republic in the library at Berne. Count Frederick de Mulinen, a descendant of Naegueli, has also a portrait, taken in 1554, when Naegueli was fifty-four. His slashed velvet costume is in black and red, the colours of Berne. He

¹ Note in *Description de la Ville et République de Berne*, par Rod. Walthard, 1827, p. 209.

wears the massive chain of office. A stout sword is girded to his side, one hand resting on its hilt, the other upon his helmet; his head is adorned with the official Spanish-looking head-dress. His open doublet displays a marvellously decorated shirt, over which falls his strong, undulating beard. The deeply furrowed face is almost ferocious, and the eyes do not inspire confidence in the merciful character of their possessor. One feels that his son-in-law, de Steiguer, must have been a brave man to beard him in his own den.

Naegueli's armour is preserved in the arsenal of Berne. It is Spanish in style, his saddle especially so. The lance-rest remains, but the spurs and buckler are wanting. Judging from these trappings, he must have been a small man. The Italian and Spanish fashions were adopted at Berne after the victory over the French at Novara on June 6, 1513.

CHAPTER XXV

FIVE councillors charged with the regulation of the affairs of the Church visited all the parishes in the Pays de Vaud, taking possession of the estates of the clergy, or settling them and appropriating the profits to the home government. The large portion of the domains of the monasteries which Berne at this time sold or leased to the various communes began the public funds these still possess.

The communes in receiving the scattered possessions of the *confréries*—associations, composed of ecclesiastics and laymen, for the relief of the poor—assumed the latter charge; and this was the beginning of the greater part of the 'purses for the poor' still extant in the Canton de Vaud. As to the lands and tithes of the cures, they were destined for the support of the ministers and schoolmasters established by the Bernese everywhere in the conquered country.

The confiscation of the properties of the Church enabled the Bernese to richly endow their various bailiwicks, and also satisfy the cupidity of Freiburg and the bourgeois of Lausanne.¹ The

¹ Verdeil, ii. 39, 46.

sovereign and powerful city of Freiburg, although Catholic, received a valuable part. The revenues of the bishop and canons of Lausanne formed a considerable annual sum. The former surpassed thirty thousand gold crowns, while that of each member of the latter body equalled four thousand.

The ornaments of the churches and monasteries, and their gold and silver vases and statues, were all sent to Berne. The cathedral at Lausanne was especially a mine from which the conquerors drew immense wealth in precious stones and metals. These treasures were the origin of that mysterious fund which Berne possessed, annually augmented during more than two and a half centuries, which had much to do with the spread and continuance of her power.

The authorities of Lausanne received, by a treaty entitled the *Largition*, dated November 1, 1536, confirmed on April 18, 1548, the two convents of St. Francis and the Madeleine, the five parishes of St. Peter, St. Paul, St. Etienne, St. Laurent, and St. Croix, in the cathedral church, the priory of St. Sulpice, near the lake, the abbey of Montheron, the abbey of the nuns of Bellevaux, near Lausanne, and that of St. Catherine in the Jorat, together with all the appurtenances and dependencies of the said cures, abbeys, convents, and priories, as well as the great house near the cathedral called the old episcopal palace.¹

These gifts were bestowed upon the condition that the receivers should maintain and provide for the preachers, giving them salaries sufficient for comfortable livelihood. They were expected also to extend the same aid to monks and nuns who conformed to the Reformation. The majority of the dispossessed priests—among them the Dominicans of the monastery of the Madeleine, the monks of Montheron, and the curé of the parish of St. Croix—preferred to retain their religion, and to seek a refuge in Catholic countries.²

We learn from M. Chavannes that, although the convent was suppressed, the nuns of Bellevaux remained in their ancient establishment for a year, when the council assigned them as a residence the house which had belonged to Jacques de Montfalcon, canon of the cathedral. This house was situated between

¹ See Martignier, under 'Lausanne—Largition'; Verdeil, ii. 40, where the text is given.

² Verdeil, ii. 40, 42.

the *Escaliers du Marché* and the convent of the Madeleine. It was afterwards the cure of one of the pastors of the town, and is now the communal high school for girls. The authorities had promised the poor nuns that they would be permitted to retain the costume of their Order, but in 1538, despite their petitions, they were obliged to renounce their habit, and clothe themselves in robes of black cloth furnished by the town, the cost of which is found in the Lausanne accounts. They were originally allowed an annual pension of three hogsheads of corn, three cars of wine, and sixty florins in money. In 1540, ten florins and a half-hogshead of corn were added, and they continued to be clothed at the public expense. Eight years later only one of the number remained—Noble Françoise de Chissy. The accounts of the receiver of St. Francis and Bellevaux show that her annual pension was two hogsheads of wheat, a hogshead of oats, five pots of oil, one car of hay, one car of straw, and fifty florins in money, and she received an additional gratuity of four florins.

Farel, Viret, and Calvin preached, while the bailiffs despoiled the churches and published edicts regulating public morals. They ordered church attendance under penalty of fine, imprisonment, or exile. Consistories composed of ecclesiastics and laymen were appointed to watch over the sanctity of marriages, and to punish idleness, gambling, dancing, and indecent costumes. They were also expected to prosecute fortune-tellers and sorcerers. As an encouragement to denounce vice they were allowed a percentage of the fines.¹

There were formerly in the public library of Geneva 2,300 manuscript sermons by Calvin, arranged in forty-four volumes, and not one resembling the other. Such fecundity is astonishing; but it is still more extraordinary when we learn that these were only the discourses which he preached between 1549 and 1560.² But this was perhaps the most active period of his career, when he became absolute master of the consistory and of the council, and, as M. de Montet says, both used and abused this influence to destroy his opponents, decapitating Gruet for some frivolous verses, and sending to the stake

¹ Vulliemin, *Canton de Vaud*, 169.

² *Le Léman*, par M. Bailly de la Londe, p. 51.

Michael Servetus for having attacked the mystery of the Trinity.¹

A synod composed of all the clergymen in the Pays Romand assembled in 1537, and enacted that the country should be divided into seven ecclesiastical departments called classes :

1. Lausanne, Vevey, Oron, Rougemont, Aigle.
2. Payerne, Morat, Avenches, Moudon.
3. Yverdon, Romainmotier.
4. Morges, Aubonne, Nyon, Bonmont.
5. Orbe, Grandson.
6. Gex.
7. Thonon and Ternier.

Each class was to have the power of choosing a doyen or moderator. The doyen of the class was charged to watch over the teaching of the brethren, and see that they did not preach any new doctrine without having conferred with the ministers at Berne. In order to be received into a Church, a minister must be the bearer of a letter of recommendation from the doyen, and from four sworn men of the class, and, finally, he must be confirmed by their excellencies.

The doyen of the class must see that the ministers observe the rites of the Church of Berne, and hold the catechism at least once a month. He must inspect the conduct of the ministers, and, if one of them give occasion for scandal, he must, in conjunction with the four sworn men of the class, censure him ; and, if the offender amend not his ways, he must appear before the consistory of Berne.

Each class is to elect four *jurés*, or sworn men, who divide the duty of watching the ministers among themselves. They must visit them, and inform themselves as to everything that concerns them. They must ascertain, for instance, if the people are

¹ De Montet, i. 112, article 'Calvin.' It is remarkable that while the burning of Servetus has attracted so much attention, the previous execution of Jacques Gruet has been passed over by historians almost in silence. The documents of Gruet's trial and torture before death, printed by M. Fazy at Geneva, show that he was executed, not for heresy, but for opposing Calvin's régime of espionage in the home, and his oppression of private conduct. Gruet was a young gentleman of noble family, and a fine scholar ; Calvin's first attack on him was for dancing at a wedding, and for wearing breeches cut in a new fashion. He did not write 'verses,' as de Montet says, but philosophical and ethical reflections (never published) were found among his papers, in Latin.

contented with their minister, and if he is regular in attendance on his duties.

Their excellencies reserved to themselves judgment in the last instance, the pardoning power, and all sovereign rights—among them those of making war and coining money. They retained also jurisdiction over the cité—the seat of the bailiff—the château of Ouchy and its dependencies, the ministers, and the Academy.

In 1539 the council of Lausanne decreed the demolition of the churches of St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. Etienne, to serve as materials for the reconstruction of the market of the Porte de Rive, and for the restoration of the ruined city walls. The portions surrounding the convent of St. Francis and *La Grotte* were repaired at that time.¹ They formed a bastion, beginning at the Gate of St. Francis, with its black vault, massive and sombre as a dungeon, and running to the Porte de Rive, or Ouchy—for Ouchy was formerly called Rive. Condamine, however, was the most ancient name for this gate.

When the authorities of Lausanne took possession of the monastery of St. Francis they discovered a secret opening in the cellars in the portion called *La Grotte*, afterwards inhabited by Gibbon. This trap, the closed mouth of which is still visible, led to a subterranean passage, which, running through the church, traversed the Place of St. Francis, and issued in a cellar of the great house yet standing² at the corner of the Place and the Rue St. Francis, which afterwards belonged to the Deyverdun family.

We may imagine, says Gibbon's friend, Polier de Bottens, in the last century, that the worthy friars passed by this secret route in search of happy fortune, their amours being thus concealed.

In the cellars above this underground way there were four great beams crossing the ceiling from one pilaster to another. These appeared perfectly solid, and incapable of containing anything inside them. There was, in fact, nothing about them to attract suspicion. Nevertheless, as it was known that the

¹ Notice of Baron F. de Gingins in the Plan of 1644; Blanchet (*Lausanne dès les Temps Anciens*), 66; Martignier and de Crousaz, 496.

² 1879.

monks on leaving their convent had not been able to carry away any of their plate or valuables, it was suspected that these objects might be hidden near this spot. Accordingly, when repairs were begun, a magistrate was commissioned to superintend closely the movements of the workmen. Shortly after a carpenter, mounting a ladder, struck his hatchet into one of these rafters, in order to assist himself in climbing. As he did so he heard a sound which betrayed the presence of a treasure inside the beam. Examination disclosed the fact that it was formed of four planks, so carefully adjusted as entirely to deceive the eye. The exterior was perfect, but the interior was hollow. Therein were found the treasures of the convent.

Among them were eight golden vases, like deeply hollowed cups, standing on finely sculptured feet. These were still used in Gibbon's time for the Communion service in St. Francis's church and the cathedral, and from them the future historian took the Sacrament on his reconversion to Protestantism. They are still in their pristine beauty.

The account of this interesting discovery was written in 1787 by Polier de Bottens, who induced Voltaire to take up his residence at Lausanne in 1755, and was invited by the latter to contribute to the *Encyclopædia*. I have copied it from the unpublished manuscript in the possession of M. Ernest Chavannes.¹

Gibbon and his intimates believed that a convent of nuns had existed on the northern side of the *Placé St. Francis*, and that the intercourse between the male and female religious houses was rendered easy and interesting by means of the hidden corridor just described. The large house to which reference has been made has been supposed to have been the residence of the treasurer of St. Francis's monastery, but this building was one of the dependencies of the bishop, and never belonged to the convent. From the manuscript rent-roll in Lausanne of their excellencies of Berne, about 1669, it is certain that it was then in the hands of Noble Nathaniel Deyverdun, ancestor of George Deyverdun, born there sixty-five years later. The former paid

¹ 'Remarques sur la Place St. François, et sur l'endroit appelé Derrière St. François, extraites des Remarques particulières sur quelques-uns des endroits les plus intéressants qui figurent dans la Table de la Paroisse de Bourg,' par l'ancien Doyen Polier de Bottens.

to the Bernese authorities 1 sol 3 deniers yearly at the office of the dean of the chapter representing the dispossessed bishop. It is probable that the latter's heir, the Government of Berne, sold this mansion between 1540 and 1550 to a private individual—perhaps one of the Deyverduns. There is a tradition that the nephew of Dr. Scholl, physician of Deyverdun and Gibbon, who once dwelt in this house, penetrated far into the subterranean passage, which he found ran towards the church of St. Francis.

In the time of Dr. Marcel's father a portion of it was used as a *bouteillerie*. In winter the underground passage may be traced by the melting of the snow upon the surface along its course. This secret way, passing from La Grotte in front of the house of Clavel de Brenles, entered the church beneath the Communion-table, then continued to the opposite side of St. Francis Place.

This was not the only subway connected with the Franciscan convent. Investigations made at my request by M. Wirz, the architect, have resulted in the discovery of an underground passage running from the choir of the church underneath the road called the 'Descent to Ouchy.' It was, no doubt, this recently discovered passage which, as we shall see, was to have played a part in the conspiracy of Lausanne, 1588, by introducing Savoisian troops.

Besides these subterranean passages there was in the Maison Spach, now Beveyre, a cellar connected with an underground communication leading from No. 7 or 8 Rue de la Mercerie into the ancient bishop's palace. These openings were closed in 1820, and the information of their existence I derived from Dr. Marcel, who received it from his grandparents, once residents of the Maison Spach.

There is yet another secret corridor going from the Maison Chavannes in the Cité Derrière into and beneath the cathedral.

Although it is now pretty well ascertained that no female cloister existed in the Deyverdun mansion on the Place St. Francis, a singular fact has been mentioned to me. A lady who formerly resided in a house diagonally opposite—35 Rue de Bourg—belonging to M. Henri de Crousaz, discovered a secret recess in the wall of the window. Therein was found a

stone column, painted blue and decorated with gold fleurs-de-lys, the whole much disfigured by age. She afterwards heard of an almost obliterated tradition that this was once the residence of an abbess of the royal family of France.

M. Ernest Chavannes suggests to me that this was perhaps an oratory or private chapel. He says that there never was a convent of women in the lower town of Lausanne. The only monasteries in the interior of the city were the Minor Friars, or Franciscans, and the Preaching Friars, or Dominicans, at the Madeleine.

At an unknown period, but long before the year 1200, there was a convent of nuns above, in the Cité, under the patronage of St. Paul. But in 1228 it no longer existed, and the church became parochial, as may be seen from the Cartulary of Lausanne.

There were two convents of women outside the town—one of Dominicans at Echissiez, not far from Mon Repos, between Lausanne and Pully. This was founded in 1280, by Bovon Psaultier. It was dedicated to St. Margaret, Virgin and Martyr. The nuns removed to Estavayer, but continued to retain their Echissiez property until 1847. They had even augmented it in 1662 by the purchase of a meadow, now called Trabandan, from the name of one Bandan, proprietor of a wine-press there—thus: 'tru-a-Bandan, pressoir à Bandan.'

The other convent, that of Bellevaux, west of Sauvabelin Forest, twenty minutes from Lausanne, was founded in 1270. After the battle of Morat the Duke of Burgundy, while his army was encamped at Lausanne, fixed his tent near the convent of Bellevaux.¹

In 1520 the convent was visited and reformed by Loÿs, Abbot of St. Mary, and Anatole de Corcelles, deputies of the Abbot of Cîteaux. Among the ordinances was the following: 'Item.—That the abbess and the other officers shall render each year good and faithful accounts of the revenues, and forbid the nuns, under grave penalties, to attend marriages or frequent *fêtes* on forbidden days.'

After the conquest the Bernese commissioners estimated the income of Bellevaux at 220 florins. On November 1, 1536, this nunnery was given to the city of Lausanne, with all its

¹ Letter of M. Ernest Chavannes to the author, December 18, 1879.

dependencies. Among the latter were the vineyards of La Grotte.

During the two months and a half that the camp of Charles the Bold was established in the vicinity of the convent the nuns doubtless suffered much from those numerous bands of mercenaries drawn from every corner of Europe, for the year after the war there were only four left, including the abbess Perronette Chapuisiz.¹

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, in spite of their poverty, the nuns appear to have been very relaxed in their discipline. M. Chavannes discovered no description of the abbey buildings, of which there are now no vestiges. It is only known that there was a great tower, demolished in 1547. The total revenue of the abbey was only five thousand francs, and the abbess was obliged to ask the council of Lausanne for permission to seek firewood in the forests.

Theology and art seem to have thriven upon the misfortunes which overtook this ancient religious establishment; for in an inventory of Bellevaux of September 13, 1536, found in the archives of Lausanne, there is mention of Maistre Estienne, the painter, as having been promised a meadow belonging to the convent for a hundred and twenty florins, and that another piece of meadow-land had been promised to Anthony Grandis for eighty florins.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE Reformation sensibly ameliorated the financial condition of Lausanne. Besides the gifts already mentioned, the mills of Pepinet and Chalet à Gobet were at the disposal of the authorities. The former were sold in 1547 to Noble François de Seigneux, burgomaster of Lausanne. The remains of the crosses, chalices, and other precious ornaments in gold and silver, taken from the churches and monasteries, produced at public auction in 1556 a large sum, which was employed in

¹ Titres de Bellevaux, No. 19, cited by M. Ernest Chavannes in his *Notice sur l'Abbaye de Bellevaux*.

repairing the bridge over the Flon, and its houses. Some idea of the value of these objects may be obtained from the fact that Noble François de Seigneux paid for a cross in crystal one hundred golden crowns. The copes and chasubles alone of the convents St. Francis and the Madeleine produced a considerable sum.

It appears from a plan drawn in 1678, that although Lausanne demolished many ancient edifices, she did not construct new ones in the century prior to that date, the greater part of her revenues being absorbed by the preservation of the walls and fortifications. Schæpfius's great map, made in 1548, of the State of Berne, found some years ago in a garret of the Hôtel de Ville, contains convents and castles which have quite disappeared.¹

The obstacles to the power of Berne seemed to be dissolving when Sebastian de Montfaucon, Prince-bishop of Lausanne, died in exile at Nice, and Charles III. passed away in 1553. The Emperor Charles V. had abdicated, and given the crown of Spain to Philip II. in 1556, while Francis I., persecutor of the Reformers, had been several years in his tomb.

But the new Duke of Savoy, Emanuel Philibert, claimed the Pays de Vaud, and sought to make himself master of Geneva. The conquered country ranged itself on the side of its new masters, and against Savoy, and prepared for war.

There is still in existence in manuscript, in the library at Lausanne, a contemporary sonnet, of unknown authorship, which alludes to the death of Henry II. in 1559, and of Francis II. in 1560, and indicates the triumphant feelings of the Protestants :

Sur la figure de dieu
Archier et couronne.

Lors que pour acquérir une ville couronne
Les archers tâchent tous a tirer le plus droit
Celui est nomme Roy comme le plus adroit
Qui choëssisant loyseau à la teste luy donne.
Que nul donques ici de voir dieu ne sestonne
Archier et couronne, car cest a tresbon droit
Ven qu il a seu tirer cy bien en cest endroit
Que jamais il faudra que sa gloire en resonance
Mais qui eust pu jamais tant soit il juste archer
Deux traictz cy puissamnant et cy droit desouchier
Comme dieu a tire nagueres a outrance.

¹ See M. de Gingins' Notice on the Plan of 1664, in Blanchet, p. 59; and also Blanchet, pp. 69, 71.

Onc homme ne tira et ne tirera mieux
 Frappant lung a lorelhe et laultre par les yeulx
 Deux miracles asses pour estonner la France.¹

Before the Reformation the Pays Romand followed in a great measure the political and literary destinies of Savoy, which the latter, in her turn, borrowed from neighbouring countries. The first editor of the 'Chronicles of Savoy,' for example, was Cabaret, probably a native of Picardy. Perrinet Du Pin, who came after him, was from La Rochelle. The next, Symphorien Champier, was from near Lyons. Martin Le Franc (Provost of the Chapter of Lausanne, and secretary of Amadeus VIII., first Duke of Savoy), famous in his time as the author of the 'Champion des Dames' and 'L'Estrif de Fortune et de Vertu,' came from Arras, on the borders of the Leman. Servien, when setting himself to translate the Bible into the vulgar tongue, though the servitor of illustrious princes, and former syndic of his native city (Geneva), esteemed himself honoured in serving Le Franc as a simple copyist. But while we indicate in passing the debt which Lake Leman owes in this direction to other countries, it must not be forgotten that Guillaume Fichet, born on its borders, introduced (1470) printing into the capital of France.²

On September 13, 1565, the students of the Academy of Lausanne performed before the councils of the city, upon the Place de la Palud, the history of the Chaste Suzanna, in four languages—Greek, Latin, French, German—to the great contentment of the magistrates, the people, and especially the ladies, who were charmed with the triumph of the young Jewess.

Between 1560 and 1588 thirty-seven patrician families furnished burgomasters, bannerets, and councillors to Lausanne.³

The change effected in the political sentiment of Vaud by the Reformation was emphasised by the arrival of thousands of exiled French Protestants. Lausanne, more than any other city,

¹ Notice sur un manuscrit du xvi^e siècle, appartenant à la Bibliothèque Cantonale.—Poésies inédites de Clément Marot, de Catherine de Médicis, et de Théodore de Bèze, par Fréd. Chavannes, Lausanne, 1844, p. 49.

² Gaullieur, *Etudes sur l'Histoire Littéraire de la Suisse Française*, p. 11.

³ Bourgeois, Blecheret, Comte, Coupin, Cornillon, Daux, d'Arnex, d'Aubonne, de Goumoëns, d'Illeus, de Montherand, de Saussure, de Talens, de Ruvines, Gaudard, Gimel, Grand, Langin, de Loys, Martignier, Paris, Perrin, Pivard, Polier, Ravinel, Real, Roche, Rosset, Saint-Cierge, Sautci, Secretan, de Seigneux, Tronchet, Vevey, Viret, Vulliamoz, de Yverdun.

gave a warm welcome to these poor people. The book of the burghers shows that between 1544 and the end of the century four hundred and thirty-eight foreign families were admitted to the *bourgeoisie* of Lausanne, more than three hundred of these coming from France and Savoy.

Many of them were artisans who built up the industry and commerce of their adopted city. These included shoemakers, tailors, weavers, locksmiths, furbishers, and shearers. The educated classes were represented by merchants, doctors, surgeons, apothecaries, and jurisconsults.

The noble families of de Saussure and de Polier also came hither at this time. Moreri, quoting Borel, relates a fact concerning one of the remote ancestors of the de Poliers—Claude Polier or Poliez (archaic form for *poulet*)—of Languedoc, whose arms bore a cock. In the reign of Philip the Hardy, Polier had the good fortune to save the Dauphin from great peril, in a battle where Louis XI., Count of Toulouse (not to be confused with Louis XI., King of France), commanded. Thereupon the Count instituted an order of chivalry of the Cock in honour of this event, and placed Polier at its head.¹

The Poliers intermarried with all the foremost houses of Vaud, and became famous in law, theology, and arms. We shall have occasion to speak of them constantly in connection with Voltaire and Gibbon.

In 1500 Mongin de Saussure was living at the Court of the Duke René of Lorraine, where he held the office of Grand Falconer. The name was then written Saulxure; later it became Saulsure, and finally Saussure. Anthony, son of Mongin, having embraced Protestantism, was obliged to take refuge at Lausanne. Towards the beginning of the seventeenth century, one of his descendants established himself at Geneva, and was the ancestor of Gibbon's contemporary, Horace Benedict de Saussure, the geologist, whose son was almost equally distinguished in the same science.

The de Saussures of Lausanne have constantly furnished eminent magistrates, ecclesiastics, and soldiers. A Captain de

¹ Golowkin, p. 91, cites Moreri, who, he says, cites Borel for this fact (*Antiq. Gaul. et Franc.*). See for Moreri, *La Rousse*, xi. 560, and for Borel, *ibid.* ii. 1002.

Saussure, in reward of his bravery in the Bernese army at the battle of Vilmergue, in 1712, was created Baron de Berchier. His descendants were the friends of Gibbon and the relatives of Deyverdun. One of the members of the family, in fact, resided in La Grotte from 1831 to 1871, and was always known under the name of de Berchier.

In the commencement of the eighteenth century, a member of the Lausanne branch removed to Charleston, South Carolina. One of his descendants was killed in the War of Independence; another occupied high rank in the army of General Andrew Jackson during the war with England; while Wilmot de Saussure of Charleston was a Brigadier-General in the Confederate army.

Thirty years ago, at a banquet given at Charleston in honour of one of the de Saussures of Switzerland, one hundred persons lineally descended from the first immigrant, and all bearing the family name, sat at the table.¹

On October 22, 1564, the affairs of the Pays de Vaud seemed to be settled upon a peaceful basis. After various conferences, attempts at arbitration, ruptures, and preparations for war, a treaty was on that day adopted, and guaranteed by France and Spain. By this the seigniors of Berne yielded Gex, Ternier, Gaillard, Thonon, and all they had conquered beyond the lake and the Rhone, to the Duke of Savoy, on condition that the newly established religion should be left undisturbed, and that all purchases which had taken place should subsist in full force. Berne retained the Pays de Vaud, the seigniories and bailiwicks of Nyon, Vevey, Tour de Peilz, Villeneuve, and all other places on the upper side of the lake which formerly belonged to Chablais; it being clearly understood that neither the Duke of Savoy nor his heirs should ever again make claim to this territory.

Five years later, Freiburg also treated with the Duke, and entered into the alliance of the Catholic cantons with the House of Savoy. The Valais restored Evian and Abondance to Emanuel Philibert, and received in return Monthey and all the territory between St. Maurice and St. Gingolph.²

¹ Letter of M. Théodore de Saussure, October 24, 1879, to the author.

² Verdeil, ii. 81, 115-117.

Many interesting books have been founded upon incidents in the long and illustrious career of the House of Savoy. Among the brilliant pens that have depicted glowing scenes in the lives of this kingly race, there is one to whom the whole world is indebted for hours wherein the imagination has been entranced and the mind delighted. Who that has read *Le Page du Duc de Savoie*, and other works of Alexandre Dumas can fail to acknowledge his gratitude for the pleasure derived from a prolific genius, whose capacious brain has embraced and illustrated the historical episodes and problems which each country presents? How many, wearied with severe intellectual labours, have found solace and relief in the bewitching pages of this great author? Men and women in every degree, from the highest to the lowest, have found themselves absorbed by the thrilling or amusing passages of the father, whose son has illustrated his hereditary genius in other fields, and shown that originality of mind which has won for him a place never attained by his father—a seat in the French Academy.

Berne was not yet content. She wished not only to exercise temporal sovereignty, but to reign over the consciences of her subjects. Viret and the Councils of Lausanne desired to introduce the ecclesiastical discipline of Calvin into the Pays de Vaud. Berne threatened the authorities of Lausanne, and dismissed and exiled Viret and Vallier. The Class of Lausanne having refused to replace them, Berne imprisoned all of its members, including the pastors, professors, and regents, and appointed successors to Viret and Vallier. Forty clergymen and professors resigned, and were followed to Geneva and into France by many of their colleagues.

The ministers who wished for the pre-eminence of the Church over the State were forced to leave the country. The Councils of Lausanne eventually yielded, and Berne suppressed the synods, annulled the conferences, and decreed that the classes should be presided over by the bailiffs. She constituted herself, in fact, the head of the Church. The catechism of Heidelberg became the symbolical book, and the Helvetic Confession of Faith was everywhere imposed.

On August 24, 1572, at break of day, began in Paris the horrors of St. Bartholomew. On this occasion the philosopher,

Pierre Ramus, just returned from Lausanne, was massacred by assassins. His body, like that of Coligny, was thrown from a window, and subjected to every insult as it was dragged from street to street. Philip de Hohensax, who had studied law, theology, and Hebrew at Lausanne, and come to pursue in Paris a course of philosophy under Ramus, miraculously escaped. Every day that elapsed after this terrible event brought a throng of fugitives into Switzerland, composed in part of those who had retired from thence to France.

De Chandieu described the affair with such moderation at Lausanne, that even his enemies were not offended by his discourse.

Jean de Serres, who had been educated at the Academy of Lausanne, also took refuge in that town, and passed his exile in translating Plato into Latin. Scaliger, who happened to be then at Lausanne, showered on those around him the treasures of his erudition. François Hotman, the famous juriconsult, who having adopted the reformed religion found himself without resources, and passed three years at Lausanne in teaching humanities at the Academy, saw his wife, whom he had married in that city, ill-treated, his property stolen, and his son's throat cut.

CHAPTER XXVII

EIGHT cities now reduced to order their customs, usages, liberties, and franchises; and Berne made these statutes legal under the name of the Code of Laws of Moudon, 1577. Lausanne and the ancient territories of the bishopric preserved the *Plaict Général*. Orbe, Echallens, Grandson, Vevey, Aigle, le Pays d'en Haut, and Payerne, followed their own particular laws.

This eventful diversity of legislation complicated and increased the number of suits. It was not looked upon, however, with an unfavourable eye by Berne, for it was an obstacle to national unity, and, by dividing the Vaudois, increased the power of their Excellencies and strengthened their reign.

Although the treaty of Lausanne delivered over the Pays de Vaud to the pleasures of peace during the remaining years of

Emanuel Philibert, it seemed to exercise but little influence over his successor Duke Charles Emanuel, who, from the moment of his advent to power in 1580, made vigorous efforts to recapture the old dominions of his family. Having assembled an army at Chambéry, in which were two thousand men from the Catholic Cantons, he advanced upon Chablais and the Pays de Gex, and menaced Geneva. Berne sent forth a strong force to succour that city. Henry III. of France declared himself its protector, and an ambassador from Queen Elizabeth of England interceded with such effect that the Duke laid aside his projects for the time, and dismissed part of his troops. But fortune soon began to smile upon the leaguers; after the assassination of the Guises, a general rising in France so occupied the royal army, and so reduced the Protestants, that the Duke determined to renew his attempts. He hoped to surprise Geneva and capture the Pays de Vaud, where he still had many friends.¹

During one of my early visits to Lausanne I remarked in the Rue de la Madeleine, which is nearly opposite the Hôtel de Ville, a place vacant without apparent reason. It had the air of an outcast, for it broke the uniformity of the buildings, and was even excluded from the numbering. Its singularities aroused my curiosity, and on inquiry I found that here stood the house of a burgomaster of Lausanne, who, in 1588, had attempted to hand over the Pays de Vaud to the Duke of Savoy. In consequence of this act their Excellencies ordered the building to be razed to the ground. Although Bernese rule long ago gave way to popular sovereignty, this empty space remains to recall an event which had signal effect in consolidating public sentiment in the country.

It was not unnatural that the Duke of Savoy should desire to regain the lost territories of his race. Nor was it difficult to find aid in this direction, for there still existed sympathy and love for a royal house which had conferred many benefits, and originated some of the most important institutions and liberties.

There were at that moment a goodly number of noble families who detested the arrogance and new-fangled doctrines of the Bernese, despised the *parvenus* they had brought to the front, and, remembering the ancient privileges of the imperial

¹ Verdeil, ii.

city of Lausanne, ardently longed for a renewal of the rule of Savoy.

Through his agents—certain rich merchants, the brothers Espaule, whose name under its Latin translation had achieved a scholarly celebrity in the lexicographer Jean Espaule, or Scapula, Professor at Lausanne—the Duke succeeded in setting on foot a conspiracy in which the most influential personages of town and province were secretly engaged.

The leader in this plot was Noble Isbrand d'Aux, seignior of Prilly and of Crissier, the richest and most powerful citizen of Lausanne, who had become burgomaster in the previous year. Among the other active participants were his son, George d'Aux, Grand Saultier of the Council; M. de St. Cierge, Judge of the Criminal Court; Claude de Illens, Castellan of St. Sulpice, of the noble house to which belonged Antoine de Illens, already mentioned as Bailiff of Lausanne in the time of Charles the Bold, and from which descended those of the name whom Gibbon numbered among his friends. To these important personages were joined Claude Comte, seignior of Mex; the Councillor Claude Paris; Francis Paris, recorder of the Civil Court; and the banneret Sebastian Roche, receiver of the secularised convent of St. Francis and La Grotte.¹

Secret conferences and meetings became so frequent as to attract attention, but suspicion of the real state of the case was not yet entertained by anybody. The burgomaster of Lausanne finally engaged, in the name of his fellows, to deliver over to the Duke of Savoy that city and the Pays de Vaud upon the following terms, to which the Governor of Chablais, the Baron d'Hermences, agreed in the name of his master:

The Duke to guarantee to the towns, seigniories, and villages their liberties and franchises, and especially freedom of conscience.

Lausanne to enjoy sovereign rights—that is to say, those of pardoning and of making war and money, to preserve all her ancient privileges, while acquiring new ones, and to have jurisdiction over Pully, a former dependency of the monastery of Payerne, given to those monks in 962 by Queen Bertha.²

¹ Olivier, ii. 996; Verdeil, ii. 186.

² Martignier and de Crousaz, p. 775.

The Duke to construct a fortress in the upper part of Lausanne for the defence of the town, and the Castellan of Chillon to deliver that castle into the Duke's hands.

Charles Emanuel now gathered a large train of artillery and a fleet at Ripaille. Five thousand men were brought thither from Lombardy. Florence and the Duke of Ferrara also sent troops. Nevertheless, Berne was prayed, in the most naïve manner, not to regard these measures as acts of hostility. She, however, sent Colonel d'Erlach with six hundred men into the Pays de Vaud, and ordered a levy of six thousand militia. But she was still far from aware of the understanding existing between Savoy and Vaud. In fact, the Bernese bailiff at Lausanne, in the most confiding manner, issued his directions for defence to the very men who were plotting his overthrow.

Their Excellencies were so entirely thrown off their guard by the apparent devotion of their subjects in Vaud and the retirement of the Duke's forces to Annécý and Chambéry, that they dismissed the new levy.

Meanwhile, the activity of the plotters was not diminished for a moment. But various circumstances now led one of the prominent men of the town into conversation with M. Isbrand de Crousaz, seignior of Chexbres, and to an interchange of opinions. They remarked that George d'Aux frequently crossed the lake, and that the Governor of Chablais, the Castellan of Evian—M. de Chatillon—and other noble Savoyards had been present at a great dinner in the house of the Burgomaster. M. de Crousaz then remembered certain things to which he had not attached importance at the time. He had noticed from his terrace at Chexbres that boats constantly left the Savoy and the Pays de Vaud shores, and, meeting in the middle of the lake, remained side by side for hours; and then, hoisting sail, returned each to its respective quarters.

M. de Crousaz having had a difficulty with his uncle the Burgomaster d'Aux, on account of a law-suit, was led to suspect the latter; and accordingly begged his brother, Claude de Crousaz, carefully to watch the acts of that magistrate.

The same day, Claude was invited to sup with his uncle, and the talk having turned upon the news of the day, the Burgomaster took his nephew aside, revealed his plans, and urged him

to assist in driving out the Bernese and restoring the House of Savoy. But de Crousaz repelled these propositions with characteristic loyalty. 'Since,' he said, 'I have had the good fortune to be born under the Christian domination of Berne, which I have solemnly sworn to support for the honour of God and for my own salvation, I shall remain faithful until death.' De Crousaz, moreover, implored his relative to renounce his projects, but, finding him firm, declared that he should be obliged to disclose the secret to the Bailiff. 'I fear nobody,' replied the Burgomaster. 'Go to the castle and repeat all you know.'

The situation was sad and cruel. De Crousaz' uncle had confided in him so fully that he had actually placed his life in his hands. On the other hand, during the terrible hours of the succeeding night, his brain was racked with feverish dreams. He saw the Jesuits entering the town, followed by the familiars of the Inquisition. He beheld the Protestants of Vaud delivered over to the persecution of foreign mercenaries, and he arose determined to save his religion, and to preserve Lausanne from what he imagined would be a massacre of frightful proportions. At dawn he revealed the plan to the Bailiff, who, imagining the population of Lausanne in the conspiracy, shut himself in the castle, and detained de Crousaz as a hostage.

In the meantime, the Burgomaster had measured the extent of his danger. A furious north wind which had for two days prevented the landing of the Duke's troops, was still blowing, and a battalion of Bernese troops was approaching. Feeling that all was lost, d'Aux abandoned his home, and fled with his adherents to St. Sulpice, from whence he embarked and was soon wafted in safety to Evian.

This was on Sunday morning, December 15, 1588, while pious Lausanne was engaged in attendance upon the eight o'clock sermon. Great agitation prevailed when the facts became known, and the Councils were hastily convoked.

There now appeared upon the scene the banneret Jean de Rosset, who declared that the Burgomaster, before flight, had sent him the seals of the city and asked him to take the direction of affairs.

This de Rosset was the descendant of a noble family of Vufflens, and son of a former deputy from Lausanne to Berne.

His descendants were connected with the families of Deyverdun and de Montagny, and the unpublished family papers which I discovered in La Grotte have afforded me valuable information in the preparation of this work.

Upon de Rosset's suggestion, four members of the Council were delegated to assure the Bailiff of the fidelity of Lausanne. The same evening, Madame Roche, wife of the Receiver of St. Francis, repaired at nine o'clock to the Council Chamber, and delivered to the municipal authorities six silver dishes and twelve silver cups, belonging to St. Francis and La Grotte, intended for the Holy Communion, which had been confided to her by her husband the conspirator immediately before his departure.

The next day, a garrison of seven hundred men arrived, and the keys of the city were delivered up to their chief, the Councillor Ausperger, 'without prejudice to the rights and liberties of Lausanne.'

The gates of the city were closed. Vessels were forbidden to set sail on the lake. All Savoyards not furnished with letters of residence were obliged to quit the country. A rigorous inquiry ensued. The banneret Tronchet and the two brothers Espaulle were arrested and transferred to Berne, where the banneret and Claude Espaulle were dragged upon a hurdle from the prison to the scaffold, and a hand and the head of each cut off. They were then quartered, and their remains exposed at the cross roads of the principal routes of the Republic. Louis Espaulle, after languishing for a time in prison at Berne, was sent back to Lausanne, where he underwent the same punishment.

Berne confiscated the fiefs and estates of the conspirators, and ordered the destruction of the two houses of the Burgo-master d'Aux at Lausanne—the one already referred to—between numbers five and six in the Rue de la Madeleine, the other in the Faubourg of the Aile de St. Laurent, between numbers nineteen and twenty-three.

The details of the plot now began to come to light. It appeared that George d'Aux, at the very moment when the utmost security seemed to reign in the Pays de Vaud, when the militia had been disbanded and the army of Savoy had retired to Annécý, had crossed the lake to Evian, and there concerted

the following measures with the Castellan, M. de Chatillon, already mentioned.

The Burgomaster of Lausanne was to make a large provision of food in his house in the Faubourg of the Aile de St. Laurent; and on the night of December 11 and 12 six hundred Savoyards, disembarking at Vidy, were to be taken into this residence by a gate opening upon the present Rue des Terreaux. At the same time, the banneret Roche, Receiver of the Convent of St. Francis, under the pretext of repairs, was to re-establish the subterranean passage already mentioned; and eight hundred men, landing at Ouchy, were to pass through the opening of this corridor in La Grotte, and be introduced into the Church of St. Francis. At a given signal, the foreign troops, the conspirators, and their adherents, were to throw themselves upon the stronger points of defence, crying out, 'The town is taken! the town is taken!' and after massacring the bailiff and his deputy, to seize the other Bernese functionaries, and everyone recognised as devoted to Berne.

All was ready for this new St. Bartholomew at the time agreed upon at Lausanne, says a local historian, and preparations were equally advanced on the other side of the lake. The troops were in readiness on the shore at Thonon, and the artillery already embarked. But a violent tempest suddenly arose, and put a stop to the intended movements.¹

CHAPTER XXVIII

MANY of the nobility outside the city of Lausanne, as already mentioned, were implicated in the great conspiracy. Among them were François Dortans, seignior of Berchier, paternal ancestor of the de Saussures; also François de Tavel, Claude Mercier, and François Tornare. But as they made no avowals, though subjected to torture, and were not compromised by the revelations of Tronchet and the brothers Espaulé, all were liberated.

I have recently come into possession of a series of interesting

¹ Verdeil, ii.

unpublished documents which relate to the family of Ferdinand Bouvier, one of the most important actors in this conspiracy. They were discovered in the torture chamber of the Castle of Chillon by Colonel Jaques de la Rottaz, in 1817, the year after Byron's visit. While at Montreux, in 1879, I called upon this venerable man, who kindly placed the manuscripts at my disposal.

Colonel de la Rottaz was then in his ninety-third year, and in excellent health. As I entered his house, which stands in the beautiful village of Veytaux, not far from Chillon, I saw over the portal a marble slab, with the following inscription: 'J. & F. A. 1797'—those being the initials of his parents' Christian names, and the date of the erection of the house.

As I advanced to the drawing-room, a gentleman of medium height and figure greeted me with cordiality and courtesy. He had a fine head and Roman features, and betrayed scarcely any signs of age. He conversed with great facility, mind and memory obeying his call with astonishing rapidity. He told me that his family had been settled in the neighbourhood for several centuries, and had already been long established there when Jean Baptiste de la Rottaz became, in 1585, purchaser of the Château of Châtelard. Both families had a common origin in the Grisons, and their arms are described by Colonel Mandrot as azure with a wheel argent.

Colonel de la Rottaz' grandfather lived to be ninety-two, and smoked continually, but the Colonel himself never acquired the habit. There seemed to be no particular rule of life in his family, except that of living a great while. His father lived to such an advanced age that I have heard the peasantry say he was called the Père Eternel.

The son's earliest recollection was of the beginning of the French Revolution. At its close, many of the veterans who had served in the French armies were allowed to inhabit the Castle of Chillon under the Bernese, as a sort of asylum or retreat. They managed to create a formidable impression by placing in the highest embrasures a quantity of wooden water-pipes, painted black to represent cannon. The trick was not discovered until the people seized Chillon in the Revolution of 1803.

Having been appointed Inspector of Buildings for this

district, it became the Colonel's duty to make an inventory of everything in the castle, and a plan of the same, with exact measurements of each part. In the course of his investigations he found the remains of a passage running from what is now called the Cellar of the Gendarmerie to the Cellar of the Bernese. The middle portion had fallen in, and he did not attempt to restore it. I afterwards examined it in company with M. Masson, the careful guardian of this ancient pile.

Colonel de la Rottaz sent a detailed report, with his plan of Chillon attached, to the authorities of Lausanne, in 1818 or 1820. I regret to say that a diligent search on my part in all the public offices at Lausanne has failed to discover it. A rough draft, however, of this inventory has been recently found by its author among his papers, and I am indebted to M. Louis Masson, of the Castle of Chillon, for a copy of it.

It was at this time that Colonel de la Rottaz brought to light an ancient chest in the Chamber of Torture which had been filled with time-stained documents. In the course of centuries the supply had been gradually diminished, for the material had been used for making cartridges and lighting fires; but the remaining manuscripts were historically valuable.

The first was an original copy of the will of the Reverend Seigneur Rudolph Bouvier, Canon of Lausanne and of Sion, made on April 26, 1545, three years before that of his colleague, Dr. Jean Grand, or Grandis, discovered by me among the papers in La Grotte. Intending to make a journey to the Roman Court, he divided his paternal estate into equal portions, and named the Noble Charles and the Noble François Bouvier, his very dear brothers, as his heirs. He excepted, however, from this provision the great house at Villeneuve. This he left outright to François, on condition that Charles should be allowed to select therein a room for his dwelling and that of his male children. If both died without male issue, the second male child of his niece Louise was to succeed, on condition that he should reside in the house, and bear the arms and name of the testator.

Failing Louise's legitimate male offspring, this important property was to pass to the second legitimate male child of the Noble Dame Margaret, his niece. In case of her death without male descendants, the second male child of the niece following

was to inherit, and so on to the end of the list. He declared that he made this arrangement in order that it might be impossible to sell or alienate the succession, and to render it certain that his castellated mansion might be for ever preserved in the family.

When we consider the great care taken by the Reverend Seigneur to retain the ancient residence of his race throughout all time in the male line of descent, it is sad to remember that less than half a century later this, and everything else belonging to the Noble Ferdinand Bouvier, his nephew, was ruthlessly confiscated after the latter's treason.

The family of Bouvier was originally seated at Lompnes, in Bougy. Count de Foras says that François Bouvier established himself at Villeneuve, near Chillon, at the close of the fourteenth century, and in 1404 was entrusted with the government and defence of the castle and valley of Ormont by the Count of Savoy, in the name of its proprietor, the Count of Gruyère. This charge was the origin, undoubtedly, of the large fortune afterwards acquired by François Bouvier.

Three years later he married the granddaughter of Alexis de Pontverre, and received all the properties of that family between Aigle and Chillon. A subsequent marriage of his grandson with another heiress of the Pontverres placed the entire estates belonging to that noble house in the Pays de Vaud in the hands of the Bouviers.¹

There is a curious feeling still connected with the ruins of the Castle of Aigremont, one of the former possessions of the de Pontverres. The mountaineers believe that great treasures are hidden there, but that they are guarded by spirits, who must be conjured in order to oblige them to give up their charge. It is said that, several times within a few years, the Valaisan monks have been called upon to exorcise these ghosts; but there is no report as to the amount of precious objects recovered.

François Bouvier had been *procureur* of the Bailiff of Chablais and lieutenant castellan of Blonay in 1399. He was for three years lieutenant castellan of Monthey, and for twelve years castellan of Grandson. He finally reached the high office of Bailiff of Chablais, which he exercised from 1433 to 1441.

¹ Count Amédée de Foras, *Armorial de Savoy*.

By the courtesy of M. Aymon de Crousaz, the learned guardian of those treasures, my attention was directed to certain interesting items in the unpublished accounts of the bailiwick of Chablais by Amadeus de Challens, Bailiff and Captain of Chillon from 1404 to 1410, which still exist in Latin in the Cantonal Archives of Lausanne.

It appears that the Bailiff at that time received 60 sols, or 78 fr. 90 c., yearly, and was obliged to support four soldiers and a non-commissioned officer in the castle as his guard. In addition to his ordinary salary he received as a gratuity a further sum of 200 florins—3,280 fr.—per annum, and had magnificent quarters in the rez-de-chaussée. The great dining-hall opening upon the second court at Chillon belonged to this fine suite of apartments.¹

Ten sols, or 13 fr. 15 c., were paid annually to the chaplain, François de Payerne, for masses ordered by the late Count Aymon of Savoy, who had founded the hospital of Villeneuve. This is one of the earliest mentions of the chapel of Chillon Castle.

There is also an entry of money given to an architect for superintending repairs and inspection of the Castle. This professional gentleman was named Collan Thomas, and came from Geneva—a terrible journey in those days—to perform his important duties. He received the magnificent reward of 15 centimes a day.

These volumes of accounts were formerly in the possession of François Bouvier I., at that time lieutenant of the bailiff and lieutenant of Chillon. They descended to Ferdinand Bouvier, the conspirator, also lieutenant of the bailiff and of Chillon; and when his property was confiscated Berne sent them to the archives.

There are charges for the repair of the wine-presses. As the architect came from Geneva, so the carpenter came from Vevey. His name was Henry Lucat. Three great beams, each thirty feet long, cost, comprising the transport, 14 sols, equal to 18 fr. 54 c. Thirty sols were paid for laths, and 6 sols—7 fr. 86 c.—for six *coupes* of chalk.

These were all for the renovation of the roof of a chamber at

¹ Martignier and de Crousaz, p. 996.

the side of the *new* hall, below the first entrance door. This latter entry would indicate that one of the halls was recently constructed. There was a master carpenter with two others under him, and two labourers. They worked for twenty-two days, removing the old tiles, and replacing them by new ones. Each carpenter received 2 sols 8 deniers—3 fr. 66 c.—a day, and each labourer 18 deniers, or 2 fr. 34 c. of present money.

A notarial Act was duly passed upon the examination of the work, and a careful minuteness is displayed throughout these accounts. One of the acts is signed Hugues de Loës.

There is also an interesting list of the burgesses and other inhabitants of the district and borough of Chillon, indicating that the village of Chillon was still in existence in 1406. Here are these good men and true: Costan Johannis, Johannis Lancier Duprez, Antonius de Chillon, Magnus Johannis Duprez, Johannis Mugnerii, Aymon son of Aubert du Moulin, Rodolph Cossat, Jacquerodus Coshat, Mermet du Flon (the name of a rivulet at Montreux and also at Lausanne), Vincent Billiar, Jeannot Prolii *alias* Ginilliod, Jaquet Tirart, Jean Pastour *alias* Rulien, Jean Jaquerod Duprez, Jean Gastel, Jean du Moulin, Jean Vionet l'Aveugle, Mermet Lombard. There were eighteen firesides altogether at that time, and each of the burghers was obliged to pay an annual tax of 16 deniers, or 2 fr. 8 c.¹

On another page are registered the families then residing at Villeneuve, numbering 129. Among these are the du Lon, or d'Ollon, ancestors of M. Dulon, ex-Justice of the Peace, now living at Vevey; and the families of de Rosset, Masson de Montolivet, du Châtelard, de Pertuit, and Antonius de Lugin of the noble family originating at Lugin, afterwards connected by marriage with the de Bouviers.

In the part of Montreux then belonging to the Count of Savoy thirty-six families are mentioned. Vautier is the only name among them which still exists.

The *bourg* of Chillon counted, in 1322, sixty inhabitants. The Count of Savoy ordered the demolition of a part of the houses at an unknown date—which, however, must have been

¹ Martignier and de Crousaz, p. 205.

after 1405-6—and some of the inhabitants retired to Veytaux, and some to Villeneuve, called in the beginning Villeneuve de Chillon. Nothing remains of the village of Chillon except the scattered stones of some of the foundation walls. It stood upon the hillside in the rear of a steep rock, which then rose abruptly up from and even overhung the narrow defile—called in the Roman language, *La Serraille*—on the other side of which was the castle.

This narrow passage was on the grand route from Italy. It was closed by a fortified and embattled tower, with drawbridges and portcullis. Erected in the thirteenth century by Count Peter of Savoy, it existed at the period of Gibbon's first visit to Lausanne in 1753, and was then styled *La Tornette*. It was restored in 1772 by the Bernese, who demolished it two years later to enlarge the road, and who walled up a cavern by its side which ran under the rock and served as a resort for vagabonds. Before the destruction of this square tower, which stood three hundred feet west of the castle, the larger-sized waggons could not pass under its vaulted way, and were obliged to ascend the stony and narrow road passing over the summit of the rock, out of sight of the château and descending towards the lake further on. Since the demolition of this monument of the Middle Ages, the whole appearance of the place has been changed by the passage of a railway, the construction of a fine carriage-road, and the erection of houses. Its beauty indeed seemed also to have vanished; but trees and shrubbery have now once more covered the scene, and it has entirely regained its former picturesque air.¹

Villeneuve was called *Pennloch*—head of the lake—by the Celts, and became *Pennilucus*, a military station in the time of the Romans, with luxurious villas in its vicinity. The Roman town having disappeared, another began on its present site, called *Compengie*.

We first hear of the name of Villeneuve in 1166, when Landry, Bishop of Lausanne, gave its Church of St. Paul to the Abbey of Hautcrêt. Villeneuve was the first town in the country to enjoy a municipal organisation, its franchises

¹ Written in 1879. Since then an electric tramway has been constructed on the roadway.

having been granted by Thomas of Savoy in 1214, at which time it was surrounded by walls.

Villeneuve soon became a flourishing commercial centre, through which flowed the products of England, Flanders, France, Geneva, Venice and the rest of Italy ; for it was on the direct route of the Clées and St. Bernard. Many money-changers established themselves here, and the custom house of Villeneuve was one of the most important in the dominions of the princes of Savoy.

During the year 1286, merchandise passed through it at the rate of twenty-nine and a half bales a day, without counting those which were smuggled. In 1284 a bale of French cloth paid a duty of six sous four deniers and one obole of Viennese money, equivalent to-day to thirteen francs thirty-four centimes. There was also a charge of one obole for warehousing. At the same time horses were taxed each seventeen sous viennois, or thirty-eight francs fifty-seven centimes.

In the thirteenth century, Villeneuve was so frequented by merchants and pilgrims, that Aymon of Savoy, brother of Peter, founded, in 1236, the Hospital of St. Mary, endowing it with large revenues, afterwards increased by the bequests of strangers dying in the hospital. It is said that, on certain days, six hundred loaves of bread were distributed, and one hundred sick persons were accommodated in the hospital. The governing priest of the establishment had under him eight or ten other priests, some of whom were physicians, whose entire time was occupied in looking after the travellers.

The Reformation put a stop to the pilgrims, and the number of strangers diminished ; but their Excellencies of Berne, having taken possession of the funds, continued to distribute aid. Food and wine were given to poor passengers and to those who were admitted to the hospital. The property of this foundation was transferred, by decree of the Grand Council of Vaud, in 1806, to the Hospital of Lausanne, which stood near Pavilliard's house, when Gibbon resided with him in 1753. The building itself at Villeneuve was sold in 1827 to the commune for a school.¹

The chapel which Aymon had also built immediately opposite

¹ Martignier and de Crousaz, pp. 930-932.

was restored under the skilful directions of M. H. Chaudet, jun., the well-known architect at Montreux, who, while preserving as far as possible the ancient outline, was enabled to transform it into a Hôtel de Ville. He has furnished me with admirable drawings and details of his work, together with observations and notes made from day to day during its progress.

Tradition relates that Aymon of Savoy was finally buried in this spot. M. Chaudet, in the course of his researches, while making some excavations within the walls, found two skulls and some human bones. One of the former was smaller than the other, and seemed to have belonged to a female.

The great house at Villeneuve, which afterwards came to Rodolph Bouvier, and later to Ferdinand Bouvier the conspirator, was partially burned in the conflagration which destroyed nearly the whole of the town on May 4, 1409. Manuscript authorities inform us that it was repaired at a cost of 403 livres 8 sols.

Rodolph Bouvier left his maternal estate to his younger niece Jeanne, on condition that she and her husband should take up their residence in the mansion and upon the property at Aigle, and assume and bear the arms and name of Pontevitris, or de Pontverre.

He assigned the sum of twenty florins annually during her life to his sister Jeanne, the devout nun of the Convent of St. Claire, formerly at Orbe, then at Vevey, and now at Aix-les-Bains, in Savoy. He gave to the curé of Villeneuve 140 florins for a weekly mass, to be said each Friday at the high altar, with prayers for the dead and responses to be chanted in the middle of the choir after the said mass.

His legacies to religious foundations were both numerous and generous, including those to the Church of Villeneuve, the Chapel of St. Nicholas in the Church of St. Martin of Vevey, to the chaplaincy of St. Andrew in the Hospital of Villeneuve, and to the parochial church of St. Prothais in that town, to the chaplaincy of St. John the Baptist in the Church of St. James of Aigle, and to the Church of St. Sigismond in the town of St. Maurice.

Like his friend Dr. Grand, he left a certain sum to the Chapter of the Cathedral of Lausanne, to be available when the

Roman **Catholic** service should be re-established there. He exacted **that the** Chapter should permit his heirs to place a monument bearing his arms at the bottom of the church, on the spot **where** Noble George Bouvier, his nephew, was buried. This provision was accompanied by a gift of one hundred florins to celebrate masses on the day of his death; and he bequeathed to the **Bishop** of Lausanne and to the episcopal seat each a royal testoon.

CHAPTER XXIX .

THE second manuscript discovered by Colonel de la Rottaz at Chillon was a power of attorney made by Rodolphe Bouvier's sister, the Noble Jeanne Bouvier of Villeneuve, nun in the Convent of St. Claire at Orbe, with the consent of the venerable Sister Anne Husson, its mother abbess. She appoints her nephew, the Noble Francis de Tavel, Burgomaster of Vevey, her general attorney. The son of this gentleman afterwards married Catherine de Loÿs, cousin of Pierre de Loÿs, the first private proprietor of La Grotte at Lausanne. Jeanne Bouvier also mentioned her niece Jeannette Bouvier, and the latter's husband, Noble Amé Métral, living at Germanie, to-day a detached portion of the village of Mont-above-Rolle.

This document was executed nine years after the will of her brother, viz. September 10, 1554, before Claud Ganthier, notary and burgess of Orbe. The great seal and case, however, are no longer attached to it.

The famous Convent of St. Claire had become, in 1475, the resting-place of the gallant Captain de Joux, who commanded the Castle of Orbe against the Swiss Confederates. In the last moments of the attack, his head was split, and his garrison of four hundred men killed, burned, or thrown from the towers. The victors declared, in horrible jest, that the latter was done in order 'to teach the Burgundians to fly without wings.' When the cruel work was over, the blue and white flag of Lucerne waved from the donjon, while the mangled corpses were hurried to the Cemetery of St. Martin.

The convent was founded, in 1426, by Jeanne de Mont-

faucou, daughter of Henri de Montfaucon, who was killed at the battle of Nicopolis, in 1396. St. Collette laid the first stone, and established its rules. It belonged to the custody of Franche Comté, and was under the direction of the Cordeliers of Nozeroy, a deputation from whom lodged in a neighbouring house. It numbered among its recluses some of the highest nobility, such as Catherine de Saux, Blanche of Savoy, Philippine and Jeanne de Challons, Philiberte d'Arnay, André and Claudine de Pierrefleur. The last three were of Orbe. The most illustrious among them was Loyse of Savoy, daughter of Amadeus IX. and Yolande of France. This princess espoused Hugues de Challons Arlay. After his death she took the veil, and died in the odour of sanctity in 1503.

The Reformation subjected the poor nuns to many rude experiences, which are quaintly set forth in the chronicle of the Banneret de Pierrefleur. In 1531, Berne sent commissioners to take an inventory of the effects of the convent, and force the nuns to allow the doctrines of the Reformation to be preached in their church. Shortly after, seventeen nuns left, and repaired to Vevey, among them Jeanne Bouvier. The Reformation was definitely established at Orbe in 1554, and in the following spring the abbess and her nuns departed for ever to settle at Evian, under protection of the House of Savoy.¹

It was a piteous thing to see, says Pierrefleur. He seems to have had a higher opinion of nuns than of monks. He remarks: 'Men of religion are dangerous persons. As far as you can, allow them to pass quietly along, neither too far nor too near. By this little note I do not mean that there are not persons in religious orders well disposed, of high honour, and filled with great devotion; but the greater number *passé par devers Saint Paul*.'²

It must be confessed that Pierrefleur was blessed at times with a lively imagination. He gravely notes that on a certain Friday, between five and six in the morning, there surged by above the town of Orbe, flying in the direction of the mountains of Burgundy, a dragon of marvellous grandeur, like a great horse, whose shadow surpassed the bulk of a large house, and was suffused throughout with the colour of fire.³

¹ Martignier and de Crousaz.

² Verdeil, ii. 68.

³ Pierrefleur, colix.

The arms of St. Claire are the same as those of the House of Montfaucon and of the city of Orbe—namely, gules, two barbels addorsed or. The ancient building is to-day a tavern called 'Auberge de la Maison de Ville,' and these arms figure on its sign.

The third paper discovered by Colonel de la Rottaz is a letter from François de Lugrin, dated from Cérises, January 23, 1563, addressed to the 'Seignior François Bouvier, my good cousin, in his house at Villeneuve,' and signed 'your cousin and servant, François de Lugrin.'

Cérises was a property of the family of Lugrin, situated on the left bank of the Lake of Geneva, in Upper Savoy, near Mézery, two English miles southward of Yvoire. Count de Foras tells me that this ancient seat of the family of Lugrin was formerly written Excérisier. On modern maps it is printed Ceresy, and is near Exsenevex.

The family originally held the Maison Forte of Lugrin, which I believe to be the château now called Allaman, at the Tour Ronde. In a list of fiefs in the archives of Turin, under the head 'Allaman soit Lugrin,' it appears that on July 2, 1436, Noble Andrew de Blonay, son of Rudolph, in his own name and that of his brother Claud, acknowledged that he held in noble and ancient fief the Maison Forte of Lugrin, with its rights, appurtenances, and dependencies. Three years later it was in the possession of Noble François de Russin. He recognised that he held it as a noble fief from Prince Amadeus of Savoy. He was likewise the owner of the Château of Allaman, near Aubonne and Rolle, on the northern side of the lake—which Voltaire afterwards desired to acquire, but which the Government of Berne refused to let him have, under the pretext that he was a Roman Catholic—as I learn from a manuscript volume by M. Bacon de Seigneux and M. de Gingins, in the Cantonal Library at Lausanne, treating of the barony of Aubonne and of the Château of Allaman in Vaud.

It would be natural to suppose that it was François de Russin the elder who gave to the Maison Forte of Lugrin, in Savoy, its present name of Castle Allaman. But there is an old Latin parchment among the de Blonay archives clearly indicating that the change came later. We are told, with all

the minuteness and solemnity belonging to the legal documents of that period, that on June 4, 1468, in the Château of Carignon, and in the chamber next the lower court of the castle, the Noble Jaques, son of the aforesaid François de Russin, Seigneur of Allaman, humbly supplicated the Duke of Savoy, in the presence of his Council, to invest him with full jurisdiction over the Maison Forte of Lugrin, in the diocese of Geneva. The Prince, being favourably inclined, proceeded at once to comply with the request by the delivery of a dagger and the grant of a deed of concession. Thereupon the said Jaques, upon his bended knees, with joined hands placed between those of his lord, and with a kiss upon the mouth, in sign of perpetual and indissoluble faith, voluntarily swore for himself and his heirs to render to the said seignior duke and his successors full and faithful liege, homage, and fidelity.

It passed afterwards into the hands of the noble family of Dunant, heirs of the de Russins, and was then known as the Castle of Allaman. In 1735, Noble Jaques Bouvier, Baron of Yvoire, lineal descendant of Ferdinand Bouvier the conspirator, was Seigneur of Allaman and Thonon.¹

The Luginns sold all their possessions in the parishes of Lugrin, Thollon, and Maxilly at a very early period, and are mentioned in a legal Act as residing at Cérissier on May 27, 1331. There is no trace of them in the present Château of Allaman, but in the kitchen are arms of the family of de Russin—sable, a lion rampant or, a bend or.

Jean Louis de Loÿs, brother of Aubert and ancestor of the de Loÿs de Correvon, de Loÿs de Marnand, and de Loÿs of La Grotte, married an heiress of the de Russins, and his descendants therefore possessed the right of quartering the de Russin arms.

Curious Druidical remains have been found in the garden. There were also here two towers, whose traces have almost disappeared, the site of each being marked by a fine tree. A noble tower still exists, however, in the centre of the château, seven storeys in height, commanding a magnificent view of the lake and the mountains above Meillerie.

¹ Archives of the de Loÿs family, in the possession of their representative, the Marquis de Loÿs Chandieu.

I noticed a spacious bedroom with great beams, decorated in the style of the Renaissance. This property, which adjoins the Château of Blonay at the Tour Ronde, belonged thirty years ago to M. de Constant de Rebecque, who lived for many years in La Grotte at Lausanne. His brother, Baron Victor de Constant de Rebecque, painted an admirable sketch of the arms of the various proprietors, but this has unfortunately disappeared. The estate now belongs to the two daughters of Count Montraville, who reside here in summer and pass their winters at Besançon.

On one of the chimneys in the château is the date 1516, but the main tower is much older. I examined with interest an ancient chapel opening on the garden, where there is a statue of our Lord, which was carried off during the first Revolution, and finally brought back amid rejoicings.

In 1588, when, as related in Chapter XXVI., Charles Emanuel of Savoy renewed the pretensions of his family to the sovereignty of the Pays de Vaud, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Castle of Chillon, and Receiver of the Villeneuve Hospital, was Ferdinand Bouvier, then in his thirty-fifth year. He was son of Noble François Bouvier and Noble Louise de Tavel, the nephew of Rodolph and Jeanne Bouvier, and the relative of François de Lugrin. As his family originally owed its fortunes to the House of Savoy, Bouvier not unnaturally became a leader in the conspiracy to wrest Vaud from the Bernese and restore it to its ancient masters.

Accordingly, on the afternoon fixed for the seizure of Lausanne, he stationed a force in ambush in the forest near Chillon, and awaited with anxiety the signal for the departure of the expedition from the Savoyan shore. The absence of all movement, however, on the other side of the lake, and the violent tempest which suddenly arose, soon convinced him that the attempt had failed. He therefore dismissed his followers, and returned to his ordinary duties.¹

On the day of the discovery of the plot at Lausanne, Bouvier dined by invitation with the Bernese bailiff, Hans Weyermann, in the Castle of Chillon. While they were feasting in the great hall, and pledging each other's health right merrily, a courier

¹ Verdeil, ii. 143.

who had arrived in hot haste was announced at the portal, and, being ushered into the Bailiff's presence, delivered to him a letter, which he prayed him to read without delay.

When Weyermann had finished its perusal he turned to his lieutenant and said: 'I am sorry, my gossip, but I have received the order to arrest you.'

Although fairly caught in his own trap, Bouvier was not disconcerted, and immediately replied: 'It is my duty to obey you, and I am entirely at your disposition. I merely ask you to grant me a slight favour. Permit me to go to Villeneuve for only two hours, to place my house in order and to arrange some important personal matters. Let a strong escort accompany me, with commission to kill me if I attempt to escape on the way. I beg you not to deny my request to see my household once more before being immured in the awful dungeons below.'¹

The kind Bailiff, in the simplicity of his heart, could not entirely believe in the treachery of his subordinate. He, therefore, gave him the desired permission to depart—with strict injunctions, however, to return within the stipulated time. Bouvier, overjoyed by his success, could scarcely conceal his pleasure, and, promising implicit obedience, rode off with his guards to Villeneuve.

Near the gateway at the other end of the town he possessed the massive ancestral tower and dwelling which formerly belonged to his uncle Rodolph.

Taking advantage of the custom of the country, he first conducted the soldiers into the deep vaults of this mansion, to offer them wine. Whoever has had occasion to mark the interesting ceremonies accompanying this national institution may readily imagine the scene. Bouvier first took the generous beaker in his own hands, and, raising it to his lips, drained it to the bottom in sign of intimate hospitality and good-fellowship. He then filled it to the brim and handed it to the man next him, who returned it in a gaping condition. Bouvier again replenished it, and the next man quaffed it; and thus it circled until his turn once more arrived. His custodians were so well pleased with the liquids that were introduced to their

¹ *Chillon*, par L. Vulliemin, pp. 150, 151.

willing attention that they continued their pleasant exertions until they fell prone upon the ground in sheer exhaustion.

The wily Bouvier now left them snoring or impotently leering at one another, and, having locked them up in the secure precincts of his cellars, gathered together his papers, his jewels, and his money, mounted his horse, and fled across the Rhone to the territory of Savoy.

Juste Olivier has somewhere said, '*Allons, boire un verre* is the end of everything in this country.' It certainly put an end to Bouvier's danger, for the Duke received him with favour, and employed him in various offices. In 1598 he was converted to Catholicism by St. Francis de Sales, and was eventually gathered to his fathers with the reputation of having been a faithful servant of the Royal House of Savoy.

While making every allowance for the influence exercised on Bouvier by his hereditary loyalty, I cannot forget or forgive his desertion of his unfortunate wife, Marie du Crest, who was arrested immediately after his flight and put to the torture in the very room in the Castle of Chillon in which Colonel de la Rottaz afterwards found the chest containing the family papers.

The story of Bouvier and his unhappy wife seized so firmly on my imagination that I made a pilgrimage from Lausanne to Chillon, from Chillon to Villeneuve, from Villeneuve to Allaman, and from Allaman to the Château of Yvoire, in order to gather up all the links in this strange family history.

M. Aymon de Crousaz directed my attention to the original marriage-contract, still existing in the Cantonal Archives at Lausanne, between Ferdinand, son of the deceased François Bouvier of Villeneuve, and Marie du Crest, widow of the late Adam de Garmiswyl, donzel of that part of Montreux called Les Planches. By this instrument her dowry consisted of all her property, augmented by 1,000 florins promised by her husband, besides the robes and jewels of her trousseau, with the understanding that a free gift of 2,000 *écus d'or au soleil* should revert to her future husband in case of her death without children. This contract is dated December 22, 1580. On its back is a memorandum declaring that the clause in favour of her husband was annulled by agreement between their Excel-

lencies and the forsaken wife on April 14, 1589, the year after Bouvier's flight.

It appears that Ferdinand Bouvier also received with his wife a portion of the seignior of Vulpillières, in the parish of Corsier, near Vevey, and that he sold it to their Excellencies of Berne for 14,000 florins on July 4, 1581.

All the authorities which I have consulted agree in condemning Bouvier's abandonment of Marie du Crest; and I have been unable to find an alleviating circumstance in the story of his desertion and of her consequent sufferings.

The room in which Marie du Crest underwent her terrible punishment is in the form of an obtuse-angled triangle, thirty feet across at the base, eighteen feet across at the smaller end, and twenty-one feet in length. The original round wooden column to which the poor woman was attached remains, with its iron stanchions and wooden block at the top, by means of which she was drawn up, and, being strapped to the pillar, was tortured with red-hot irons applied to her feet. The marks of these devilish instruments can still be traced in the calcined wood; but the fine wires heated and forced under the nails of her feet and hands are left to the imagination. She endured these horrors without a murmur, and her merciless judges were at last compelled to release her because she avowed nothing, and they could find naught to say against her.

As if in mockery of its uses, the capital of the torture-column is finely sculptured and decorated, while at either corner are bunches of luscious grapes. The single window in this room is distinguished by the graceful tracery of its stonework, and commands a view of beautiful and peaceful scenes. Yet it was here that for hundreds of years, and until the last century, cries of anguish continued to awaken the startled air.

Occasionally the judges were leniently inclined. Colonel de la Rottaz found an official document remitting the punishment of torture in the case of a woman accused of witchcraft, and merely condemning her to have her head severed from her body!

The Torture Chamber is next to the Hall of Justice, and thither the accused were hurried for preliminary examination by rack, wheel, pillar, iron. What sad sights, what piercing

shrieks must have arisen from this spot! What mental and physical agony has been expressed here in the bloody sweat of mortal pain! In spite of the bright light which now floods it, and the smiling view that it embraces, I always enter with a shudder this chamber of despair. It seems to me that the Evil One himself must have assisted at the hellish scenes enacted within its walls.

It makes one's blood boil to think how many innocent persons have been the victims of these diabolical practices in different parts of Switzerland. Bridel cites an instance of this. In 1512 the twelve cantons appointed Nicholas Halter, of Unterwald, regent of Neuchâtel. Just after his arrival a certain Ulrich Kursner set out upon a journey with Jan Sattler. When they reached Basle, the first-named, having satisfactorily completed his business, returned to Neuchâtel, while Sattler continued his route. The appearance of one without the other gave rise to suspicion, and Kursner was charged with murder. Tortured until he lost self-control, he confessed that he had committed the crime, and was broken upon the wheel. One week afterwards Sattler quietly returned to Neuchâtel. When the facts became known the Bailiff and judges withdrew the body of Kursner from beneath the wheel and gave it honourable burial. The cantons also allowed a pension to the widow. The mayor, the banneret, and some of the twenty-four councillors who had taken part in the decision, died of grief within a year. This, however, is an exceptional example of the appreciation of evil done and the attempt to rectify it.

The story of Ferdinand Bouvier and his wine-cellar reminds me of the escape of Baron Henri de Rhœztins a century and a quarter earlier. Having been convicted of bad faith by the peasantry, the baron was surprised in his castle, and sentenced to have his head cut off as a traitor to his country. The headsman advanced and made the ordinary excuses to the condemned. The baron simply replied that, as he was very stout, he begged that he would take care to lessen his sufferings by beheading him at a single blow. Thereupon the executioner pulled a hair out of his head, drew his sabre half-way out of the scabbard, and blowing the hair suddenly against the edge of the sword, cut it so neatly in two that the pieces fell on either side. The baron

had previously taken one of his old servants into his confidence, by whose advice he prayed as a supreme favour that he might be permitted to eat his last repast with the peasants. In answer to this request long tables were spread, and the company sat down, determined to eat and drink to the extent of their ability. Strangely enough, the baron was the only one who lacked appetite; but the peasants made up for his shortcomings, and yielded easily to the invitations of the faithful servant to drink freely. The old man went from table to table, bottle in hand, flattering some, making promises to others, and alleging that his master's fault grew out of his great youth and inexperience. He recalled to their minds his respectable father, to whom they owed their liberties and previous happiness, and, waxing eloquent, he declared in the most earnest tones that since the baron had eaten with them and had been their guest, they could not harm him without violating the holy laws of hospitality, everywhere recognised from the remotest antiquity. Then, at a signal from his servant, the baron, falling on his knees, confessed his fault, and asked for pardon, which was granted amidst general rejoicing.¹

CHAPTER XXX

AFTER an examination of Chillon in connection with Ferdinand Bouvier's treason, I set out for Villeneuve to find his house. From the castle to the village is twenty minutes' walk. I found the view of Chillon from the road under Hôtel Byron finer than that seen on the route from Montreux. The masses of the castle are more developed and appear loftier, for one is nearly on a level with the base of the towers. The landscape behind is a succession of heights, crowned with woods and vineyards, amidst which the Castles of Châtelard, Crêtes, and Blonay appear. The north-west wind was driving the wild spray far above the lake wall. The iridescent waters glistened in the sunshine, and fell in graceful showers on the green turf.

Crossing the torrent of the Tignière, I lingered to gaze upon the outlet. It was here, September 12, 1446, that a tragic

¹ *Conservateur Suisse*, i. 99.

event took place. Guillaume Bolomier, a man of low degree, had risen with such rapidity in civil employments as to be named at an early age Chancellor of Savoy. He had acquired many seigniories, and among others several at Lutry. His brother Anthony had been appointed Treasurer-General, and Pierre Bolomier was Abbot of Hautecombe and Bishop of Belley.

This accumulation of fortune and power created jealousy among the older nobility. The Sire de Varambon, a personal enemy of Bolomier, making use of this feeling, obtained the appointment of a commission, which, throwing Bolomier into the dungeon of Chillon, interrogated him under torture. The sufferer lost self-command, and accused Varambon of being a traitor to his sovereign. Varambon immediately appealed to the Duke, saying that if it were true he was worthy of instant punishment, but that, being false, his accuser ought to suffer the penalty of the talion or its equivalent. The Duke replied that it was necessary to await the sentence pronounced by the civil authorities. Bolomier was finally condemned to pay the enormous sum of 60,000 *écus d'or*, which was more than the value of his entire property. But Varambon was not satisfied, and, as Bolomier had admitted his accusation to be without foundation, sentence of death was passed upon him. On the day mentioned a bark glided out from the white walls of the castle, and stopped at the mouth of the torrent. It contained the Noble Hugonin Legier, Sire Castellan of Chillon, who delivered Bolomier, bound hand and foot, to Claud Fontana of Lausanne, executioner, who attached heavy weights to the neck of the Chancellor, and cast him into the lake.¹

Entering Villeneuve, I beheld the lofty tower of the Castle of Chillon. It forms part of the communal buildings, over whose doorway are sculptured the city arms—Or, an eagle azure. With them are the date of the original construction, 1236, and that of the restoration, 1876.

Who built this massive tower, now a prison? Who founded the church by its side, now the seat of municipal power? Who erected and endowed the ancient hospital across the road, now

¹ Martignier and de Crousaz, pp. 212, 213.

the home of youthful instruction? How many of the present population of Villeneuve can answer these questions?

It was Aymon of Savoy, one of the most unhappy characters in history. This prince was fourth of the eight or nine sons of Thomas, Count of Savoy. He was born about the year 1197,¹ and in 1234 confirmed by his elder brother, Amadeus IV.,² in his possession of Chablais. That province then comprehended the northern shore of Lake Lemman to the torrent of the Veveyse, and the southern as far as the Arve, including also the valley of the Rhone to the summits of St. Bernard.³

Out of the latter portion grew many wars between the House of Savoy and the Bishops of Sion. It is true that the Counts of Savoy were already seigniors of Chablais in the preceding century. But a hundred years earlier the ecclesiastics of Sion, basing their rights on the gift of the Emperor Conrad the Salic in 1024, had possessed themselves of many fiefs situated on both sides of the Rhone and on either side of the lake. The Romans had named this district Caput Laci, and this, by a series of corruptions, ultimately became Chablais.⁴

In the early part of the thirteenth century the route into Italy by Vevey, Montreux, Chillon, Villeneuve, St. Maurice, Martigny, and the St. Bernard, was less frequented by merchants than by pilgrims on their way to Rome. Among the multitudes which thronged the road there were many poor and many ill. Swarming by Chillon, they begged for aid at the castle gate, or besought relief in God's holy name at the doors of Villeneuve. In response to their prayers a benefactor appeared.⁵

In the height of his prosperity, when about to enjoy the fruits of a peace concluded with the Bishop of Sion, securing him undisturbed enjoyment of Castles Montorge and Chillon, Aymon of Savoy was struck down by a terrible disease. In

¹ Or 1202. The *Conservateur Suisse*, vii. 201, says Aymon died in 1242, at the age of forty, which would bring his birth to 1202. On the other hand, it says that Aymon was the fourth of the eight or nine children of Thomas of Savoy. Now, Peter of Savoy, his brother, is said by M. Secretan, in the *Galerie Suisse*, i. 86, to have been the seventh son of Thomas, and he was only born in 1208.

² Verdeil, i. 120.

³ Secretan, *Galerie Suisse*, i. 86; Vulliemin, *Chillon*, pp. 56, 57.

⁴ *Evian et ses Environs*, par A. de Bougey, p. 13.

⁵ Martignier, p. 981.

this crisis he exhibited qualities which many a greater name in history has lacked. He was filled with a sweet and humble piety, a humanity which knew no bounds. His soul did not spend itself in tears or imprecations over its hard lot, but looked to Christ for help, and comforted itself in doing good to the needy and suffering. The ancient chronicler, Symphorien Champier, tells us in what manner Aymon found his calling. Ill in body, but resigned in mind, he lay for nearly a year in his bed in Savoy, and his brothers Amadeus and Peter vainly summoned physicians and surgeons. At last he said: 'I pray you, if you please, find me some solitary spot where I can spend the remainder of my days, for noise and tumult grieve me sorely.'

Thereupon Messire Pierre suggested Chillon, and hither he came. But when he saw the wayfarers passing hourly in solitary distress his heart was moved, and he sent them meat, drink, and money. And afterwards he fell a-thinking in his aching head, asking the Blessed Lord for fitting inspiration. Then in his mind were born the tower, the church, and the hospital, which soon rose under his pious hand.

In the charter dated June 25, 1286, Aymon declared that he had founded, constructed, and built a house of God within the walls of Villeneuve, in honour of the Virgin Mary and all the saints, and that he had endowed it with many sources of revenue fully mentioned.

I have already referred to the generous measures for relief which were inaugurated under Aymon's direction. The other side of the picture is full of mournful pathos. The good prince, who thus thoughtfully provided for his suffering fellows, swept down the dreary road of hopeless and helpless illness, and at length departed to die in a small house on the summit of a rock between St. Maurice and Monthey.¹ He was gathered to his fathers in his fortieth year, and his brothers were plunged into such grief that they could neither eat nor drink.

The hospital thus established continued to be cherished by the House of Savoy, many of whose members bequeathed legacies to it. The Little Charlemagne and his brother, Boniface of Savoy, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Beatrice of Savoy, Countess of Provence, honoured the memory of their devout

¹ Vulliemin, *Chillon*, notes on pp. 288, 289.

relative by augmenting the revenues of the institution he had founded.¹

Historians have been dazzled by the superior military glories of Peter of Savoy, and generally ignored the philanthropic services of his brother Aymon, whose gentle character rose to the heights of self-abnegation.

Towards the close of the Bernese rule, the ancient chapel of the Virgin was allowed to go to decay, and the wind and the rain for many a long year beat down upon the neglected tomb of the illustrious founder of St. Mary's.

Not long since it was decided to utilise the deserted shrine, and M. Chaudet, of Clarens, was employed for the purpose. The first idea on the part of the authorities was to raze 'the useless relic' to the ground. The vigorous protest of M. Chaudet, however, finally prevailed, and he was allowed to restore the venerable building, retaining, as far as possible, its primitive form while adapting it for secular uses.

The original south wall has been pulled down, and rebuilt several feet nearer the street. The entrance has been removed to the eastern side, where are two ancient shields of arms, surmounted by a bishop's mitre. The Communal Assembly chamber, with a gallery at its southern extremity, occupies perhaps one-half of the old church; the rooms of the Municipality fill the remaining space. The tribune of the President in the Communal Hall stands on the site of the altar.

M. Chaudet, in giving me an account of his work, of which no description has been published,² remarked that the chapel is distinguished by mingled Roman and Ogival architecture. It was built at the moment when the transformation from the one to the other began.

I suggested that the tower might have been formerly used as a military signal-station in connection with the Castle of Chillon, of which it commands a picturesque view. M. Chaudet did not think it was erected with a view to survey the country. for in that case it would bear on its sides traces of turrets or battlements; the absence of these leads him to believe it was

¹ *Chronique de Savoie*, par Symphorien Champier, quoted in the *Conseiller Suisse*, vii. 208.

² Written in 1879.

intended to receive a wooden belfry, and become a clock-tower of the convent and hospital. It ought, in fact, to have been terminated by a spire in masonry. The roof now covering it was doubtless placed there temporarily to protect the stonework until the plan was carried out. The same observation may be applied to the church tower of St. Martin, at Vevey, which also lacks a spire.

In studying the question whether the chapel and the tower were one and the same building, M. Chaudet was unable to find any historical data concerning the latter. He accordingly compared the plans of the two constructions, and discovered that the axis of the tower is not parallel to the axis of the nave of the chapel. It was a recognised principle in the construction of religious edifices at that period that they should be built upon a regular geometrical basis, and the axes of all parts agree. They would thus, in spite of different details, present an aspect of unity. This is not so in the present instance; there are vacant spaces of varying width between the tower and the chapel, showing evidently that they were not built at the same time. The tower's construction, organisation, masonry, said M. Chaudet, indicate that it is not so old as the chapel, and that it belongs, perhaps, to the end of the fourteenth century.

The work of restoration has been thoroughly done. Neatness and order prevail; and in preserving its general characteristics the accomplished architect has striven to remind one of the historic past. There should be, however, an inscription to commemorate the virtues of Aymon of Savoy, whose pious liberality amidst crushing personal misfortunes will ever throw a halo around the spot which he consecrated to Almighty God and to suffering humanity.

I ascended the ancient tower. Its first three storeys each contain a grated cell, for it is now used as the district prison. At the very top is a lofty apartment, whose four windows command fine views in every direction. This room is fifteen feet square. In ancient times the entrance to the basement of the tower was on the north. This has been closed, and I passed through a door which has been cut in the east wall. The latter opens from the office of the municipal secretary. The wall is of extraordinary thickness. If the tower was not built before the

chapel I cannot understand why this wall, now protected by the latter building, should be nine feet in thickness, while the other three, apparently more exposed to attack, are only six feet thick.

The ancient hospital, now used as a district school, is separated from the chapel and tower by the main street of the town. It forms three sides of a square, the fourth side of which was torn down fifty years ago to give light and air, wherein the rising generation might more readily expand into learning. Let us hope that it has had the desired effect. In the Middle Ages and through the troubled centuries which followed, the whole group, including tower, chapel, and hospital, were unquestionably surrounded and united by a formidable wall.

CHAPTER XXXI

I HAD taken the precaution to bring with me a list of the various pieces of property belonging to the Noble Ferdinand Bouvier, and confiscated in consequence of his treason in 1588-89.

SPÉCIFICATION DES BIENS DE F. BOUVIER, HOSPITALIER DE VILLENEUVE.

La grande maison, grange, et curtil de Villeneuve.		
Une autre maison, tour et chesal.		
Un curtil	115	florins
La grange et curtil au pied du Orest	4,500	"
Un morceau de vigne de 12 fossor.		
Une pose de vigne sise au Cérissier	500	"
Deux poses de vigne	900	"
Deux vignes ensemble de 27 fossoriers	900	"
Un morceau de vigne de 6 fossoriers	150	"
Une chenevière	800	"
Un grand mas de pré	1,100	"
Le pré de la Croix	1,000	"
Un autre pré	600	"
Une grange avec un pré	3,000	"
Six poses de champs	1,200	"
Dîmes et censés	100	"
Un morceau de terre	150	"
Un mas de pré	100	"
Un morceau de terre	150	"
Treize vaches, la pièce à 70 fl.		

While at the top of the tower I showed this document to the *concierge*, and asked if he could identify any of the

localities named. He had never heard the story of Bouvier; in fact, the name was unknown to him, as it well might be, for nearly three centuries have elapsed since the family disappeared from Villeneuve. But to my astonishment he pointed out several of the places mentioned in my paper.

'There,' said he, pointing to an ancient building lying at our feet, just across the Place, 'is the *grange et curtil au pied du Crest*, the latter in our *patois* now *en pied de Crêt*. The Crêt is that little cluster of houses on the slight eminence just beyond the railway station. You see that the description is exact; the barn and garden are literally at the foot of the Crest or hillock. They belong now to M. Faure.'

Here again, through this north window, towards Mount Arvel, you can see the *pose de vigne sise au Cérasier*. That vineyard is still known as *Le Cérasier*. In the same direction, next the cemetery, is the *Pré de la Croix*, still styled the Meadow of the Cross.

Concerning the house in which Bouvier lived, my man was at fault until I told him that it formerly had a tower, and stood near one of the town gates. At this he cried out breathlessly, for he had become greatly interested and excited by my researches: 'I have it, monsieur! It's the last house on the right-hand side of the main road as you go out of Villeneuve towards Aigle.' So I went on my way rejoicing.

Villeneuve is to-day a village of peasants, but it is clean and well-paved. At the entrance to the principal street is a notice to all carriages not to go faster than a walking pace and declaring the penalty of a disobedience of this order to be six francs. Oil-lamps still light the highways; they are lowered and raised by iron chains locked up in long metallic cases.

The primitive character of the door-bells enchanted me. They are hung outside each house beneath the window of the principal storey, and resemble the cow-bells seen and heard on all the hillsides; it is to be hoped that they are equally musical, for there is nothing more sweetly rustic than the tuneful tinkle on all the Alpine heights.

At the end of a street to the left I observed a church tower, and turned aside to examine the sacred edifice, which is older than the Hospital of Aymon of Savoy.

In 1166, Landry, Bishop of Lausanne, gave to the Abbey of Hautcrét the Villeneuve Church, then called St. Paul's. In virtue of a concession of the Bishop, Jean de Cossonay, Curé of Villeneuve as late as 1285, recognised in 1256 that the said monastery, as patron of his church, was entitled to two-thirds of the revenues.¹ The above Abbey of the Order of Cîteaux, founded in 1134, on the summit of a hill above the Broie, near Palésieux and Oron, by Gui de Merlen, Bishop of Lausanne, enjoyed great renown in the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries. It received various privileges from Pope Adrian IV. in 1155, Alexander III. in 1179, Innocent IV. in 1248, and from many incumbents of the episcopal chair at Lausanne. Among its lay benefactors were the Counts of Genevois and of Gruyère, the Sires of Oron, of Blonay, of Palésieux, of St. Martin, the Seigniors of Vulliens, of Billens, of Riggisberg, and many others, but especially of the Counts of Savoy.²

In the Alps, Hautcrét possessed the mountains of Chandes, above Chillon, and of Lioson, above the Val d'Ormonts; also the territory of Grandchamp, near Villeneuve. It also had the patronage of the churches of Oron, of Palésieux, of Châtillens, and of Villeneuve, as already mentioned. The monks, in accordance with their rules, gave themselves up to manual labour, and cultivated a portion of their domains with their own hands. Numerous *granges* were erected in all the places which had been so liberally conceded to them, and villages gradually formed themselves about these agricultural and religious centres. The principal *granges* were those of Essertes, Peney, Bouloz, the Dauza, Goay, Châtillens, Sullens, and Sales.³

In 1476 the Haut Valaisans, allied with the Swiss in the Burgundian war, advanced on March 7-11 into Vaudois Chablais; but being driven back from the Castle of Chillon by the garrison, commanded by Pierre de Gingins, they pillaged and burned Villeneuve, and massacred its feeble forces. It is probable that the Church of St. Paul suffered damage at that time. Thirty years later the town repaired it, at a cost of six hundred florins and thirty-six months' labour.

¹ Martignier and de Crousaz, p. 980.

² *Ibid.*, p. 441.

³ Name of a grange of the Monastery of Hautcrét, between Granges and Palésieux (see Martignier and de Crousaz, p. 442).

When the hospital was founded in 1236, Aymon of Savoy endowed it with the right, among other things, to receive gifts and the third of the effects of strangers dying at Villeneuve. The chapel of the hospital greatly profited by this privilege; but it led to difficulties with the Abbé of Hautcrêt, the patron of St. Paul's, which had hitherto enjoyed this monopoly. The matter was finally arranged by an arbitration in 1236.

St. Paul's is now a Reformed Church. The interior is sadly disfigured by long, unpainted wooden benches. The ancient carved wainscoting in the choir has been demolished and replaced by common deal boards.

I was glad to observe that an attempt has been made to save the antiquities, by preserving in the main window of the choir various fragments of the old stained glass. Of the figure of our Saviour only a thigh, arm, and hand remain. The niches of the saints are of course vacant. A columnar stove raises its flaming sides opposite the present pulpit and above the preacher's head, whose sufferings must enable him to describe future torments with effect.

I am constantly struck by the difference of treatment extended to ancient churches in England and in Switzerland. In the former country care is taken to preserve all sculptured remains. No vulgar prejudice is allowed to destroy valuable works of art. The Reformed religion is there sufficiently strong to preserve the vestiges of another faith without danger to its own.

The square tower of the church commands an extensive prospect of the town, lake, mountains, and the valley of the Rhone. The three graceful elms on the Isle of Peace resemble, in the distance, the plumes of the Prince of Wales. This is the little island of which Byron makes Bonivard say :

And then there was a little isle,
Which in my very face did smile,
The only one in view :
A small green isle, it seem'd no more,
Scarce broader than my dungeon floor ;
But in it there were three tall trees,
And o'er it blew the mountain breeze,
And by it there were waters flowing,
And on it there were young flowers growing,
Of gentle breath and hue.

But historical accuracy obliges me to repeat a declaration made

to me by Colonel de la Rottaz, that this island only came into existence towards the end of the last century, or more than two hundred and fifty years after Bonivard's imprisonment. It was constructed by the preceptor of the children of M. de Watteville, then Bernese director of the Hospital at Villeneuve. This preceptor, an Alsatian named Hartmann, ended his career as a Justice of the Peace at Vevey.

Many years ago two youthful lovers visited this isle. While lost in the delight of each other's company, their boat drifted away. The swain plunged into the angry waves to seek help from the neighbouring shore, but perished. But there is still living at Villeneuve an aged dame who, in her youth, often swam safely between island and mainland.

Looking off to the north-east, the eye catches a white patch at the foot of Mount Arvel, which is nothing less than the quarry of red-veined marble with which the ancient tower was repaired, and which also furnished the materials of the Musée Fol at Geneva, and of various houses at Montreux.

The Bouviers and the de Colombiers were the principal families of the place, and I observed the ancient house of the latter family, with the date 1560 and the arms above the door; also a small grated window used in troublous times for the interrogation of all callers.

The old Bouvier residence is just beyond, and is readily recognised. Here are the great house, and the little house, and the tower. They have undergone but slight alterations. The large building is doubtless very little changed. The smaller has lately received an additional storey, and the tower uniting the two has been reduced in height.

The sculptured stone doors and the narrow grated windows remain throughout on the lower storeys. There are also the famous cellars in which Bouvier outwitted his guard. Even if the legs and arms and wits of the latter had been in good condition after they discovered the conspirator's escape, they would have found it difficult to penetrate the thick walls, or to find egress through the small window or the iron-bound portal.

The rooms are numerous and spacious; the outbuildings and grounds extensive. On the lower floor is a huge chimney-place, pyramidal in form, like that in the Duke's room at Chillon.

An old peasant who served as my guide filled me with praises of Villeneuve. 'It is, monsieur, the healthiest place in Switzerland, and yet the people of Montreux will tell you that it is the most sickly. It is true that whoever goes to Montreux generally remains there a long time, but it is because he finds a resting-place in the graveyard.'

My acquaintance with Montreux leads me to consider this a slander. It is at least true that mosquitoes and flies abound at Villeneuve, whereas they do not exist at Montreux. The only visitors who regret their absence are the little green frogs which we brought from Cannes, and which find it extremely difficult to pick up even a precarious living in that insect-deserted locality. The mosquitoes at Villeneuve are so vigorous that I was actually afraid to stand long in the same place, lest I should be nailed to it by their enormous bills.

The descendants of Ferdinand Bouvier established themselves at Yvoire, on the southern side of the lake in Savoy, where they still remain. It is whispered that the earlier proprietors enriched themselves by tolls levied on inoffensive mariners, and that the Seigneur Jehan d'Yvoire commanded a band of adventurers who swept all things by land and sea into their net. Having lost his hand in one of these combats, he replaced it by one in metal, being known, in consequence, as the Iron Arm—*Bras de Fer*; and, like the valiant Chevalier Goetz de Berlichingen, he knew how to use it to crush his enemies. This historical member is still religiously preserved by his descendants in their mediæval castle. His adventurous career is embodied in the romance of '*Jean d'Yvoire au Bras de Fer, ou La Tour du Lac*,' by the Genevese statesman and economist, James Fazy, published at Geneva in 1840.

Yvoire and its château offer the greatest interest to the artist. The former still remains a village of the Middle Ages, surrounded by walls and guarded by two towers, whose arched gateways retain traces of a portcullis. It stands at the entrance of a peninsula, whose lake side is defended by the castle. The streets are narrow, steep, and tortuous. The old church, dimly lighted by loopholes, produced a strange effect upon me when I saw it, for it was filled with flowers, whose beauties seemed to fade in the murky atmosphere.

We traversed an avenue of horse-chestnut trees, and found ourselves at the entrance to the château. This building presents a most ancient appearance. It is an oblong square, with a court in the centre, but with no windows looking on the enclosure. The side facing the lake and its opposite shore are merely thick walls without rooms, through which one enters into the court. These walls unite two ranges of massive buildings forming the other two sides of the court. Four windows command the water on the west, and six on the north. The court is paved, and contains a covered passage or communication running between the dining-room, on the right-hand side, and the *salon* on the left. In the latter is preserved the iron arm, various portraits, armour, and other relics. From the battlemented terrace one can drop a line into the blue waters and draw up fine fish.

The hoary walls are covered with ivy and climbing roses. I found the latter in full flower, and the whole air was filled with their fragrance.

The present owner is fond of antiquities, and has distinguished himself in political life. The traditions of the neighbourhood for nearly three hundred years bear ample testimony to the generosity and piety of the family which, at an early date, numbered Rodolph and Jean Bouvier among its numbers.

CHAPTER XXXII

THE conspiracy of Lausanne created profound sensation and compromised the House of Savoy in the eyes of the Cantons and their allies. The Duke Charles Emanuel accordingly hastened to send an envoy to Berne to declare that he had taken no part in the enterprise of the Burgomaster d'Aux, which was the natural result of the two conflicting factions that divided the town of Lausanne. Berne rejected these explanations haughtily, and demanded an indemnity of three *tonnes d'or*, ransoms being counted in those days in tons (of 368,000 francs each), instead of in milliards.

In the meantime, the Protestants of France had fallen into

desperate straits. The greater part of the provinces had embraced the cause of the League, and Henry III. was compelled to quit even Paris, whose citizens were ardently engaged in the same cause. At this critical moment, a former ambassador in Switzerland, M. Harlay, Seigneur of Sancy, proposed to seek armed aid from the Protestant cantons. This idea met with favour, and he was despatched forthwith to Berne upon an extraordinary mission.

He began his duties under unfavourable auspices; he was told that the conspiracy of Lausanne and the projects of Charles Emanuel against Geneva and Vaud made it necessary to husband all resources, and no soldiers could be sent into France. But M. de Sancy was an able diplomatist, and proved that the alliance of Berne with the King could alone save Geneva and the Protestant religion, and guarantee to Berne her sovereignty over the Pays de Vaud. By pledging his marvellous collection of precious stones, he not only obtained permission for the King to raise ten thousand infantry, but also succeeded in borrowing from Berne the hundred thousand crowns necessary to pay them. Among these remarkable jewels had been the celebrated diamond bearing his name, which had been captured at the battle of Grandson a hundred years earlier. De Sancy secured the further stipulation that these troops should be commanded by himself. He did not confine his efforts to Berne, and induced not only the Protestant cantons Glaris, Basle, Schaffhausen, the Grisons, but even the Catholic Soleure, to engage heartily in recruiting.

Twelve thousand six hundred men were soon raised and formed into regiments of ten companies of three hundred men each. The first, composed of men of Berne and Vaud, was under the command of Colonel Louis d'Erlach. Basle, Glaris, and Schaffhausen contributed the second; Soleure was responsible for the third, and the Grisons supplied the fourth.¹

Having formed a junction with the artillery of Berne, two hundred and seventeen horsemen of Vaud, and two thousand cavalry sent by the King, M. de Sancy reviewed his army under the walls of Geneva, April 1589. On the 23rd he took the city of Thonon, and three days later the citadel capitulated.

¹ Verdeil, ii. 145-147.

The regiment of d'Erlach seized the Castles Baleison, Yvoire, and La Fléchère. On the 27th, Ripaille fell before the victorious Protestants. The fortifications were razed, and the vessels found in the port burned. The army of Savoy was thrown back beyond Mount Sion, and the Fort de l'Ecluse alone held out. General de Sancy was about to attack it, when he received orders from the King recalling him to France.

It appears that, in the meantime, Henry of Navarre had become reconciled to his brother-in-law, and joined his army to the forces of Henry III. The two kings were now disposed to enter into a bitter war against the League; but as their infantry was bad, they urged Sancy to come to their relief with his brave Swiss. The idea when proposed was received with enthusiasm; and when Sancy, having feigned a march against Chambéry, suddenly turned about, crossed Geneva, and arrived by forced marches at the royal camp, Henry III., followed by Henry of Navarre, came forth to meet him, and embraced him with tears. 'But why these tears, sire?' 'They flow because of the regret I feel that I have only tears and promises with which to reward so great a service.'

Reinforcements now flowed in from all sides, and an army of forty-two thousand men soon pressed the siege of Paris.

Sancy had left a feeble force to guard Chablais and the Pays de Gex, although Berne had afterwards added three thousand men under the command of Colonel d'Erlach; but the Duke of Savoy had reorganised his army, and under his banners were to be found twelve thousand infantry, two thousand five hundred cavalry, and fourteen pieces of artillery. Berne now ordered a general levy of the *élite* in the German bailiwicks and in those of the Pays de Vaud, and gave the command of her troops to the *advoyer*, Jean de Watteville, who reviewed his forces June 20, 1589, on the Place of Montbenon, at Lausanne.

After various moves, an armistice was concluded with the Duke of Savoy on the 29th, but this was abandoned on July 12. On the 14th the army of Watteville crossed Geneva and made an attempt to pass the Arve, but was repulsed with a loss of several killed and thirty wounded. A new armistice was concluded until August 19.

The continued procrastination and weakness of the Bernese

finally produced profound discouragement, and the troops departed in such crowds, that Berne found herself obliged to grant leave of absence to the Bernese and Vaudois militia, and replace them by a corps of three thousand mercenaries.

The Duke of Savoy, on the other hand, augmented his army, occupied Chablais, pressed Geneva on all sides, and took possession of the Pays de Gex. Watteville, instead of fighting, withdrew the garrisons from Thonon and the neighbouring castles, abandoned Geneva, and, by order of Berne, re-entered the Pays de Vaud. A great terror fell upon Geneva, and a mass of fugitives from Coppet and the frontiers of Gex thronged Lausanne. It was everywhere announced that Berne had traitorously given over the Pays de Vaud to Charles Emanuel.

The assassination of Henry III., however, changed entirely the complexion of affairs, and saved the Pays Romand from the horrors of a foreign invasion; for the moment that the Duke of Savoy heard that Henry IV. had been proclaimed King of France, and that he had about him only Sancy's Swiss and two or three thousand French Protestants, relying upon his relationship to the House of Valois through his mother the Duchess of Berri, he threw himself with all his force upon Dauphiny and Provence, in the hope of being proclaimed King of France by the Catholic party.

To stop all attacks in his rear, he renewed his negotiations with de Watteville; and Berne, in spite of the expostulations of Geneva, believing that the Protestant cause was for ever lost, concluded a treaty with him at Nyon upon the following terms: Each of the contracting parties mutually guaranteed their estates; the Duke of Savoy, on his part, undertook to authorise the exercise of the Protestant faith in three places of the provinces of Chablais and Gex, which he had just conquered; Berne, on her side, abandoned Geneva to the Duke of Savoy, and promised to aid him in reducing that city.

A cry of indignation arose from all sides against the Councils of Berne in consequence of this shameful abandonment of Geneva. At Lausanne, popular indignation was at fever heat, and in the streets of Berne the young men went about carrying chains of onions, in representation of those chains of

gold which the magistrates of the Republic were accused of having received from the Duke of Savoy and the King of Spain as the price of the Treaty of Nyon. Again, the rumour arose that the Councils of Berne wished to sell the Pays de Vaud to the Duke of Savoy, and this prince would then re-establish the papal religion. Zurich, Basle and Schaffhausen protested energetically against the treaty, and M. de Sillery, ambassador of Henry IV., was equally decided in his language.

Lausanne was unanimous in its expression of opinion. It gave its deputies distinct instructions to protect Geneva, and to continue the war against the House of Savoy. Those deputies, say the registers of the Council of Geneva, were M. de Marnand and Treasurer d'Yverdun.¹ Upon their arrival at Berne, in the latter part of February 1590, their voices turned the scale, and the authorities with one accord determined to annul the Treaty of Nyon.

The following words in the declaration of the deputies of Vaud, stir the heart like a blast of a trumpet:

'To accept a treaty which abandons Geneva would be to renounce ancient and authentic promises of fidelity and alliance ratified with those of our religion, which God has hitherto sustained, and which He blesses and miraculously favours at this moment more than ever. To turn back now in such a manner would be an unpardonable ingratitude towards God, and an ineffaceable stain in the sight of man. . . . No loss of our property nor of our lives could make us say that we find it expedient to treat with the enemies of our religion, nor that we ought to abandon Geneva and undermine our religion, for the preservation of which we pledge our property and lives to the last drop of our blood.'²

I have discovered that the first of these distinguished delegates was Pierre de Loÿs, Seigneur of Marnand and Bottens, Judge at Lausanne, to whom the first lease of La Grotte was granted in 1592. He was the great-grandfather of de Loÿs de Bochat, who died in possession of La Grotte when Gibbon was at school at Lausanne in 1753-4. I have now in my hand the

¹ *Documents relatifs à l'Histoire du Pays de Vaud, de 1298 à 1750* (Geneva, 1817), p. 821.

² Verdeil, ii. 156.

copy of the original document which was made for his son Isaac de Loÿs.

Treasurer d'Yverdon was Jean d'Yverdon or Deyverdon, Counsellor and Treasurer at Lausanne, great-great-grandfather of George Deyverdon, who inherited La Grotte from Madame de Loÿs de Bochat, and was the friend of Gibbon.

I have, moreover, discovered the coincidence that the delegates from Yverdon at the same moment were Lieutenant Doxat, ancestor of the present occupier of La Grotte (Madame Constantin Grenier), and the Banneret de Treytorrens, more correctly Humbert de Molin, Seigneur of Montagny and Treytorrens, the direct ancestor of Colonel George de Molin de Montagny, who inherited La Grotte from his relative George Deyverdon, and left it to his grandson, M. Constantin Grenier.

The envoys from Geneva on the same occasion were MM. Rosset and Manlich. I have turned over many of the latter's family papers at La Grotte, for the Manlichs were the ancestors in the female line of the families of de Loÿs and de Molin de Montagny.

Before me is an extract made immediately after the death of Humbert de Molin from an original document of March 28, 1558, entitled: 'Usages of the *subjects* of the noble House of Montagny, extracted from the Book of Titles and Privileges, in the hands of the commissioners of their Excellencies of the two states of Berne and Freiburg.'

This document, written in a crabbed Gothic style, difficult to read, gives an idea of the relation existing in Switzerland between a noble and his vassals as late as the middle of the sixteenth century. It contains a list of the various lordships of Valeyres, Esserts, Chamblens, and Montagny, and sets forth the services due by the retainers. The Seigneur Humbert himself therein recognises that he holds these lands in fief from the Magnificent Seigniors of Berne and Freiburg; and his subjects acknowledge that they owe him service at the plough thrice a year, the half of a sheaf of wheat and the half of a sheaf of oats, a certain quantity of bread for the consumption of the seignior and his household, and half a day's labour as maker of hayricks every year. They also acknowledge his right to administer justice over them, and declare it to be their duty to serve and

obey him as free men are bound and ought to serve their lords according to the usages and good customs of Moudon, and that they had no right to accept the *bourgeoisie* of any other place, nor any charge elsewhere, nor to dwell in any other spot than upon the seignior of their lord, unless he gave his permission.

Humbert de Molin was likewise Seignior of Corcelles near Grandson. Between the village of Corcelles and the mountain, and in the midst of a little valley which separates them, there are three great blocks of granite of pyramidal form, ten feet in height, forming together an isosceles triangle, which have given rise to many archaeological disputes. Some have attributed them to the early Burgundian wars. Others say that they mark the spot where the tent of the Duke of Burgundy was pitched; others that they are intended to commemorate the victory of Grandson; and lastly, some ascribe them to the period of the Druids. We may, without attempting to reconcile these conflicting opinions, raise the objection to the last theory, that these stones have been worked with instruments not in use at such a remote epoch.

CHAPTER XXXIII

THE family of Doxat—ancestors, as we have remarked, of the Grenier family, present occupiers of La Grotte—claim historic Greek origin, and the Greek type is still found in each generation.

Its name, originally written without the final 't,' signifies glory, and is in harmony with its armorial motto: 'To The doxa'—'Glory to God.'¹

Towards the year 1200, says M. Armand de Mestral in his brochure '*La Famille Doxat*,' its direct ancestor acquired large properties in the Morea. A century later, one of his descendants gained a victory over the Crusaders under Guillaume de Champlitte, eight leagues from Patras.

In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the Doxats pos-

¹ *Notice sur la famille Doxat, lue dans la réunion de la Société d'histoire romande, au château de Champvent, le 19 août 1876, par M. Armand de Mestral.*

sessed a palatial residence at Mistra, in the Peloponnesus. Constantine Palæologus, surnamed Dracoses, the last Greek Emperor, spent the days of his exile before arriving at imperial honours under their roof-tree until 1449—not 1443, as M. Armand de Mestral states. At that period, the Doxats carried him to Constantinople, and assisted in replacing him upon the throne. Four years later, the Emperor was killed in defending his capital against the Turks.

Nine years after his downfall, the last Emperor of Trebizond was also deposed, and the remainder of the Comnenus family took refuge in the Morea. My residence in Greece made me acquainted with a tradition lingering in the Peloponnesus, that Napoleon Buonaparte was a descendant of Constantine Comnenus, a primate of Maina in the Peloponnesus, descended from the Greek Emperors of that name, who, having emigrated to Genoa at the head of his people, was given land in Corsica, and the name, translated into Italian, became Buonaparte. This origin is clearly claimed by the Duchess d'Abrantes in her 'Memoirs.'

Some years ago I remarked at Bologna a fine Etruscan marble bas-relief representing a conqueror. It had been recently found near the city with other Etruscan remains, and was unquestionably several thousand years old. It was such an admirable likeness of the first Napoleon that one unacquainted with its origin would have supposed that he had sat for it; and whoever has examined the features of the Emperor in youth must have noticed the marvellous resemblance to the ancient Greek type.

In an unpublished historical inquiry of M. de Malesherbes, the following passage occurs: 'There are to be found in France many families which hardly any one knows, and which claim descent from the princes of Italy. There would appear Bentivoglios of Bologna, Lescalas of Verona, Malatestas of Rimini, &c., who would pretend to as much right to honour as the Gonzagas since they have lost the sovereignty of Mantua. Parts of these genealogies are imaginary, but some would be found really possessing titles thereto. One would also find the descendants of dethroned kings and emperors, some already established in France and unknown, and others who would come and settle there. I have already spoken of the Lacerdas of

Castille; and have we not just attracted to France a Comnenus? We should soon have members of the Lascaris and Palæologus families.' ¹

At the moment of the downfall of the Greek Empire and the death of the Emperor Constantine Palæologus, says M. de Mestral, there were three brothers Doxat. The eldest, who was Seigneur of Corinth, was taken by the Turks and sawn in two. The second, guardian of the brothers of the Emperor, established himself at Thessalonica, and became the founder of a branch of the family which has furnished high dignitaries to the Greek Church, and is still represented at Patras.

The third, Lelio, betook himself to Italy, like Jean Argyropoulo, the collateral ancestor of a branch of the family of Argyropoulo still existing at Athens.

Argyropoulo had been invited thither by the family of Medicis. He had as his pupils Politian and Laurence de Medicis, and was one of the most powerful contributors to the revival of classical learning and philosophy. He died in 1473, leaving no descendants; and his tomb is in the chapel of the Medicis family at Florence. I have an excellent portrait of him, copied from one in the possession of the family at Athens.

His countryman, Lelio Doxat, was more fortunate in leaving behind him a distinguished son, says M. de Mestral, who became secretary to Cardinal Julian de la Rovère, who was named Bishop of Lausanne at the beginning of the year 1472 by his uncle, Pope Sixtus V. This nomination gave rise to strong opposition on the part of the Court of Savoy and of the diocese itself. It resulted in four years of negotiations and the final arrest of the Cardinal at Lyons by order of Louis XI., as he was on his way to take his seat. Thereupon he resigned his charge, and twenty-seven years later became Pope under the name of Julius II.

His chancellor, Etienne Doxat, however, settled in Switzerland; first at Vuarrens, then at Yverdon, where he was a burgher in 1496, and died in 1511. From him descend all the

¹ *Mémoire sur les Personnes et sur les Familles à qui on donne en France le Titre de Prince*, par Chrétien-Guillaume de Lamolignon de Malesherbes; adressé à Monsieur de Sévery, et rédigé pour l'usage de l'historien Gibbon, 1791. Unpublished, from the collections of M. de Sévery, Seigneur of Mex.

Doxats now established in the Canton of Vaud, in England, and in Germany. Pierre Doxat, the delegate from Yverdon to Berne above mentioned, was the great-grandson of the Chancellor Etienne Doxat. The eldest branch is now represented by Colonel Maurice Doxat, the present proprietor of the castle and great domains of Champvent, who has shown himself a public benefactor by the improvements he has introduced into the agricultural system of the country.¹

From the most ancient times there existed at Champvent a parochial church directly dependent upon the Bishop of Lausanne. The lands and seigniory of Champvent are among the finest in the Pays de Vaud. The castle, which proudly dominates the plain of Orbe, is an ancient feudal fortress, flanked by four massive towers, with a great interior court, a fountain, terraces, gardens, and vineyards. Its foundation has been erroneously attributed to Queen Bertha. It was in reality constructed at the commencement of the thirteenth century.

Champvent formed a portion of the great seigniory of Grandson, divided at that epoch between the sons of Ebal IV., Seigneur of Grandson. The second son, Henry, having received Champvent in 1284, adopted the name, and was the founder of the house of Champvent, which occupied an important place in the Pays Romand, and gave two bishops to Lausanne.

From Pierre Doxat also descends M. Charles Doxat, proprietor of the Château of Béthusy, near Lausanne. Béthusy is a Teutonic word signifying the house of prayer, which has the same signification in Hebrew. Singularly enough, the Château of Béthusy with the Seigniory of Echandens passed in the seventeenth century into the noble family of Rosset, intimately associated with La Grotte, whose family papers and parchments I have had frequent occasion to consult therein.

It is situated to the east of Lausanne, and stands in a commanding position surrounded with gardens and groves. Although the approach is now by the road which runs along the side of the park, one sees within the grounds the remains of an avenue of trees originally forming the approach to the

¹ *The Doxat Family*, by M. Armand de Mestral. Brochure for private circulation.

house, which is composed of a massive main building flanked on the north by two high octagonal towers with conical roofs.

The view inland competes with the beauties of that seen in looking down to and across the lake to the mountains of Savoy, at whose feet nestle Evian and Bouveret. Higher up the hill is the Château of Vennes, with its two conspicuous towers. Here the view is likewise extensive; but the hill shuts out the lake till it appears but a narrow stream. Though it was December, roses were blooming in the open air, as we passed to the rear of the château and inspected a curious and ancient dovecot, supported by pillars, beneath it a picturesque fountain.

The little wood of sombre pines on the north side of the house appeared to bend their heads and sigh as we drove away from this untenanted mansion, once the scene of genial hospitalities. As we turned our faces towards Lausanne the sun was going down in the direction of Geneva, and the mountains grew more grey and colder in expression, while the shadows and mists were descending on the lake like a shroud. A lifeless tree stood out against the clear sunset with the minute distinctness of a pre-raphaelite painting.

Between these two historical châteaux we saw a charming cabaret named 'La Réunion des Amis'—a title to draw a full house from the neighbouring peasantry every Saturday night; but tradition does not say that its attractions ever drew the neighbouring seigniors.

While residing at Athens several years ago, I made the acquaintance of a descendant of the English branch of the Doxats, who was a commander in the British Navy. His vessel was stationed for a time in the Piræus, and he had visited the localities inhabited by his ancestors six hundred years before.

It is proper to add that some doubt has been expressed as to the reality of this remote descent. It does not fall within my present plan to decide questions of this character. I give the traditions as they exist, without the interrogation points, which other authorities may add.

Among the zealous Protestants engaged in the army of the King of Navarre, and who took part in the conflicts of the League, already alluded to, was François de Charrière, younger brother of Georges François de Charrière, Banneret of Cossonay.

Having taken service in 1587, he had the misfortune to be captured by the Duke de Guise. In 1597, this ancestor of the younger branch of the De Charrières, now represented by Colonel Godefroy de Charrière of Senarclens, received from the Bernese Government, in exchange for the domain of Ittens, the village of Senarclens, which was raised into a seigniori in recognition of his past services. Documents also inform us that the De Charrières possessed a family tomb in the church of Cossonay as early as 1525, and enjoyed official honours and extensive properties in the town at the end of the fifteenth century.

Thirty years ago, Roman remains were found on the plateau to the east of Senarclens; and to the west, some ancient Helvetic tombs. The name occurs in a charter of King Rudolph III., dated the 15th of the Calends of April, in the year 1011, and in the nineteenth of his reign. There was formerly at Senarclens a very ancient little church or chapel, under the patronage of St. Nicholas, which was a daughter of the church of Cossonay, as Senarclens belonged, and still belongs, to the parish of Cossonay. The choir was a pretty specimen of Gothic, and it would have been easy to restore it; but, much to the regret of the Seigneur of Senarclens, it was destroyed.

I spent a day at historic Senarclens not long since. This manorial residence, now the property of Colonel Godefroy de Charrière, was also the home of his father, the Baron Louis de Charrière, Chamberlain of the Grand Duke of Hesse, and afterwards Grand Master of the Court of the Dowager Princess of Tour and Taxis.

Baron de Charrière having resigned his offices after a successful career, returned to Senarclens, and there devoted himself to learned researches connected with his native country.¹ When he was seven years of age, his father, M. Samuel de Charrière, who had passed eleven years of distinguished military service in France, was President of the town of Cossonay. At this moment, the insane populace called the *brûle-papiers*, were carrying on their work of destruction. M. de Charrière had taken precautions to remove the feudal parchments and charters to a place of safety, and surrendered to the mob only a heap of documents of no value. He little thought then that his

¹ De Montet, i. 157.

son Louis would draw from those very archives the materials for a series of admirable volumes.

The Baron himself gives us a glimpse of his infancy, which affords a charming picture of the time and the place :

‘My early boyhood presents itself to my imagination in the likeness of a beautiful day without a cloud. It seems to me that I was then perfectly happy. Cherished, but in no manner spoiled, by my tender mother, my excellent father, my good grandmother, the most intimate union and the purest friendship reigned between my sisters Aline and Lucie and myself. There was nothing wanting to my felicity. In winter, when it began to grow a little dark, and before the candles were brought, my mother, who was a perfect musician, was in the habit of taking her place at the piano, and playing dancing tunes, which set us all in movement. We three, my sisters and myself, danced a sort of Montferrine, which people had the goodness to find pretty, and which we were asked to execute wherever we went. During the fine season, our estate offered a vast theatre for infantine amusements. The harvest season was an especial time of rejoicing. The close of a successful crop was celebrated by a fête. The last waggon of wheat, decorated with flowers and ribbons, and carrying the greater portion of the reapers and their lasses, was conducted with triumphant songs to the barns. The workmen were regaled with a bountiful repast, and my mother and father did not disdain to sit down for a moment at the table with these good people. A ball followed, which was also opened by my parents.’¹

The good Baron, having achieved a distinguished reputation as an historian, departed this life in 1874, and his historical mantle has descended upon his son.

¹ *Notice Biographique sur M. Louis de Charrière*, 7.

CHAPTER XXXIV

THE property of these De Charrières is situated in the midst of a fine undulating country, dotted with shady trees and fresh-mown lawns. The Léman is lost to sight, but the house commands a distant view of Mont Blanc. This residence is in the centre of a district which includes the Castles of Vufflens near Morges, of La Sarraz to the north, of Mex to the south-east, and of l'Ile to the west.

Vufflens, mentioned for the first time in 1108, was afterwards possessed by Henri de Colombier, one of the companions of Amadeus VIII. at Ripaille, was partially burnt in 1530, for having sheltered the chiefs of the Brotherhood of the Spoon, and was finally acquired by François de Senarclens in 1641, in whose line it continues.¹ Henri de Colombier, owner of Vufflens, was also proprietor of the neighbouring Castle of Colombier, from which he took his name. Some years ago there was to be seen in the hall of that castle the portrait of his friend, Pope Felix V. Unfortunately, this mural painting is in a bad condition.

Vufflens-la-Ville, which lies between Mex and Senarclens, some miles to the north-east of Vufflens-le-Château, has nothing in common with this last-mentioned place, except its name. A portion of the seigniorship came, in 1580, into the possession of Noble Jean Rosset, already alluded to as Banneret of Lausanne during the conspiracy. He succeeded Isbrand d'Aux as burgomaster after his flight. Fourteen years later, his son Benjamin Rosset, who also became Burgomaster of Lausanne, received from their Excellencies of Berne mesme and lower jurisdiction of Vufflens and its territory. In the following year he became seignior of the domains and buildings of the Convent of Romainmôtier at Vufflens. In 1674, his descendant, Noble Jean Philippe Rosset, Burgomaster of Lausanne, was seignior of the ten portions of which the fief was then composed. The fifth of these was St. Roch, which had formerly belonged to the

¹ Martignier and De Crousas, 940-944.

monastery of St. Francis and La Grotte, at Lausanne. Its origin is found in a lease made in the year 1480 to Etienne Tellin, of Mex, by the guardian of the Monastery of St. Francis and rector of the chapel of St. Fabian and St. Sebastian founded in the aforesaid church. The Rossets afterwards intermarried with the De Loÿs and De Montagny families, and their papers are preserved in La Grotte. The seignior of Vufflens-la-Ville was acquired between 1690 and 1710 from Noble Isaac Henri de Rosset, by his near relative, Albert de Mestral, Seignior of Pampigny, ancestor of M. de Mestral, son-in-law of the present owner of La Grotte.

La Sarraz, founded about 1000 by Adalbert de Grandson, received in after-centuries the homage of the junior branches of Montricher, Belmont, Champvent, and Grandson, and ten important villages. The earliest documents find the Grandson dynasty in possession of a little empire, which, beginning at the frontiers of Neuchâtel county, extended along the Jura as far as Montricher, and included part of the Gros of Vaud. La Sarraz became the property of François de Gingins, Baron du Châtelard and De Diovonne, towards the middle of the sixteenth century. It was here that Baron Frédéric de Gingins wrote his remarkable works upon the early history of Switzerland.

The Castle of l'Isle was built by Lieutenant-General Charles de Chandieu, in 1696, after the plans of Mansard. This ancestor in the female line of the De Charrières of the elder branch, who was also colonel of a Swiss regiment and captain of a company of Swiss Guards, had a long and brilliant military career in France under Louis XIV. Not far from the castle are the remains of a round tower, attributed by some authorities to the Romans; it is certainly not later than the tenth century. It was already in a ruinous condition in 1614. The part of the Isle nearest to this tower was walled and strongly fortified. The care of the gates became a feudal office, called *la portière de l'Isle*, which was exercised in 1498 by the family Troua. It was the duty of this officer to open and close the gates of the city at night, according to the usage in times of peace. In time of war he was to keep watch day and night, and be ready at any moment to deliver up the keys to his seignior. On account of this office he had the right to exact a sheaf of wheat at harvest

time from each reaper within the lands of the château, and a denier from each vassal in the town on Christmas morning.¹

The Castle of Mex was purchased by Georges François de Charrière, Banneret of Cossonay, chief of the elder line, consequently ancestor of Gibbon's friends and of the present M. William de Charrière de Sévery. The purchase was in 1585, twelve years before his younger brother, François, obtained Senarclens. The domain and seigniory of Mex had previously belonged to Hugues Comte, who gained such notoriety in the conspiracy of the Burgomaster d'Aux.²

The town of Cossonay, of which Noble Claude de Charrière, grandfather of François, was syndic and governor, stands on the summit of a hill a few miles away, at whose feet the railway winds its course. The encircling ascent is lined on either side by overhanging branches, and the village is full of quaint and cheerful houses embowered in vines. The scenery on the way to Senarclens is varied and wooded, the road is hard, white, and well-defined against the turf. The country on either side wears the appearance of a flourishing English park. The people have a frank, contented, and prosperous look.

Colonel de Charrière drove his fine pair of chestnuts with skill and grace. They were powerful horses, which did credit to their Swiss breeding, and went up or down hill with equal ease. We visited the ancient castle—the Château of Senarclens—built towards the end of the fifteenth century by the family of that name, whose descendants reside at Vufflens. The Château of Senarclens is the residence of a farmer. It retains the remains of an ancient round tower, and there are two noticeable pointed windows and a round door.

We walked to the forest of Seppey, not far off in the direction of La Sarraz. When Jeanne, Dame of Cossonay, on September 7, 1399, acknowledged that she held her possessions in fief from Amadeus VIII. of Savoy, this wood was called Ceppeis, and contained about eighty poses, a pose being equivalent to 4,300 square metres. The change in the name is not greater than the alteration in the form and size of the wood. Thriving cattle, with musical bells, were browsing in the green fields on

¹ Martignier and De Crousaz.

² MS. of Colonel de Charrière on the De Charrières, written for the author.

its borders as we sauntered under the shadows of the oaks and beeches, talking of the historical events of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Just after the rejection of the Treaty of Nyon at Berne, the famous battle of Ivry was fought, March 14, 1590. In it Henri, Duke de Longueville and Count of Neuchâtel, was wounded, and lay on the ground in imminent danger. At this critical moment, Jean Mouchet, a simple knight of Colombier near Lake Neuchâtel (for a time the residence of Marshal Keith, and shelter of Rousseau), leaped before him, and, giving him his horse, enabled him to escape. Very soon the brave man was thrown down in his turn, trodden under foot, and left among the dead. Recovering consciousness after the fight, and having no dangerous wounds, he found himself strong enough, in the course of a few days, to seek the Duke. His seignior, taking him by the hand, expressed his gratitude, and prayed him to name the reward most acceptable to his feelings. The old soldier simply asked that he might be made receiver of the properties of the prince at Colombier. This modest request was immediately granted.

It was in recompense of a similar service rendered by his ancestor to King Philip Augustus, at the battle of Bouvines, in 1214, that Count d'Estaing, Admiral of the French fleet in American waters during the Revolutionary War, enjoyed the privilege of bearing in his arms the three fleurs-de-lys of France.

Another incident illustrating the Swiss character occurred in the same battle. When the Army of the League was in full flight, the two Swiss regiments in the service of the Duke of Mayenne formed in square, remained firm, and awaited the conqueror's attack. Henry IV. cried out: 'Ho there! We must charge these fellows.' He was about to send against them the *élite* of his troops, when the Marshal de Biron declared that the only method was to turn the artillery upon them. The large number of Swiss in the service of the King besought his Majesty to spare their compatriots; and Henry, acceding to their wishes, dispatched Captains Greder and Valier of Soleure to tell them that he was willing to receive their surrender, 'on account of his friendship for his good allies of the thirteen

cantons, and on account of the intercession of the colonels and captains of their nation.' Although they were in immediate danger of being cut in pieces, the two Swiss regiments refused to capitulate until they had received from the King a certificate that they had been abandoned by the rest of the army, including the cavalry, before giving themselves up.

The good Prince furnished them with an escort and provisions, and returned their twenty-four flags, which he charged them to deliver on his part to the cantons, as a proof of his friendship.¹

The Duke of Savoy, in departing for Spain, in 1585, had said that he would burn his sabots rather than not gain possession of Geneva after his return.² His visit to Spain was not without results, for we find the Duke d'Olivarès and his Spaniards encamped in his service, in 1591, in the valleys of Aulph and Abondance. While in Savoy, I found a curious survival of his occupation. The Spaniards, having maintained a garrison at Abondance for a long time, had entered into liaisons with the women of the country, which produced a crop of little Basques. To this day, throughout the valley from Evian to Abondance, they continue to call an illegitimate child a Basque. In the valley of St. John d'Aulph there is a similar historical souvenir, for the inhabitants are called Veras from the fact that, when the Bernese, about 1536, sought to pass that way, the natives built strong earthworks, and on these fixed the inscription *Deo Vero*, meaning 'By the true God, ye shall not pass.'

CHAPTER XXXV

THE titles of La Grotte since it became private property are now, by the kindness of the present proprietor, in my hands. They consist of five instruments on parchment, and twenty on paper, and cover nearly three hundred years.

After the Reformation, the city, having received the convent and La Grotte from the Bernese authorities, used or let the premises in various ways. The printer Lepreux had his

¹ *Conservateur Suisse*, vi. 810.

² *Fragments Historiques et Biographiques*, p. 63.

establishment there for many years. Information concerning this locality after the Reformation is spread here and there in the Council manuals and other documents. The archives of the convent of St. Francis are now included in the archives of the city of Lausanne.

Fifty years after the Bernese conquest, the buildings of the Convent began to show signs of decay. In consequence the Council of Lausanne, on January 28, 1589, and on November 14, 1592, ordered visits to the cloisters and convent to prevent their ruin.

On January 23 of the same year, the Burgomaster and Council of Lausanne ceded in perpetuity the vineyard in the rear of St. Francis, otherwise the vineyard of La Grotte, to Noble Pierre de Loÿs, Seigneur of Marnand. They set forth in a formidable parchment, sealed with the city arms and decorated in the customary manner, that the vineyards had been formerly leased on short terms to irresponsible persons who had allowed them to fall into comparative sterility, whereby had occurred diminution in the revenue. These facts had led them to the conclusion to part with them to those who would properly work them. They had announced their intention by the voice of the public crier, and had finally awarded to the Seigneur of Marnand the premises described as a vineyard, with the moats and meadows of the former convent, containing about three poses (between two and a half and three acres), not including the place reserved for the cemetery.

The following were the boundaries : the public road running to Ouchy and the walls of the Place of St. Francis were on the east ; the highway of the Faubourg of the Chêne (now the Rue Gibbon), descending towards the Lake, was on the west ; the walls of the said Convent of St. Francis, and the pond which was afterwards included in the Place of St. Francis, were on the north ; and various vineyards on the south.

The purchaser received this property on payment of five hundred and fifty florins, and the promise to give half of the fruits, and ten florins of ground-rent, annually on St. Martin's Day. He also agreed to hold the land in good condition.

The act was signed and sealed in the great hall of the Maison de Ville, on the Palud.

The house and tower of La Grotte do not appear to have been given to M. de Loÿs. The vast cellars under them were used at this time for storage of wine belonging to the city authorities, and perhaps the secret passage which played a part in the conspiracy was so utilised.

We have already made the acquaintance of Noble Pierre de Loÿs, first private owner of the grounds of La Grotte, who was Seigneur of Middel and Trey, as well as of Marnand. Born in 1551, he became a man of mark at an early age, and exercised his judicial functions with ability and success.

He married, in 1576, Françoise, daughter of the honourable Claude Wagnière, Boursier of Lausanne—the officer next in rank to the Burgomaster. He distinguished himself in various representative ways. His services in the movement against the Treaty of Nyon, and his general character and influence, doubtless led the authorities to assign to him the desirable property for a nominal sum.

He was the fifth in descent from Anthony de Loÿs, root of the Swiss tree, who, some say, possessed two sons—one the direct ancestor of Pierre; the other, progenitor of the branch at Evian in Savoy. But an excellent authority, Count de Foras, says the Savoyan family is not descended from Anthony de Loÿs. Pierre de Loÿs died in 1598, and was succeeded by his son, Isaac de Loÿs, then twelve years of age.¹ In 1627, Isaac obtained permission from the municipality to open a gate through the wall near the pond and tower of St. Francis into his garden of La Grotte. He brought the property into high cultivation, it being divided into garden, lawn, and vineyard.² He was Boursier of Lausanne, 1633–1637, and died in 1650, leaving, among other children, Noble Sebastian de Loÿs, comptroller and assessor of the bailiwick, likewise lieutenant of the permanent corps called *Le Secours*—raised in Lausanne, Morges, Nyon, and Yverdon³—which was sent to aid Geneva against an attack of the Duke of Savoy in 1667.

A dozen years before this event Sebastian de Loÿs acquired the right to open a door into the tower of La Grotte, and make

¹ Genealogy of the de Loÿs family (MS.).

² 'Concessions pour faire une porte dans le mur de l'Étang.' Titles of La Grotte.

³ Verdeil, ii. 189, note, for the *secours de Genève*.

use of its lower part. In 1678 he purchased an additional two hundred and sixty yards; and on Daniel Buttet's pictorial chart of that year one observes the pleasure pavilion communicating with the base of the tower. One notes likewise the riding-school, built in 1619 by Noble Pierre de Praroman on the line of the city walls, between St. Francis Gate and the public executioner's house, which stood on ground afterwards occupied by the mansion erected in the last century by M. Polier de St. Germain. This overlooks La Grotte and the Hôtel Gibbon.

In the plan of Lausanne of that year (1678) one sees south of the church the cemetery of St. Francis, and behind it the executioner's house, its square tower forming part of the city wall, which then ran towards the east along the present line of the terrace of La Grotte, to the other tower attached to La Grotte, whose base is now the conservatory of Madame Constantin Grenier.

In 1693 the executioner's house and garden had become the property of M. de Crousaz, as shown by a plan of that date of La Grotte, and the vineyards attached, made by M. Melnotte, and communicated to me by M. Louis Grenier, who now occupies the De Polier property.¹

In the description of Lausanne by Plantin (1660) the Convent of the Cordeliers appears partly in ruins, and the retreat of a potter. The cellars were still used by the seigniors for storage of their wine. Near the church of St. Francis was a storehouse for building-wood; and a woollen manufactory was established where afterwards was formed the garden of La Grotte.²

In 1698 Pierre Lombard had his forge between St. Francis' Church and the old chapel. In that year he received an order to cast the two extraordinary brass dragons which still decorate the Hôtel de Ville. They cost fifty *écus blancs* each, or together three hundred and fifty francs, modern money. The Sieur Lombard was renowned in his time for this kind of work. I have often admired these fine beasts, who are in excellent condition, though they have watched over the city nearly two centuries. Twenty-four years after their birth their maker's name appears on the city map in the same place.

¹ Letter of M. Louis Grenier to the author, January 1880.

² Blanchet, p. 46.

CHAPTER XXXVI

In 1591 there was a new assemblage of the Estates at Lausanne. The towns complained of the scarcity of gold and silver and the large circulation of debased copper coinage in the Pays de Vaud. Thereupon Berne invited the Estates to assemble at Lausanne. After praying their Excellencies to adopt certain measures to regulate the currency, the deputies occupied themselves with consolidation of the national representation. They proposed to their constituents that the deputies of towns should assemble once a year in the different cities alternately to confer on these matters. The Estates accordingly assembled at Lausanne, and reached some useful decisions.

On the proposition of Moudon they made representations to Berne against innovations introduced by the Right Honourable Lord Bailiff—such as throwing people into prison without inquiry, imposing fines of fifty florins, levying an unlawful tax upon salaries, and other acts contrary to the code of laws and customs.

The representative of Lausanne in this deputation was M. de Loÿs de Marnand, proprietor of La Grotte. Berne received the delegation with every mark of respect, and authorised the towns to gather in solemn assembly.

The movement towards the independence of the cities and communes continued through the remainder of the sixteenth century, and into the seventeenth. The archives of the different localities indicate how jealous the Vaudois were of their rights, and with what perseverance they defended them. But the annual reunions developed such a national spirit that Berne took umbrage, and within thirty years after the movement headed by M. de Loÿs de Marnand, inhabitants of the Romand country were informed that they must give up their rights of representation, and obey an absolute government.

At this time Berne treated foreign sovereigns as her equals. Freiburg, Soleure, and Lucerne were led by a patrician body. The small cantons had their governing families, while the

highest class of citizens ruled Basle and Zürich. Geneva, too, had renounced Calvin's puritanical and democratic government, and surrendered to aristocratic sway.¹

During the sixteenth century an oligarchy established itself throughout Switzerland upon the ruins of the liberal constitution of earlier ages. It was noticed, moreover, that the principle of aristocracy developed most quickly and largely among the cantons in closest diplomatic relations with foreign sovereigns.

It is notorious that at Soleure, early in the seventeenth century, equality of citizens before the law was so entirely recognised that the head of the State must appear before the judge on the summons of a simple drummer. Yet within fifty years such a change had taken place in this canton—which became the ordinary residence of the French ambassador—that a law was passed forbidding the Chief Magistrate to follow any trade whatever, as dishonouring the head of the Republic.

At Lucerne the family of Pfyffer wielded supreme power as the dispensers of French bounty. Three of this noble house—the uncle and two nephews—succeeded each other in the office of advoyer. I possess a print of the last century, presented to me by Baron Louis de Pfyffer-Heydigg, descendant of Colonel Louis de Pfyffer (1530–1594), the victor of Meaux, who conducted the King from Meaux to Paris, and took a brilliant part in the battles of St. Denis, of the Jarnac, and of Moncontour. Upon his return to Switzerland Colonel de Pfyffer was elected advoyer of his canton, and acquired such reputation and influence that he was called the King of the Swiss.²

At Basle, although the nobility had been removed from public affairs by the Reformation, their place was filled by the aristocratic Secret Council of Thirteen. The only thing which

¹ Verdeil, ii.

² The following appears on the engraving: 'Dessin d'après le tableau original au château d'Altshoffen, par Liebertau, gravé par Née. Le 30 septembre 1567 les Suisses entrent dans Paris. Le roi les reçoit à la porte Saint-Martin; leur donne [illegible] et la solde extraordinaire de bataille; il revêt du collier de son ordre de S. Michel leur digne colonel, Louis Pfffer. Le roi avoit dit en arrivant à Paris, que sans son cousin le duc de Nemours et aussi bien pour les Suisses, sa vie ou sa liberté étoient en grand branle.'

This old engraving is, moreover, interesting, as showing the non-existence of houses at that date outside of the Porte St. Martin.

endangered the power of this body for a moment was a foolish attempt to levy a tax upon wine. It is always a dangerous thing to interfere with the liquid measure of a Swiss.

Zurich had organised the institution of the *secret*, also established by Berne and Freiburg. In the latter canton the noble military and legal families in office took away from the bourgeoisie the election of the bannerets.

The Valais also, notwithstanding the popular institution of its Dixaine, did not escape the anti-democratic movement. There were serfs even; and in the sixteenth century the sale of some of these poor people is noted in the bailiwicks of Turgovie and Argovie, and in the territories of the Abbot of St. Gall.

An extraordinary subdivision of classes—even in those localities where all had hitherto been equal—now arose. There were *grands bourgeois*, *demi-bourgeois*, *communiers*, *non-communiers*, *natifs*, *domiciliés*, and *tolérés*. The admission to the bourgeoisie, which had formerly been almost without expense, was now rendered extremely difficult, and in some places almost impossible.

The sixteenth century in Switzerland witnessed a frightful increase of pauperism, caused by the number of mercenary wars, the frequent famines, and the influx of foreign vagabonds. Out of this state of things grew a series of laws which forbade marriage between poor people, obliged each commune to support its indigent population, and confined each person to his own district in a manner familiar to the dogs of Constantinople.¹

The close of the sixteenth century was famous for the enthronement in France of the Bourbon family, which reigned there, with some intervals, for 230 years, ascended the Spanish throne in 1700, possessed royal honours in Naples and Parma, and has produced more than six hundred members who have played important parts since Robert, Count of Clermont, sixth son of St. Louis, espoused (1272) Beatrice of Burgundy, Baroness of Bourbon.

Henry IV., who may be considered the sovereign founder of this house, and was closely allied, as we have seen, to the Protestant cantons of Switzerland, signed, April 15, 1598, the Edict of Nantes, which guaranteed social and religious

¹ Daguet, *Histoire de la Confédération Suisse*, ii. 110.

independence to adherents of the reformed religion in France. This great measure strengthened the Protestant cause throughout the world, and had an immediate influence in the Pays de Vaud.

The Reformation, in completely changing the government and the Church in Switzerland, also altered the methods of education. Instruction and literature received a new impulse. The printers of Basle spread their works over Europe. Zurich founded many schools in the country, and Greek was so widely taught in that city that twelve professors represented a comedy of Aristophanes, of which Colin composed the prologue and Zwinglius the musical accompaniment. The new religious movement produced on the same spot a school of theology which vied with that of Geneva.

The letters of Henry VIII., of the unfortunate Jane Grey, of Edward VI., Elizabeth, Henry II., King of France, and the Prince of Condé, addressed to Zwinglius' successor, Bullinger, are preserved in the public library of Zurich; but a paragraph in a letter of Bullinger himself to the sovereign council of Zurich, written a few days before his death, contains the most remarkable evidence of the spirit of the movement: 'God has made use of the invention of printing as an instrument for bringing back truth into the light of day. This is why the enemies of good have sworn an implacable hatred against this invention. This is why they desire to destroy it. Beware of listening to these persons, and do not believe that without printing there would be less trouble and vice in the world. Remember, besides, that we have achieved more by printing than by preaching; and therefore never consent to deprive yourselves of this noble gift of Providence.'

The persecutions of Henry VIII. drove a large number of English prelates to Zurich; among others, Jewel, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, who stimulated the love of letters.

The sojourn of the distinguished refugees Godefroï, Hottonman, Dumoulin, and Bonnefoi had enabled Geneva to produce a School of Law not less distinguished than the one in Theology.¹ But Lausanne in no wise fell behind. We have already noted the names which adorn the early history of its Academy. In

¹ Daguet, ii. 111, 112.

1587, the authorities of Berne were so impressed by the success of the experiment that they purchased almost an entire street, and erected the buildings that still rear their venerable turrets near the Cathedral.

The catalogue of professors at Lausanne in the sixteenth century includes Frenchmen, Swiss, Germans, Italians, Spaniards, and Greeks. Instruction was given in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Theology, Philosophy, Mathematics, and Law. The influence of Theodore de Bèze was enhanced by personal residence. Through his long life (1519-1605) he never ceased to love Lausanne—a love returned with respectful ardour.

In youth he possessed a refined, lively, and mobile face. His eyes were large and expressive, his nose aquiline, his mouth pleasing, his blonde hair curled upon his shoulders; he had a noble figure, graceful manners, and a sympathetic voice. He always dressed with elegance; on horseback he wore gloves perfumed in the Italian style. He excelled in horsemanship, fencing, and tennis. He wrote verses with equal ease in French and in Latin.¹

His intellectual and personal attractions, and the powerful yet seductive character of his genius, peculiarly fitted him for diplomatic life; and the people of Vaud will never forget the ardent and successful efforts which he made in their behalf.

While assistant to Calvin at the age of thirty-nine, the Protestants of France demanded from the Church of Geneva that he might be allowed to work for the conversion of Anthony de Bourbon, King of Navarre. He departed at once for Nerae, where his efforts were crowned with success.

The King's son, the future Henry IV. of France, was a little boy, whose birth had been attended by some extraordinary ceremonies. His mother's father, Henri d'Albret, had insisted that his daughter, the Queen, while in pains of childbirth, should sing a Béarnese ditty, in order that the child might not be born with a morose and peevish character.

When the little Henry arrived, the delighted grandfather, raising him in his arms, cried: 'My lamb has brought forth a lion.' Then he rubbed the infant's lips with garlic, and wet them with the wine of Jurançon.

¹ Alfred de Bougy: *Le Tour du Léman*, 27.

De Bèze undoubtedly encountered the youthful Prince at the period of his life when the latter was still the companion of mountain peasants, partaking of their rude sports and fare, and going with bare head and feet, even in midwinter, while his body was covered with only the coarsest clothing.

In 1561, De Bèze took part in the celebrated conference of Poissy; while afterwards, energetically demanding from Catherine de Medicis the punishment of the authors of the massacre of Vassy, he pronounced those historic words: 'The Church of God is an anvil which has already worn out many hammers.' An ancient edition of his 'History of the Reformed Churches' has an engraved frontispiece recalling this sentence. It represents warriors striking with hammers upon an anvil surrounded with these words:

Plvs à me frapper on s'amvse
Tant plvs de marteaux on vse.¹

The last time that his laughing blue eye rested on the long-familiar scene at Lausanne eighty years had passed over his head, but had not decreased the strength of his affection. A great crowd came forth to meet him, and conducted him from the gates of the town to the lodgings assigned to him. He and they were standing upon the threshold of a new century. Luther, Zwinglius, Calvin, Viret, and Farel had passed away, but their cause had immensely developed, and now numbered within its ranks many of the most illustrious personages.

De Bèze embodied the character of the last three famous men in the following Latin epigram:

Gallica mirata est Calvinum ecclesia nuper,
Quo nemo docuit doctius.
Est quoque te nuper mirata, Farelle, tonantem,
Quo nemo tonuit fortius.
Et miratur adhuc fundentem mella Viretum,
Quo nemo fatur dulcius.
Scilicet aut tribus his servabere testibus olim
Aut interibis, Gallia.²

¹ De Bougy, 29.

² Gindroz, *Histoire de l'Instruction Publique*, 420.

CHAPTER XXXVII

A CONTEMPORARY journal in Latin, written by John Haller, pastor of Berne, gives us a glimpse of Lausanne in 1588, and of the academy. He says :

‘ They have a very celebrated and flourishing school. Many French have established themselves at Lausanne, partly on account of the church, and partly on account of the school. They have had to support some painful moments with André Zébédée, who had been before professor of arts, and with some others. But Zébédée having been removed in the interests of peace, they lived together afterwards in good harmony ; but this accord was troubled by François de St. Paul, minister at Vevey, who did not entirely share their opinions as to predestination. However, this controversy was appeased, and they became reconciled to him, although they have always held him in suspicion. The dissension with regard to predestination spread throughout the Pays de Vaud. Some approved the doctrine of Calvin, others that of Philip Melanchthon, or the middle doctrine of Bullinger. The affair came to such a point that the ministers could treat no other subject in their sermons, and they “ addressed ” themselves to it in the most contentious spirit. They did not content themselves with tearing each other to pieces, but they damned each other reciprocally.

‘ The lower people set themselves to disputing upon these matters in all the barbers’ shops and cabarets to such an extent that it was necessary for the magistrates to interfere. Bèze published a pamphlet. Calvin, in order to put down his adversaries, went sometimes to Berne, and asked of the Senate approbation of his doctrine, which he could not, however, obtain. We were unwilling to constitute ourselves judges and arbitrators in such an affair to the prejudice of others. We recommended to him moderation, and we treated him as a brother.

Another discussion soon arose concerning the descent of Christ into Hell.¹

The superiority of reformed Switzerland in education had become so evident that many Roman Catholic families sent their children to Zurich, Geneva, and Lausanne to profit by opportunities which were not offered them at home. Of the five colleges of Freiburg, Lucerne, Porrentruy, Brigge, and Sion, founded by the Jesuits in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it has been said that not one produced a really learned man.

Switzerland in the past had shone by military and political genius, which had afterwards suffered an eclipse; in the sixteenth century she reached an equally remarkable religious and intellectual pre-eminence. Science, literature, architecture, painting, engraving, ceramic art, each had its representative.

Agriculture advanced considerably in this century. Lakes and marshes were drained, forests were improved, pasturage and the care of flocks received particular attention. New methods of labour were introduced from Flanders, and the culture of the vine was perfected.

Mines were opened and roads were bettered; but the baleful plague four times decimated the country. Commerce and industry found new outlets to prosperity. Banking and watch-making were founded at Geneva. Goldsmiths and furriers developed their industries. Paper manufactories were set up in the county of Neuchâtel, and English refugees established cloth factories, but this trade was not continued.

The influence of different trades in the establishment of the reform was unquestionable. The hatters of Geneva, the masons and carpenters at Basle, the fishermen and vinedressers of Schaffhausen, and the stonecutters of Berne were its vigorous upholders; but, strange to say, the butchers, whose material interests would be favoured by suppression of Lent and fast days, were almost everywhere opposed to the new form of religion.²

¹ *Ephemerides D. Johannis Halleri, quibus ab anno 1548 ad 1665 continetur quidquid ferè in utroque statu Bernæ accidit, cum nonnullis aliis (Musæum Helveticum, 1797)*. See also Gindroz, *Histoire de l'Instruction Publique dans le Canton de Vaud*, 422.

² Daguet, ii. 121-4.

The freedom, I may as well say the license, which had grown up in preceding centuries, gradually gave way to an austerity which made war upon every kind of amusement. Games, dancing, theatrical representations, and, what was worse, the national sports, were tabooed. But, in spite of this spirit of repression, the natural gaiety of the people of Vaud showed itself upon every possible occasion, and broke out notably in the family gatherings, election feasts, and wedding festivities.

The superstition which prevailed before the Reformation, and had in a great measure passed away before the close of the century, is well illustrated by the following anecdote. A joiner took a block of pine and, having sawn it in two, made a kneading-trough for his kitchen out of one portion, while he fashioned a clumsy statue of St. Joseph for his church out of the other. When the latter was set up with appropriate ceremonies, the workman's old mother addressed herself tenderly to the statue in her *patois* thus :

O san Djosé, frere de m'n impataire,
Mon fe t' a fâ : su-io pa ta granmeire ?

which signifies, 'O St. Joseph, brother of my kneading-trough, my son made thee : am I not thy grandmother ?'

This reminds me of a habit which Sir Bernard Burke informed me prevailed in the family of the Dukes of Levis-Mirepoix, who, claiming descent from a relative of the Virgin Mary, always addressed themselves to the protection of their holy cousin.

Great simplicity of manners and dress distinguished some important personages ; but the opposite characteristic was as frequently displayed in Vaud and in the other cantons. Bullinger, chief of the Reformed Church at Zurich, preserved the external appearance of wealth, without a lavish expenditure. He wore a light red cuirass, and a white pourpoint enveloped in a black pelisse, with a dagger in his belt. This was a time when everyone wore a sword of some kind, whether in court, church, or in travelling, 'as a mark of that liberty and freedom which are not permitted or conceded in other countries.'

In writing to his son, Bullinger severely criticises the

...the great ... of Pope Clement VIII, ... mission his Legate and the General of the ... They were well received by Henry IV., who ... a less fortunate French ... of later date ... while in favour of peace he would not surrender ... ground. The conferences opened at St. Quentin and ... at Vervins: a reciprocal exchange of captured territory took place.

The Treaties of Vervins and of Nantes—for the Edict was a treaty with the Calvinists—terminated, says Sismondi, a historical period. It was the end of the ancient world, a world of agitation and violence, which civil wars had continued in France longer than elsewhere. It was the beginning of a new world, a world of order, regularity, obedience. Henry IV. was enabled to bring under control the great machinery of the Crown, to give institutions to his people and to make alliances with foreign Powers.

... to conclude a treaty of alliance with the Swiss ... faithful defenders in darkest days. Bernese ... signature until her sovereignty over the Pays ...

... mutual offence and defence did not prevent ... renewing his projects against Geneva ... and attempted to scale ... the night of December 2, 1602. The ... was long celebrated by the rescued ... ended in Châtellais, ended by the ...

... at this period are illustrated by ... dated at Paris, November 10,

... King of France and of Navarre,
... governors of our provinces, marshals
... and conductors of our men
... foot, bailiffs, senechals, provosts, judges
... masters of our bridges, ports, tolls, and
... farmers of our taxes, and to all other
... and subjects whom it may concern,

greeting! We wish, command you, and very expressly enjoin by these presents, that the Seignior de Constant (Augustin), governor of our towns and castles of Mororis, departing for our service to various cantons and towns of Switzerland, you take care to allow him to pass, go, sojourn, and return by each of our powers, juridically, freely, and securely, with his followers, servants, and domestics, horses, carriages, arms, and baggage, with a coffer of a weight of twenty-two to twenty-three marks of silver and brass, to the sum of three thousand pounds silver to cover the expenses of his voyage, without on that account causing, or suffering to be caused, occasioned, or given, any trouble or obstacle to these presents contrary, notwithstanding the prohibitions and forbiddance imposed on all persons for the transport of silver coined or uncoined out of the kingdom, and similarly that imposed on the carriage of arms and firesticks, to which and to the exceptions of the exceptions therein contained we have, for this reason, without in any wise establishing a precedent, made exception and do by these presents make exception. Signed with our hand, for such is our pleasure. Given at Paris the tenth day of November, the year of grace 1608, of our reign the twentieth.

‘HENRY.

‘By the King, BRULAR.’¹

This characteristic document was given to one of that family of De Constant de Rebecque which had suffered innumerable losses from religious persecutions, and was destined to shine with renewed lustre in succeeding centuries. This race had originally been seated in its Castle and Seignior of Rebecque in Artois; but its château having been destroyed and its lands unlawfully seized towards the end of the fifteenth century, some of its branches removed to other localities. One family, however, remained at Aire, whence it fled, towards the end of the religious wars, to escape the persecutions of Alba, first to Paris, then to Geneva, and finally to Lausanne, from which it sent off branches into France and Holland. The elder branch is now in Holland,

¹ Passport of Henry IV. to Augustin de Constant; communicated author by Baron Victor de Constant de Rebecque. Drawn from the archives of the De Loys family.

extravagant expense of his toilet: 'Thou givest three kreutzers to have thy beard dressed. Here, I give only two. At that game one will soon empty his purse. Thy mother opened her eyes when she saw that thou askest for new shoes. It is only fifteen months since thou went away carrying three pairs. Thou art, nevertheless, not made of bronze, but merely of flesh and bones like us.'¹

The seventeenth century opened in the Pays de Vaud with a singular incident which illustrated the continued existence of feudal customs. In the year 1600, Noble Francis Bourgeois, Vidame of Bonvillars, caused to be cited before the tribunal of Grandson four of his vassals for having married without inviting him to the wedding-feast. He based his complaint on the fact that from ancient times his predecessors had enjoyed this right; that it was notorious that every man belonging to his fief who got married was bound to invite either him or his lieutenant to assist at the ceremonies and the banquet, like one of the near relatives; and that immediately after he must deliver to the said noble a measure of oats. Inasmuch as these men had neither invited him nor his lieutenant, thereby showing contempt, avarice, and voluntary negligence, he demanded that they should be placed at the mercy of the seignior bailiff of Grandson, as regarded their punishment; that they should be obliged to recognise his right; and that each should be forced to pay him ten gold crowns in place of the said festivities and banquets.

The accused declared that they were unaware of the rights and titles of their seignior; and that if they had failed to fulfil their duties, it was through ignorance. Thereupon they submitted themselves to the arbitrament of three persons, including the notary of the vidame. The latter decided that goodwill should be re-established between the parties; that each of the bridegrooms should give a measure of oats; that they should pay the expenses of the suit; and that they should dine the parties to it and the arbitrators.

After the vidame had read this sentence, he observed that there was no mention therein of the ten gold crowns which he

¹ Daguet, ii. 126.

claimed. Upon this each of the defendants offered to give the sum, in order not to weaken the rights of their lord.

This arrangement proving acceptable to all parties, the vidame received the gold crowns, and, like a gracious and loyal lord, having summoned the husbands before him, presented the gold to each as a wedding present.¹

They still preserve in the Arsenal at Berne a specimen of the seigniorial sceptre carried by the seigniors of those days in the administration of justice. It is of iron surmounted by a cluster of iron ornaments representing the arms of the seignior, and with a ring round the staff itself. When any one was condemned to death, the judge reversed the sceptre, being the opposite of the 'thumbs up' of the Romans.²

At this time the public in the neighbouring cantons loved to hear, among German rhymes and Latin verses, citations from the Vulgate, and fragments of hymns from the churches. One piece is known in which is found a little French.

In a drama representing the martyrdom of St. Maurice, performed by the students of Soleure, the satellites who led the saint to the torture, not content with insulting him with good German oaths, finally hurled at him the coarsest French abuse. They distanced, in fact, the military vocabulary of Gresset's 'Vert-Vert.' The ambassador of His Most Catholic Majesty, who was present at this representation, turning towards a reverend Jesuit father, author of the piece, cried: 'What! French?' 'Yes, Monseigneur, only a few pretty little words to enliven Your Excellency.'³

CHAPTER XXXVIII

THE Treaty of Vervins, signed May 2, 1598, between France and Spain, was brought about by the incurable illness of Philip II., the 'Demon of the South,' who felt that he was leaving an impossible task to an incapable successor. Even Amiens had been torn from him; and fearing other and greater

¹ *Conservateur Suisse*, x. 216.

² The author's visit to the Arsenal at Berne was made in November 1881, with Count Hartmann de Mulinen.

³ *Conservateur Suisse*, x. 216, xiii. 68.

disasters, he invoked the good offices of Pope Clement VIII., who sent on this mission his Legate and the General of the Cordeliers. They were well received by Henry IV., who, anticipating a less fortunate French declaration of later date, declared that while in favour of peace he would not surrender an inch of ground. The conferences opened at St. Quentin and finished at Vervins; a reciprocal exchange of captured territories took place.

The Treaties of Vervins and of Nantes—for the Edict was really a treaty with the Calvinists—terminated, says Siamondi, a great historical period. It was the end of the ancient world, the world of agitation and violence, which civil wars had continued in France longer than elsewhere. It was the beginning of a new world, a world of order, regularity, obedience. Henry IV. was enabled to bring under control the great feudatories of the Crown, to give institutions to his people, and contract alliances with foreign Powers.

He hastened to conclude a treaty of alliance with the Swiss cantons, his most faithful defenders in darkest days. Berne alone withheld her signature until her sovereignty over the Pays de Vaud was guaranteed.

This treaty of mutual offence and defence did not prevent the Duke of Savoy from renewing his projects against Geneva and Vaud. He raised a *corps d'armée*, and attempted to scale the walls of Geneva on the night of December 2, 1602. The failure of this undertaking was long celebrated by the rescued city. A war of partisans ensued in Chablais, ended by the Treaty of St. Julien in 1603.¹

The details of official travel at this period are illustrated by the following curious passport, dated at Paris, November 10, 1608:

‘ Henry, by the grace of God King of France and of Navarre, to all our civil lieutenants, governors of our provinces, marshals and camp-masters, captains, chiefs and conductors of our men of war both horse and foot, bailiffs, senechals, provosts, judges or their lieutenants, masters of our bridges, ports, tolls, and passes officers and farmers of our taxes, and to all other our justices and officers and subjects whom it may concern,

¹ Verdeil, ii. 186-8.

Greeting! We wish, command you, and very expressly enjoin by these presents, that the Seignior de Constant (Augustin), governor of our towns and castles of Mororis, departing for our service to various cantons and towns of Switzerland, you take care to allow him to pass, go, sojourn, and return by each of our powers, juridically, freely, and securely, with his followers, servants, and domestics, horses, carriages, arms, and baggage, with a coffer of a weight of twenty-two to twenty-three marks of silver and brass, to the sum of three thousand pounds silver to cover the expenses of his voyage, without on that account causing, or suffering to be caused, occasioned, or given, any trouble or obstacle to these presents contrary, notwithstanding the prohibitions and forbiddance imposed on all persons for the transport of silver coined or uncoined out of the kingdom, and similarly that imposed on the carriage of arms and firesticks, to which and to the exceptions of the exceptions therein contained we have, for this reason, without in any wise establishing a precedent, made exception and do by these presents make exception. Signed with our hand, for such is our pleasure. Given at Paris the tenth day of November, the year of grace 1608, of our reign the twentieth.

‘HENRY.

‘By the King, BRULAR.’¹

This characteristic document was given to one of that family of De Constant de Rebecque which had suffered innumerable losses from religious persecutions, and was destined to shine with renewed lustre in succeeding centuries. This race had originally been seated in its Castle and Seignior of Rebecque in Artois; but its château having been destroyed and its lands unlawfully seized towards the end of the fifteenth century, some of its branches removed to other localities. One family, however, remained at Aire, whence it fled, towards the end of the religious wars, to escape the persecutions of Alba, first to Paris, then to Geneva, and finally to Lausanne, from which it sent off branches into France and Holland. The elder branch is now in Holland,

¹ Passport of Henry IV. to Augustin de Constant; communicated to the author by Baron Victor de Constant de Rebecque. Drawn from the valuable archives of the De Loys family.

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to all our civil lieutenants, governors of our provinces
and camp-masters, captains, chiefs and conductors
of war both horse and foot, bailiffs, senechals, judges
or their lieutenants, masters of our bridges, post-
passage officers and farmers of our taxes, and
our justices and officers and subjects

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Augustin de Constant: communicated to the
et de Rebecque. Drawn from the valuabl

hair, moustache and pointed beard, brown eyes, a finely modelled straight nose, a small and decided mouth. He wears the ruff of the period, a scarlet jacket with black velvet tufts, the sleeves and the front being embroidered with gold.

Strange to say, Renée de Loÿs, his sister, who married Noble Claude Maillardoz of Grandvaux, also met with a violent death; she perished from poison administered by a sorceress, who was afterwards burned at Nyon.¹

The belief in witchcraft was still in full force. At about this time occurred two celebrated trials: one of Louis Gaufridi, the priest of Marseilles, burnt at Aix in 1610; the other of the famous Maréchale d'Ancre. The first gave rise to a discussion as to Satanic marks on sorcerers. Père Sinistrari, writing in 1611, said:

'The devil marks his faithful with a sign of different forms. At one time it is a hare, at another the foot of a frog. Again it is a spider, a small dog, a dormouse. The demon imprints these upon the most hidden parts of the body. Upon the men it is placed under the eyelids, or the armpits, or the lips, or the shoulder, or in the fundament, or elsewhere. The women are generally marked on the bosoms or on the sexual parts.'

Jacques Fontaine, a medical man of Aix, wrote a work upon the subject, dedicated to Marie di Medicis, wherein he points out the method by which one can with certainty distinguish Satanic from the other marks that might be found upon the bodies of men or women. He says the parts thus marked are as if dead, rendered thus by the malice of the devil, who wishes only for the death of our souls and bodies, in opposition to the will of the Creator.²

The authorities of Berne took sorcery in hand in a most determined manner. 'The mark of Satan,' wrote their Excellencies to their dear and faithful Bailiff of Vevey and Captain of Chillon, Rodolphe Kilchbergen:

'The mark of Satan is not the least certain proof in cases of sorcery, nor the least motive to put the accused to the question. But we learn that hitherto the examination has

¹ Archives of the De Loÿs family (MS.)

² *Procès Criminel contre une Sorcière à Moudon*, mai 1655, par Etienne Charavay, p. 208.

been of too slight a description. In consequence, we order that the search for the Satanic mark shall only be made by experts in the presence of the two sworn officers of justice at three different times, in a brightly lighted place, where the members are completely exposed to view.¹

The Manuals of Vevey show that the bailiff considered it the town's duty to furnish wood to burn sorcerers.

Noé de Loÿs leaving no children, his brother Etienne, dying shortly afterwards, bequeathed the Seigniorship of Denens to their nephew, Noble Michael, son of their sister, Catherine de Loÿs, and Noble François de Tavel. The château and domains are to-day in the possession of M. Charles de Buren, representative in the female line of this branch of the De Tavels.

This ancient family drew its name from the village of Tavel in the barony of Châtelard. It received the bourgeoisie of Vevey in the beginning of the fourteenth century. One of its members, Robert de Tavel (1362-1425), was Bourgeois of Vevey, Castellan of Gleyrolles, Vice-castellan of Chillon, Councilor of Vevey, Lieutenant-bailiff of Vaud, Castellan of Moudon, and Episcopal bailiff of Lausanne. Countess Bonne de Bourbon, Regent of Savoy, gave him, as security for a large loan, the customs of Vevey, and Count Amadeus confirmed this act.²

The family possessed at various times the Seigniorships of Carouge, Ussières, Villars-sur-Yens, Lussy, Vulliens, and Correvon, with the Co-seigniorships of Corsier, Cuarnens, and Sepey. It held high offices, and its representative was the Commander of the city of Vevey, a few years before the treason of his relative, Ferdinand Bouvier. It held the Seigniorship of Denens until the close of the last century, when, through an heiress, that estate passed, as has been indicated, into the family of De Buren, closely allied to the De Loÿs of La Grotte, and mentioned in De Loÿs de Bochat's will.

A De Tavel is mentioned in Rousseau's 'Confessions' as the first lover of Madame de Warens.

¹ *Chillon au Moyen Age*, 156, 271.

² *Vevey et ses Environs au Moyen Age*, 5.

CHAPTER XXXIX

It appears from the unpublished writings of the Banneret Secretan, who cites the registers of the Councils of Lausanne, under date December 8, 1612, that Berne had ordered an assembly to be held to inquire into certain abuses complained of in the Pays de Vaud. The Burgomaster de Rosset (whose family is so intimately connected with La Grotte), and Director of Public Works Bergier, were appointed on behalf of the town of Lausanne to see what was proposed to be done, with strict injunctions not to consent to any proposal for confounding the laws and customs of Lausanne with those of the other cities of the Pays de Vaud. They were also to insist that each city should correct its own code, if found necessary. Eight members of the two councils were also appointed to revise the *Plaict Général*, and to confer with the four parishes of Lavaux on the subject.¹

On the 18th of the same month an extraordinary meeting of the Councils of Lausanne was held. Five members were chosen to attend a general assembly. This congress assembled in the Council Chamber of Lausanne, and was composed of the aforesaid five, together with two delegates from Payerne, one from Vevey, and one from Avenches, representing together the parishes of Lavaux. These sat on the right. On the left were the deputies from the good towns of Moudon, which sent three; of Yverdon, which contributed an equal number; of Morges and of Nyon, each of which was represented by two; while Cudrefin had one, and Mutrux two. The Secretary of Lausanne, Floret, acted as secretary. As a matter of course, the presiding officer belonged to the Grotte family. He was M. Jean Baptiste de Loÿs, Seigneur of Cheseaux.

The most eminent man in the body, after him, was M. de Cerjat, Seigneur of Denezey and of Allamand, ancestor of Gibbon's friends. He was also Castellan of Moudon, where his family

¹ Inedited manuscript: *Notes sur l'Ancienne et Moderne Legislation de la Ville de Lausanne*, écrites en 1776 par M. le Banneret Secretan.

have always been the leading house, and where they still inhabit a fine mansion to the east of the town.

As Commissioner of Moudon, M. de Cerjat proposed the presentation of a request to Berne for an inquiry into the conduct of the Bailiff of Morges, who had refused to take the accustomed local oath. He also suggested a review of all the codes of the country, so as to render them uniform.

After deliberation, M. de Loÿs said, on behalf of the Lausannois, that they had no fault to find with their bailiffs, who had never refused to take the usual oath. He declared that Lausanne declined to merge its customs into those of the other cities; for Lausanne had never been subject to the House of Savoy, but had received its franchises from the Emperor himself, and those franchises had been endorsed by the Bishop and reconfirmed after the happy conquest by the Bernese. He remarked, in conclusion, that if any amendments were necessary, each town could make them for itself, thus avoiding the necessity of amalgamating the various codes.¹

At the close of his address, the meeting adjourned to January 4, 1613.

On April 15 of that year, MM. de Rosset and Bergier were sent to Berne to present the amended *Plaict Général* to their Excellencies.

Five years afterwards, the authorities of Avenches informed the authorities of Lausanne that they ratified, confirmed, and corroborated the *Plaict Général*, otherwise known as the code of customs of Lausanne; and in the following September, at a general meeting of the councils and citizens of Lausanne, at the town house in the Place de la Palud, at seven in the morning, the *Plaict Général* was read, and they all affirmed, raising their hands in sign of good faith instead of taking an oath, that they would observe the said *Plaict Général* and govern themselves by it, subject to modifications to be made if requisite.

This *Plaict Général* was followed, with some slight alteration, by the various tribunals until 1821, when it was replaced by the Code Civil of Vaud, which is to-day the law of the entire country. According to the code before 1613, a man who had

¹ Notes by Banneret Secretan on the ancient and modern legislation of Lausanne (MS.)

no children, only brothers and sisters, could make the children of a deceased brother his heirs without paying the *lod*, or transfer tax, exacted in the case of transfer of land from one person to another, not a direct heir. The reformed code swept away this right.¹

After the treaty, in 1611, the House of Savoy turned its views of conquest towards Italy. Later, it sought an alliance with the Protestant cantons, and an offensive and defensive treaty was finally concluded between the Duke and the Canton of Berne in 1617.

The persecution of the Protestants having recommenced, Berne gave the order to her regiments to quit France. Louis XIII. then suspended the payment of the pensions due to these brave men, and his ambassador in Switzerland stirred up religious troubles in the mixed parishes of the Bailiwick of Echallens, and exhorted the Catholics therein to demand the *denominational vote*, otherwise called the *plus*—that is, to determine, by polling the partisans of the rival religions, which possessed the greater number of followers—so as to proscribe that of the minority.

The Catholics of Polliciez, Penthéréaz, and Assens now demanded the *plus*; menacing notes were exchanged between Berne and Freiburg, and military preparations were set on foot. A vote having taken place at Polliciez and Penthéréaz, the majority rested with the Protestants, and the Catholic religion was forbidden. Crosses were pulled down, and priests were expelled. Freiburg carried her complaint to the Diet, and summoned the Catholic powers to protect their religion. The Diet ordered an inquest.

In the meantime, the cantons began to arm; a religious war seemed imminent, and no one was more bellicose than the retired Bishop of Lausanne, Jean de Watteville, of the Spanish branch of that name, then living at Paris. These are his words to Freiburg: 'I renew by these presents the offer which I made a long time ago concerning your contest with the Seigniorship of Berne. My person, my means, my life, are ready. If you have need of cavalry, I will raise as high as 500 horsemen, and

¹ Notes on the ancient and modern legislation of Lausanne, by Bannet Secretan (MS.)

even more, and conduct them to that locality where they are needed. I desire also to endeavour to furnish you with powder and cannon balls.' ¹

Although Sebastian de Montfaucon was the last bishop who resided at Lausanne, his successors continued to be named and to reside at Freiburg. Etienne Marilly, in 1846, was styled as follows: 'His Grandeur Monseigneur Etienne, Bishop and Count of Lausanne, Bishop of Geneva, Prince of the Holy Empire, Prelate Assistant of the Roman Court, &c., &c., sixty-fifth Bishop of Lausanne;' omitting the doubtful bishops, say some. Including twenty-two bishops before St. Maire, he was the eighty-sixth, and in adding other doubtful bishops of the tenth and eleventh centuries, he was the ninety-third.²

Certain grave events created a diversion. Spain and Austria invaded the Valtelline. At this critical moment France recalled the ambassador who had stirred up the religious troubles in the Pays de Vaud, and obtained a new alliance with Switzerland, together with five regiments, with which she succeeded in driving out the allied forces from the Grisons. At the same time the Catholics of Echallens were so entirely restored to liberty, and re-established such excellent relations with the Reformers from that time forth, that the two communions continued to worship in the same church. It was in this edifice that Rousseau attended mass in the last century; and it is only since 1865 that a new temple has been erected by the Protestants, while the old one belongs to the Catholics.³

Berne and Freiburg, at the instance of France, having forgotten their quarrels, entered into the closest relations with the latter country, whose influence from that time grew stronger throughout the Swiss Cantons.

The greatest warriors did not hesitate to become French ambassadors in Switzerland, for they thus obtained for their country bodies of fine troops who distinguished themselves upon many hard-fought fields.

The alliances with Savoy and France had already opened an admirable military career to the aristocracy of Vaud. A

¹ *Mémoires de Pierrefleur*, and Verdeil, ii. 59.

² *Chronique Fribourgeoise*, p. 476.

³ *Histoire de la Vie privée d'autrefois, avec avant-propos de M. Guisot*, p. 91; and Martignier and de Crousas, p. 324.

treaty with the Republic of Venice soon enlarged their opportunities.

In 1618, Berne, Zurich, and Venice agreed that Venice should raise two regiments of 2,100 men each—one at Zurich, the other at Berne—the Swiss to name the captains and Venice the colonels, with the approbation of the two cities. Besides the pay of the officers and soldiers, which was higher than that in the service of the Duke of Savoy, the two cities were to receive an annual pension of 4,000 ducats in time of peace, and of half that amount in time of war. Free trade and reciprocity of rights were guaranteed to the citizens of the contracting republics.

The various negotiations which preceded this agreement are noted in the work, printed in 1864, under the title of 'The Republic of Venice and the Swiss,' which contains a description of the principal unpublished manuscripts concerning Switzerland to be found in the archives of Venice. This admirable *catalogue raisonné* is the work of the learned M. Victor Ceresole, Swiss Consul at Venice, and brother of Colonel Paul Ceresole, the distinguished ex-President of the Swiss Confederation. Recent history relates that it was through information given by M. Victor Ceresole that the Italian Government was enabled to recover many of the unique works of art carried away from Venice by the Austrian troops. His labours in the Venetian records in the Swiss direction have displayed many of the merits which attached to the pioneer researches and discoveries of Mr. Rawdon Brown concerning English history.

In 1878, M. Ceresole published another volume, giving the despatches of Jean Baptiste Padavino, Venetian Envoy at Zurich from 1607 to 1608. Padavino seems to have made admirable use of his time, for he not only obtained an exact knowledge of the condition, history, constitution, legislation, and customs of Helvetia, but he also succeeded in gaining for Venice the sympathy of the evangelical cantons and the confidence of their first magistrates. In his introduction, M. Ceresole remarks that Padavino was again employed at a moment when Venice was menaced by Spain and Austria, and had need of troops to be employed in the war of the Frioul. His negotiations in 1616 and 1617 were partially successful, and an

understanding was reached, as we have seen, in the following year.

In acknowledging the reception of these interesting volumes, I remarked to M. Ceresole the coincidence that I should number among my friends both of the eminent scholars distinguished by their investigations among the eleven million manuscripts stored in the ancient Convent of Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari.

I well remember the delightful abode of Mr. Rawdon Brown on the Grand Canal, and its historical treasures, and could appreciate his feeling when, after showing me the rarities around him, he said: 'Five-and-forty years ago I elected to live with the dead, and I have never regretted that decision.'

The 'Thirty Years' War broke out in 1618 in Bohemia, and Switzerland was enveloped by its contending forces. It may be said without exaggeration that during this long period not only did not the federal bond exist, but the Catholic and Protestant Cantons were always ready to come to blows. Berne, for instance, desired to succour its ally, the city of Mulhouse, menaced by the Imperialists; whereupon the forces of Soleure attacked its battalion, killing several and disarming the rest. The registers of Lausanne inform us that there was a company from that city in this battalion, and that the Council despatched one of their number to look after the wounded Lausannois.

The disorder which had distinguished part of the preceding century began again to show itself throughout Switzerland. The number of deserters who entered the country at this time was so great that in a single day more than 6,000 passed the Rhine. The most rigorous measures became necessary, and in one year 236 of these unfortunates were executed in the town of Bremgarten alone.

In the midst of these wars and rumours of wars social life flowed on at Lausanne. The authorities and nobles found time to witness a comedy in three acts by Pierre Buisson, which was played at the Castle on October 1, 1630, on the occasion of the 'sad' departure of one, and the 'happy' installation of another Bernese bailiff. This performance is contained in a rare little quarto of forty-eight pages. The author, punning on his name,

says, 'Pardon me if this poem is not enamelled with the flowers of eloquence. Those flowers could never bloom in a Buisson' (thicket). The piece embraces five actors, and has no plot, but it indicates talent. It describes the Academy and its professors, while it demonstrates the benefits of the Bernese Government and the progress of science, and particularly celebrates peace—a strange word which had not much weight at the particular moment.

Imperial, French, and Swedish recruiting agents now swarmed in every canton, and the best blood of the country was enrolled under various flags. In February 1682, for instance, Jean de Gingins raised a corps of cavaliers for the army of Sweden, wherein figured Warnery of Morges, Greber of Lausanne, de Morzier of Grandson, Cujas of Cornens, Monney of Orbe, and d'Arbonnier, d'Aubonne, Crinsoz de Cottens, Bourgeois, de Treytorrens, and Doxat of Yverdon.

Fifteen years later the family of Doxat were received into the nobility of Austria, on account of their military services, by the Emperor Charles Ferdinand. The following extract from the diploma indicates the character of a grant of nobility in that empire :

'Willing and inviolably commanding that you, the before-mentioned Jean Pierre Claude Jaques Louis Doxat, and you, Joseph, together with all your children, heirs, successors, descendants, issue of loyal marriage, both males and females, may freely, and without any obstacle, make use of, employ, carry, and hold the arms and marks of nobility from thenceforth and in perpetuity, in whatsoever manner, in each and every honest act and becoming exercise, in all despatches, serious enterprises or amusements and pastimes, lance-play, foot or horse tournaments, wars, duels, hand-to-hand combats, *mêlées*, close skirmishes or skirmishing at a distance, on escutcheons, banners, flags, tents, graves, monuments, jewels, rings, quivers, seals, edifices, walls, windows, doors, ceilings, carpets, utensils, and articles of furniture whatever, in all things spiritual, temporal, and mixed, in all places according to necessity and your will, after the fashion of other nobles bearing and using arms.'¹

¹ *Brochure of M. de Mestral on the Doxat Family*, p. 8; and translation of the Patent of Nobility (MS.).

CHAPTER XL

THERE seem to have been in the Canton de Vaud several different kinds of nobility. The more ancient, such as the de Grandsons or the de Blonays, were originally styled Sires. M. Edouard Secretan, in speaking recently of the condition of persons in the Pays de Vaud during the period of the House of Savoy, entered into some details concerning the class of nobles. He arrived at the conclusion that Vaud, placed between that country of feudal law, Neuchâtel, on the one hand, and the countries of written law, Geneva, Savoy, and the Valais, on the other, possessed both feudal custom and allodial custom or written law. The generality of its fiefs during that period were hereditary fiefs which could be alienated; whereas, according to feudal law in France and Germany, sub-infeudation alone was possible.¹

There were but few titles connected with lands beyond that of seignior; although under the Bernese rule, in recompense of meritorious services, some seigniories were erected into baronies, like that of Berchier in favour of the family of de Saussure. The designation 'noble' before the name of a male or female seems to have been derived by inheritance or by the possession of a noble fief, or by the occupation of a certain office, or the continued use of the term in official documents without any trace of its original gift, or by foreign creation as in the case of the Doxats, whose nobility, of imperial origin, was, however, confirmed by the authorities of Berne.

After the Bernese became masters of Vaud, they examined from time to time into the reality of the claims of various families to be called noble, and all available proof was demanded and passed upon by a local commissioner appointed for this purpose. The report of Noble H. de Seigneux, which I shall presently cite, is an example of this.

There were, of course, assumptions in this direction in Vaud, as well as in France, which time and custom eventually

¹ *Séance de la Société Vaudoise d'Histoire du 28 Mai, 1863, xxviii. 31.*

authorised. There is evidence of this in the unpublished manuscript report made to their Excellencies of Berne by H. Seygneulx, in 1672, and entitled 'Roll of Nobles and pretended non-Nobles of the Bailiwick of Lausanne.'

This curious document, now before me, I owe to the kindness of M. Gaulis, who resides in Voltaire's old house in the Rue du Grand Chêne at Lausanne. The claims of forty-one families are herein passed upon in alphabetical order.¹

Sir Bernard Burke has remarked that '*nobility*, a larger word than *peerage*, is not exclusively confined to titled families, and that a well-born gentleman without title has his own inherent nobility as truly as the earl or marquis, although he cannot pretend to the same rank or illustration. . . . Peers and baronets and landed gentlemen entitled to hereditary arms form the nobility of England—some of old and some of new blood.'

The English squire who possesses a manorial estate and hereditary arms is, therefore, clearly a nobleman in the Continental sense, although his real position and resources are much greater than most noblemen in other countries. This may not be a generally received idea, but, upon examination, it will be found to be a correct one.

M. de Malesherbes, who had formerly been Minister of the King's Household, in his unpublished memoir of the year 1791, addressed to M. de Sévery for Gibbon, says :

'In France, as in all countries formerly feudal, the titles of Duke, Marquis, Count, Viscount, Baron, and the other titles which no one takes at present—such as those of *Châtelain* or *Sire*—were attached to the lands of which the duke, marquis, or count was *Seignior*, and wherein he enjoyed the highest authority excepting the superiority of his sovereign.

'There were still other titles attached to some lands, into whose detail it is useless to enter. There were even hereditary offices belonging to the possessors of certain fiefs.

'In those times and afterwards (for I do not very well understand the origin), there were also some lands which had been erected into principalities.

¹ *Rolle des Nobles et prétendus non-Nobles du Bailliage de Lausanne, 1672 (MS.).*

'Since the destruction of the feudal *régime*, some rights have still remained annexed to land; but there are none which give any personal prerogatives to the Seigneur except to dukes, among whom those that are hereditary without being peers enjoy only the honours of Court. Those who are peers, have, moreover, the right to sit in Parliament.

'In England, where the number of the marquesses, counts, viscounts, and barons is limited, where such a title is always attached to a seat in the House of Peers, and where, in society, it is understood that a count must not pass before a marquess, it would not be possible to usurp a title.'

There was another dignity which carried with it the idea of nobility; I mean admission to the patrician order of Berne.

In Gibbon's unpublished French journal he remarks, in referring to the foundation of Berne:

'At that early moment, and for many centuries after (inasmuch as the quality of citizen of Berne, far from procuring emoluments, was attended with various expenses), all those who desired to make Berne their country were welcomed with pleasure and received as *bourgeois*. After the conquest of the Pays de Vaud several families of that locality were enrolled as *bourgeois*. There were even many who did not care about it; but when at the end only of the last century (the seventeenth) the bailiwicks had become considerable by the more impartial distribution that was made of them by lot, then, I say, the Bernese commenced to feel the value of this rank, which they now scarcely ever accord to strangers, and resolved to preserve it for themselves alone. They therefore imposed very onerous conditions, such as residence at Berne, the obligation of baptizing their children at the great church, and taxes which each person was bound to pay for the garrison of the town, &c., attaching to the least failure in any of these obligations the loss of the *bourgeoisie*, and putting them all into execution with the greatest severity. By these means they deprived a large number of families of their right to this *bourgeoisie*. It is even said at Berne—not said, but whispered—that the inhabitants of the four Landgerichts or surroundings of Berne formerly enjoyed this right. To-day, however, they are but subjects.'

¹ Gibbon's unpublished autograph Journal, found by the author in La Grotte (MS.).

Gibbon, in a letter to a Swiss friend, remarks, as if addressing a native of Vaud :

‘When I survey your country I behold two nations distinctly characterised by their rights, employments, and manners, the one consisting of three hundred families born to command, the other consisting of a hundred thousand doomed to submission. The former are invested as a body with all the prerogatives of hereditary monarchs, which are the more humiliating to you their subjects because they belong to men apparently your equals. The comparison between yourself and them is made every moment ; no circumstance tends to conceal it from your fancy.

‘A council of three hundred persons is the sovereign umpire of your dearest interests, which will always be sacrificed when they clash with their own. This council is invested with the executive as well as the legislative power, two branches of authority which can never be united without rendering each of them too formidable to the subject. When they belong to different persons or assemblies, the legislature will not venture to form violent resolutions, because these would be of no avail unless they were carried into execution by another power always its rival and often its antagonist. The sword of authority is not only sharpened by this union, but it is thereby confined to a smaller number of hands. In the last century the Great Council of Berne began to elect its own members, which was a great step towards oligarchy, since it excluded from election the citizens at large, and thereby narrowed the basis of the government. But this arrangement was liable to other inconveniences. Intrigue, venality, and debauchery signalised the admission of citizens into the sovereign council, and ambitious men squandered their wealth that they might purchase a right to indulge their rapacity. A committee of six counsellors, established in the infancy of the republic to watch the execution of the laws, and whose offices were held at pleasure, became entrusted with the power of naming the members of the Grand Council, by which this committee itself was appointed. Its number was augmented by sixteen senators chosen in the manner most favourable to the designs of faction. They exercised their power at first collectively, but by degrees they came

to understand that their particular interests would be better promoted by each naming his son, son-in-law, or kinsman. The powerful families which then commanded the senate still rule it at present. Thirty places are filled by the Wattevelles and Steigners. This selfish traffic, by which the members of the Little Council are elected by the Great Council, consisting of their own relations, that they may name other relations to seats in the Great Council, has reduced the number of families which have a right to sit in the latter to nearly four score. These princely families look down with equal contempt on those who are their fellow-citizens by the law of nature and those who were rendered such by the constitution of their country. The former class is deprived of a resource which the most absolute princes have seldom ventured to wrest from their subjects. I mean those courts of justice acknowledged by the prince and revered by the people as the organs of public opinion and the depositories of the laws. . . . In the Pays de Vaud, which was equally respectable under the kings of Burgundy and the dukes of Savoy, the states formed such a tribunal. They were composed of the nobility, clergy, and deputies from the principal cities, which annually assembled at Moudon and formed the perpetual council of the prince, without whose consent he could neither enact new laws nor impose new taxes.¹

Among the Vaudois families that consented to accept the quality of patricians of Berne were the de Cerjat, the de Crousaz, the de Tavel, the de Rovéréa, the Pilichody, and the Roussillon. The last three were admitted gratuitously in memory of services rendered. The others were compelled to pay an important sum, for their Excellencies had adopted as a maxim Cicero's celebrated utterance: 'In a republic the power should never be confided to the multitude.' This was again illustrated in the beginning of the eighteenth century in the case of Pierre Fatio of Geneva, who had headed the democratic faction. He was arrested and eventually executed, but quoted for justification upon his trial the famous adage: '*Vox populi vox Dei*'—'The voice of the people is the voice of God;' whereupon

¹ Gibbon's letter to a Swiss friend, under the pseudonym of a Swedish traveller (*Miscel. Works*, ii. 7).

one of his judges retorted angrily: '*Vox populi vox diaboli*'—'The voice of the people is the voice of the devil.'¹

The Bernese decided that there should be at least 236 patrician families, and that the officials should be taken from at least seventy-four of these families, so that there were preferences and privileges within preferences and privileges. While certain families were represented by ten or fifteen members, others had no representation. Freiburg gave voice to the idea which lay at the root of the Bernese theory when she rendered the secret *bourgeoisie* or patricianship inaccessible to simple *bourgeois* in these terms: 'Following the example of other cities, considering that the *bourgeoisie* is a jewel, and that it is not just that the ancient families should be eclipsed by the new, we have decided no longer to grant it except at the high price of a thousand francs [equivalent to five times that sum at the present time], and only to distinguished persons. The heads of country families domiciled in the city are not admissible. On the other hand, their sons and grandsons may be admitted.' As they did not wish to encourage the establishment of the Vaudois at Freiburg, they, moreover, decided that the German candidate should pay less than the Welsh.²

Among the families who rejected the dignity of patrician of Berne were the de Blonays, whose representative haughtily replied: 'You are in no condition to confer honour upon one whose ancestors were illustrious long before your city was founded.'

To return to the subject of Swiss recruiting in 1632. Another of the Vaudois family of Treytorrens—François—was one of the most distinguished generals in the army of Gustavus Adolphus. He contributed powerfully to gaining the battles of Sech and Lützen. A younger brother, Albert, also a general officer under the King of Sweden, was killed by a bullet before Kempton in 1633, while their youngest brother, Isaac, became first aide-de-camp to the Duke of Saxe-Weimar, and was killed before Bourbourg, whose siege he was directing in 1645, three years before the end of the Thirty Years' War.³

¹ Daguet, ii. 170.

² *Ibid.*

³ De Montet, p. 576; and *Genealogy of the de Treytorrens Family* (MS.), correcting de Montet.

I have already alluded to the close connection of this family with La Grotte. There is a gold locket in the possession of the family of de Loÿs-Chandieu at Lausanne, descendants in the female line, containing a miniature of François de Treytorrens at the age of forty-two. He has dark hair, moustache, imperial, and pointed beard; an oval face, with brown eyes, and a determined expression. A lace collar falls over his armour, which is crossed by a red sash. There is also an ancient copper-plate engraving of him in existence.

In 1637, Berne raised a war-tax in the Pays de Vaud; but, instead of convoking the Estates as she had done in former wars, she simply addressed a circular to the various communes, directing them to pay for the next ten years an extraordinary tax of two florins per household. Four years later, a new tax of one-tenth per cent. was imposed throughout the entire canton.

In accordance with former custom, the towns of Moudon, Vevey, Morges, Yverdon, and the nobility throughout the Pays de Vaud, desired to assemble to discuss the governmental burden; but the registers of Moudon declared that their Excellencies forbade the proposed meeting. In order to get rid of the matter, Lausanne offered to pay twenty-five thousand florins down once for all. Berne immediately refused to allow this, and the measure was carried out in every part of Vaud alike.

This oppressive act, however, drew forth determined remonstrances from the German bailiwicks in the Canton of Berne, which finally developed into open hostilities, since known under the name of the War of the Peasants, which assumed various phases, seeming to disappear for a moment, and then returning with redoubled vigour, and lasting altogether twelve years.

Berne, in her extremity, ordered (1641) the placing of the militia of Vaud on a war footing, and sent thither Colonels Diesbach and Morlot to take the command; but the population were unwilling to send their soldiers to combat people who were merely asking what the Vaudois had claimed in vain for the last fifty years.

Affairs were in a most serious state, when (1653) the ability of Noble Jean Pierre Polier, Burgomaster of Lausanne (direct ancestor of Madame de Montolieu, Gibbon's literary godchild), surmounted the difficulty and saved the situation. He took

upon himself the responsibility of inviting the cities and the nobility of Vaud to send deputies to Lausanne to adopt such measures as might be necessary for the security of the country.

This decision was welcomed with joy by all. Lausanne was soon thronged with delegates. The session was a stormy one, and agents of the insurgent peasants of Berne insinuated themselves everywhere, and seemed to be about to carry the day, when the Burgomaster represented the danger of acting with them, and finished by successfully urging the appointment of a deputation to assure Berne of the fidelity of Vaud. More than one writer has asserted that he thus lost an occasion to secure the independence of his countrymen and their freedom from the hated rule of their Excellencies.¹

Troops were pushed forward and arrived in time to save the Bernese aristocracy and turn the tide of battle. At their approach, the German peasants cried out: 'Our gracious lords are marching in their wrath upon us, followed by their Welsches.' The peasants were everywhere defeated, and the most horrible vengeance was wreaked upon the survivors. They were hung, drawn, quartered, and beheaded. Those who were considered to be worthy of greater mercy and delicacy of treatment were only flogged and had their tongues cut out.²

In the moment of danger and fear, Berne had promised to permit the deputies of Vaud to assemble at Moudon, and had agreed to turn a favourable ear to their demands; but when victory once more perched upon their banners, their Excellencies conveniently forgot their indebtedness and their obligations. The towns and communes assembled at Moudon finally, under the authorisation of the Bailiff; but they demanded in vain their ancient liberties, and asked without avail for the redress of wrongs. Berne replied by suppressing the assemblages of the cities and communes, and merely permitted the four towns to meet under the authority of the Bailiffs to discuss minor matters.

¹ Verdeil, ii. 206; and *Genealogy of the de Polier Family* (MS.).

² Vulliemin's *Histoire de la Confédération Suisse*, ii. 188.

CHAPTER XLI

THE seventeenth century, as Olivier points out, presents two opposite pictures : Royalty and Catholicism brilliantly shining in France, with Jansenism and other similar sects striving to reach an ideal which persecution dimmed but did not destroy until later ; austere Republicanism and Protestantism raising their heads under the vigorous lead of Cromwell, who sustained the Reformed Cantons, and intervened in the cause of the Vaudois settled in the valleys of Piedmont.

The persecutions which the latter had endured (1655), says Verdeil, and which Mazarin had directed against the Calvinists of France, aroused the sympathy of the Protestant party in Switzerland, Holland, and England, whose representations eventually saved Geneva, and preserved the Pays de Vaud to Berne. Milton's vigorous Latin prose was successfully employed in this congenial work ; his classic pen was engaged from 1649 to the Restoration in the composition of many of the most important despatches addressed to foreign powers ; and to this day a considerable number are to be found in the Swiss archives.

An alliance was entered into at Pignerol (afterwards prison of the Man in the Iron Mask), in 1655, which guaranteed to the Vaudois tranquillity and religious freedom. This treaty was signed by the envoys of the Protestant powers, the Reformed Cantons, and the ambassador of France.

Switzerland was now divided into two inimical federations ; for the Catholic Cantons renewed their alliance with the Prince Bishop of Basle and the House of Savoy. They, moreover, in 1654 sold their devotion to France for 350,000 francs, besides the pensions given 'in order that they might not fall away.' The religious irritation entered into all the phases of life. Whether at home or abroad, in city or country, in church or temple, in council chamber or tavern, nothing was heard but the most violent abuse.

Some Protestants of the Canton of Schwytz fled before the

religious persecution to Zurich; whereupon their property was confiscated (1655). Zurich then tried its kind offices in their behalf, but met with signal defeat; for Schwytz threw into its teeth its own punishment of the Anabaptists, and proceeded to put to the torture, and finally executed, seventeen of the friends and relatives of the fugitives. Zurich now invoked the intervention of the Diet. But there most of the Catholic Cantons espoused the cause of Schwytz, and the proposition was rejected with scorn. The Advoyer of Lucerne cried: 'The rights of religion ought to be defended with the sword.' Berne pronounced for Zurich through the mouth of General Werdmuller, who replied: 'We are preparing to do so.'

Several Cantons, Catholic as well as Protestant, preserved a neutral attitude. Zurich placed eighteen thousand men in the field, ten thousand of whom, with forty-eight pieces of artillery, vainly besieged Rapperschwyl (1656),¹ and were finally obliged to depart, followed by the satirical songs of the besieged recounting the unsuccessful exploits of the Vert Meunier — Verdant Miller, an ironical translation of the name of the Zurich commander. The following lines give an idea of the politeness of the religious warriors: 'The Holy Virgin laughs at the green miller who pays his court to her. Take our advice, miller: go wed thy fellow, and remain with thy milleress.'²

Berne was limited in her military resources by a lack of confidence in her peasantry, fully justified by the recent war they had waged against her. She could only have recourse to the faithful boroughs and towns. The troops which were to begin the campaign were composed of twelve thousand men from Vaud, and from the cities of Argovia. This force, owing to the fear Berne entertained of her subjects, had not been allowed to be properly disciplined. The six thousand Catholic troops under Christopher Pfyffer, on the other hand, were thoroughly organised and filled with enthusiasm. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that the latter surprised the former at Villmergen, on January 23, 1656, and put them to flight with terrible carnage, after heroic attempts on the part of some of the Vaudois officers to stem the retreating current.³

¹ Verdeil, ii. 225-7.

² Vulliemin, *Histoire de la Confédération Suisse*, ii. 192.

³ Verdeil, ii. 227-230.

The bravery of the Noble Abraham de Crousaz on this occasion was so remarkable, that Berne named him Colonel of a regiment of fusiliers, with permission to appoint all the other officers. He had previously distinguished himself in the War of the Peasants, when he captured the village of Herzogenbuchsee; and towards the close of his life he was specially deputed to prepare a series of strategic plans of all the passes of the Bernese territory. We owe to him also an excellent map of the district of Lausanne. This battle of Villmergen must not be confounded with that fought upon the same spot fifty-six years later.¹

A few weeks after this decisive engagement, peace was signed at Baden—namely, on March 7, 1656.

The 'God-given son of Louis XIII.,' born in the twenty-third year of a sterile marriage, had opened his eyes upon the world September 16, 1638; while Richelieu was settling the foundations of the French Academy, and endeavouring to strangle the *Cid*, the early masterpiece of Corneille, the father of the French dramatic art.

In the following year, that descendant of Scotchmen, Poquelin, afterwards called Molière, went to Court by the backstairs, in his official capacity as *tapissier valet-de-chambre du roi*, whose duty it was to arrange the furniture and hangings of the King's apartments wherever he might be. He performed faithfully his menial duties; but at the same time swore roundly, says M. Arsène Houssaye, that he would one day pass by the grand staircase.

We know now why Arouet became Voltaire; but we cannot tell why Poquelin threw away his name and became Molière. Voltaire copies his predecessor in this, in the same manner as he appropriated the philosophical rôle which Molière had created. 'Liberty of conscience,' says the charming author of 'Molière, sa Femme et sa Fille,' 'was never more eloquent in all the philosophical theses of the eighteenth century. His bold *mise-en-scène* in the presence of the monarch who was about to revoke the Edict of Nantes makes Molière a contemporary of all the centuries.'²

¹ Notice on the de Crousas family, by M. Emile de Crousas, of Lausanne (MS.).

² Arsène Houssaye, *Molière, sa Femme et sa Fille*.

He certainly lived in the seventeenth century, but we may admit that he belonged to the eighteenth, and still more to the nineteenth; and some of his ideas may not be out of place in the twentieth.

Let us hope, however, that the rôle of religious *persifleurs* of whom Voltaire was the father, will then be over, and that so-called philosophers will be useless in that day and generation. But Molière tempts me to a brief episode.

M. Houssaye, formerly Director of the Théâtre Français established in the Palais Royal by Molière in 1661, has thrown much interesting light upon the founder of French comedy. He introduces us to the bed and board of the poet, after whose death in 1673 was found among his effects the famous syringe that played an important part in the *Malade Imaginaire*, which proved fatal to its author on the fourth night of representation. Strange to say, no doctor's bills figure in the account of the deceased. Two apothecaries, however, put in a claim for a thousand francs. There seems to be a question in the mind of the witty biographer whether it required two able-bodied chemists to manage the delicate operation which, St. Simon tells us, the Duchess of Burgundy performed upon herself without help in the presence of the Grand Monarch.

The upholsterer Poquelin-Molière followed the King to Narbonne, and in his humble capacity found himself an unwilling witness of the horrible taking-off of Cinq Mars and de Thou. Richelieu, who had arrived in an almost dying state at Lyons, but thirsting for the blood of his victims, was partially revived by the cruel scenes preceding the execution of these unfortunates in September 1642. But the bloody stimulus was transient in its effects. On the day of their death he wrote to the King: 'Your enemies are dead, and your forces are in Perpignan. M. le Grand and de Thou are in the other world, where I pray God that they may be happy.' Within three months he had gone to meet them in eternity.

It is now evident that the political system which the Cardinal had carried out with persistent firmness for eighteen years was confined to three points: the attempt to deprive Calvinism of an aggressive existence, to compel the great houses to become humble subjects of the King, and to augment, to the detriment

of Austria, the exterior consideration in which France was held. He opened the way to the extraordinary events of the following reign; but, as Montesquieu says of him that he made his sovereign play the second rôle in the monarchy and the first in Europe, it was fortunate for all concerned that he retired into the next world before the Grand Monarch was old enough to assert his individuality.

Richelieu's memory, however, sustained Anne of Austria's regency, and strengthened the hand of Mazarin, whose life, some think, presents three interrogation points: Although Cardinal, did he ever take a religious vow? Was he united in secret marriage to Anne of Austria? Was the Man in the Iron Mask their son?

His name lives in the famous Mazarin collections, and his money built the palace of the Institute and that of the National Library.

The early part of his administration was free from difficulties, and in 1648 he concluded with the Empire the famous Treaty of Westphalia. The war with Spain continued a thorn in his side for many years; but the Treaty of the Pyrenees, which ended it in 1659, was the crowning glory of his life. The troubles of the Fronde, which began in 1648 and added three words to the French language, grew out of the Cardinal's bad administration and his disgraceful dilapidation of the finances, which excited the hatred of the nobility, the Parliament, and the people. He terminated the first portion of it in 1649, but he did not finally overcome it until 1653, and during this period he was obliged to exile himself on two different occasions, in 1651 and 1652.

A parliamentary decree of December 29, 1651, placed a price upon Mazarin's head, ordered the sale of all his property, and reserved from the product the sum of 150,000 francs—equivalent to five times that sum at present—to be given to any one who should deliver him up, living or dead.

Six months afterwards, a second decree was issued, whereupon the library of Mazarin was sold in detail, the Parliament being unwilling that it should be disposed of as a whole, fearing that the Cardinal might buy it himself in another name.

Two young Dutchmen of rank have left the following account of their visit to this library in January 1658 :

'After dinner we went to see the library of Monsieur le Cardinal, which is very fine, although it has suffered by the evils of civil war, whose cruelty did not even spare the temple of the Muses ; for at the public sale there were a quantity of books made away with. It is true that, through the care of the Sire de la Pottrie, who is at present the librarian, a large portion of the collection has been recovered ; and he is still hard at work endeavouring to render it more complete. It is in a grand and well-lighted gallery, which is not less than one hundred and fifty paces in length. The librarian tells us that there are more than a hundred thousand different authors, arranged in order according to their subjects upon shelves, which are disposed in the form of cases, sustained by wooden pillars beautifully grooved and worked. On the right hand one sees all the printed books, and on the left a great number of manuscripts in Greek, Hebrew, Chaldean, Syrian, Latin, and many other languages. The Queen of Sweden had a quantity of these latter ; but after the return of his Eminence and his re-establishment, she gave them back to him. None of these books are well bound, because, as many volumes are missing from sets, an attempt is being made to find them, when the whole will be rebound in the same manner. The plan of the library is very beautiful, and if it be carried out it will certainly be the finest in all Europe.'

They were shown a parchment book of the thickness of two fingers, wherein were painted miniatures of the rarest sea and river fish, and a great quantity of shells. Its estimated value was a thousand pistoles, which they found to be a moderate price, for the drawings were done in the most lively and natural manner.¹

They afterwards descended to the vaulted stables underneath the library, which were more than three hundred paces in length. Everything was very clean and well kept, but they remarked

¹ This appears a small figure in comparison with the price paid at the sale of the Perkins Library (1878) for a copy of the earliest edition of the Latin Bible printed by John Gutenberg in 1450, and termed the Mazarine Bible, from the discovery of a copy in the Cardinal's library. The copy on vellum sold for 8,400*l.*, and the one on paper brought 2,960*l.*

that it was not well filled, and one could see that the proprietor did not prize himself upon processions of horses, nor upon tournaments or combats.¹

It is interesting to have this contemporary account of the beginnings of the famous library now reposing under the dome of the Institute.

CHAPTER XLII

WE find Mazarin urgently remonstrating against the death sentence of Charles I., in conjunction with the States-General, which did not, however, prevent his alliance with Cromwell eight years afterwards.

In an unpublished manuscript of Voltaire's female philosopher, Madame de Brenles, are these words: 'I have seen in the church of Vevey the tomb of Ludlow, one of the judges of Charles I. King Charles II. sent emissaries throughout Europe to assassinate the judges of his father. One of the latter, who was living at Lausanne, was going one Sunday to the Church of St. Francis, when an unknown man approached him and blew out his brains.'²

The person to whom Madame de Brenles alludes was General David Lesley,³ a signer of the royal death-warrant. M. Polier de Bottens, in an inedited memoir, gives a slightly different account. According to this author, Lesley had retired to Lausanne, where he believed himself to be in safety; but two extremely well-mounted strangers each fired two pistol-shots upon him while he was ascending the steps of the western entrance to the church on August 1, 1664. The assassins made off in such haste that it was impossible to arrest them. Lesley was buried in the little chapel near to the door where he was killed. M. Polier de Bottens says his tomb is covered

¹ *Journal d'un Voyage à Paris en 1657-8*, publié par A. P. Faugère, pp. 370-372.

² MS. Notes in the handwriting of Madame de Brenles among the collections of M. de Chavannes.

³ Polier de Bottens calls him Leslie. Verdeil, Martignier, and Larousse call him Lisle. The name in the text is from Ludlow's *Memoirs* (Firth's recent edition, i. p. 129).

with a large marble tablet, with an inscription containing his titles and tragical history.¹

Olivier adds some details to the literature of this murder. As Lesley was going towards the church, a person wrapped in a cloak, ensconced in a barber's shop under pretext of a purchase, bowed to the Englishman and followed him to the entrance of the temple, where he took a carbine from under his mantle and killed Lesley at the first shot.

Verdeil says the recoil of the weapon overturned the assassin, who, recovering himself, abandoned his arm and hat, and, running towards the gate of St. Francis, rejoined there a cavalier awaiting him with another horse. Leaping on his steed, the assassin cried: 'Vive le Roi!' and as they galloped towards Morges encountered some peasants, whom they saluted with 'Our respects to the lords of Lausanne. We will drink to their health.'

It appears from Ludlow's 'Memoirs' (of which an admirable new edition has been given us by Charles H. Firth, M.A., of Balliol College), that the judges of Charles I. were not allowed to take refuge in Germany, and that those who fled to Holland were delivered up to England and executed. Three of the regicides, Dixwell, Goffe, and the latter's father-in-law, Whalley, went to New England in 1660. They lived for several years in New Haven in concealment, and were afterwards residents in the family of the Rev. Mr. Russell, at Hadley, Massachusetts. Whalley's name was commemorated in a monument erected in Connecticut, and his relative was recently a member of Parliament, and an upholder of the claimant in the Tichborne case.

Geneva refusing to countenance any who took part in the condemnation of the King, three of them, including Lesley, with the permission of Berne and support of the Burgomaster of Lausanne, remained in the latter city; while six, including Ludlow, took up their residence at Vevey.

The house inhabited by Ludlow was fortified, and provided with every kind of defence. The refugees were permitted, in case of necessity, to sound the alarm. All the hotel and tavern

¹ Unpublished MS. *Tableau des Paroisses de Lausanne et de sa banlieue, donnant une liste des rues, faubourgs, hameaux, châteaux, grands domaines, etc.*, par le Doyen Polier de Bottens, 1782.

keepers were obliged, each evening, to render an exact account of their lodgers. Every citizen who received strangers was responsible for them. On *fête* days the guard was doubled, and when the news of Lesley's assassination reached Vevey, the following notice was read in the market-places and before the churches:

'At the sound of the great bell or of cannon, or upon the appearance of a torch on one of the towers of the town, the citizens must arm themselves, occupy the avenues, and, seizing all strangers or unknown persons, bring them before the Bailiff. If the signals are seen at night, the citizens must go armed to the residence of the English refugees to receive orders.'¹

Various attempts to do away with Ludlow and his friends seemed to justify these precautions. On one occasion a boatman was carried under arrest to the Castle of Chillon, and threatened with the bastinado by the Bailiff and the Baron of Châtelard; whereupon he confessed that two Savoyards, MM. de la Broette and du Targis, were in his boat with M. Dupré of Evian, brother-in-law of M. de la Fléchère of Nyon, and a stranger named Riado, on the night of November 14, 1663, and that twelve men in large mantles lay in ambush for Ludlow. After they had failed in their attempt and reached Evian, Dupré told him that if they had succeeded a large sum of money would have been forthcoming.

It was at Vevey that Ludlow wrote his curious memoirs. There he died, and was buried in the Church of St. Martin, where his tomb, and that of Broughton, who read the sentence of death to the King, remain.²

Ludlow's house was occupied in the early part of this century by M. Grenier, who, like his connections in Gibbon's mansion at Lausanne, was daily fatigued by the importunate visits of strangers, and was even compelled to remove the inscription placed by Ludlow upon it: '*Omne solum forti patria quia patris.*' This inscription was taken to England, in 1821,

¹ Olivier, ii. 1087.

² The Hon. William Walter Phelps was recently United States Minister at Vienna, while the Hon. Charles A. Phelps was formerly presiding officer of the Massachusetts legislative body.

I learn from *Notes and Queries* (May 6, 1882) that a fine marble tablet has lately been placed in the same edifice to the memory of their companion in exile, John Phelps, private secretary of Oliver Cromwell, and, with Brough-

by the daughter of the Earl of Ludlow, a descendant of Henry, brother of the celebrated Republican.

Joseph Addison, who passed through Vevey at the commencement of the last century, says that the first part of the inscription is a 'piece of a verse in Ovid, as the last is a cant of Ludlow's own.' He found that 'Ludlow was a constant frequenter of sermons and prayers, but would never communicate with them either of Geneva or Vevey.'¹

The favourable reception which the regicides met with at Berne was owing, says 'the patrician Sinner,' to the sympathy felt by the Helvetic Churches for the English Presbyterian Republicans, and the prejudice they entertained against the House of Stuart, because they considered it favourable to the religion of Rome.

Mazarin died in 1661, and the character of Louis XIV. revealed itself in answer to the Archbishop of Rouen's question: 'Your Majesty ordered me to apply to Monsieur le Cardinal for all affairs. He is now dead. To whom does your Majesty desire that I shall in future address myself?'

'To me, Monsieur l'Archévêque.'

Death now reigned over Mazarin, and Louis XIV. began to reign over France. Literature, science, art, all felt the impulsion of his genius, and war shortly afterwards took on a ton, clerk of the court which tried and condemned the King, and who, to avoid all question as to his accountability, wrote out the journal of the court and duly signed it with his full name. The tablet bears the following inscription:

In Memoriam

of him who, being with Andrew Broughton joint clerk of the Court which tried and condemned Charles the First of England, had such zeal to accept the full responsibility of his act that he signed each record with his full name

JOHN PHELPS.

He came to Vevey and died, like the associates whose Memorials are about us, an Exile in the cause of

Human Freedom.

This stone is placed at the request of
Wm. Walter Phelps of New Jersey and
Charles A. Phelps of Massachusetts,
Descendants from across the Seas.

¹ *Remarks on Italy*, vol. i. of Bishop Hurd's edition of the works of Addison. The Latin motto is that of the Lewis family of Virginia (connected with the Washingtons), except that 'est' follows 'patria' instead of 'quia patria,' justly ridiculed by Addison. (Dr. Moncure Conway's *Barons of the Potomack and the Rappahannock*, p. 171, contains an engraving of the Lewis arms.)

vigorous and victorious shape under the lead of his enterprising generals.

The struggles that had ushered in his infancy were hushed; but the still youthful monarch determined to enlarge his boundaries and to glorify his country by conquest. With the eye of a master in government he selected Colbert to head his Ministry, and thus restored the finances which Mazarin had undermined, built up commerce, and, for a time at least, encouraged new industries, while he created a fleet rivalling the resources of the then two great naval powers, Holland and England.

In Louvois he found a Minister of War who reorganised his army upon the system of Gustavus Adolphus, and brought its total strength up to 400,000 men, with a population of nineteen millions—a great feat at that moment, although a small one in our day, when the State of New York alone, says General Frederick Townsend, who distinguished himself during the late War of Secession, produced 473,000 soldiers with a population of only four millions.¹

Louis XIV. exercised a direct and not always friendly influence over Switzerland; his secret agents were in every canton. Schnorp, worthy name for an unworthy informer, Advoyer of the little town of Baden and Secretary of the Diet which generally met there, and Schindler of Berne, shone particularly in 1676 as active purveyors of information. The Banneret Willading, afterwards Advoyer, and the Councillor Fesch of Basle, the Advoyer Reiff, and the Chancellors Castella and d'Alt of Freiburg, were also cited as obedient servants of the French King.

Some one has calculated that, from 1474 to 1715, Switzerland sacrificed 7,000,000 men to France, and drew from her on that account 2,675,000,000 francs—somewhat less than 4,000 francs per man, which is nearly 3,000 francs more than the home value of a Bernese soldier, as shown by the Bernese commander's charge at Lutry in 1536, already cited, but 1,000 francs less than the estimated value at the present day of each emigrant to America. However this may be, it is certainly true that in 1638, when Louis XIV. first saw the light, there

¹ Letter of General Frederick Townsend to the author, March 7, 1882.

were 24,000 Swiss in the French service; and the fifty years' war in which that monarch indulged drew uninterruptedly upon the resources of the cantons.

Stars, pensions, blood-money rained upon the land. At the moment when religious persecution in France had aroused hostile feeling in Switzerland, the King wrote to his ambassador that he desired to mark his goodwill by a handsome gift to Berne. The Minister replied: 'A Diet is about to be held which will be exceedingly prejudicial to your Majesty; to bring the Diet round to our way of thinking I must have 400,000 crowns.' 'That's too much,' said a Swiss officer whom the Marquis of Louvois consulted; 'give me 10,000, and I will do with the Diet whatever you please.' Louvois gave him 7,000, and the Swiss officer met with entire success without diminishing his own resources; for, if we are to believe one of Louvois' agents, he put half into his own pocket.

The French Minister in Switzerland gave twenty pistoles, or 400 francs, to a blatant talker at Lucerne, who captured the whole place with it and enriched himself.

I have merely cited a few examples to which the Swiss historians themselves call attention. This is with no design of belittling the people or the country; but as a historical writer I must deal with facts, and point out national traits which exercised a powerful influence in the seventeenth century.

We hear very little said about similar transactions in the Pays de Vaud; and we must speak and think of that district as from 1536 to 1798 a conquered country, under the dominion of the Bernese, who were to all intents and purposes a foreign race—in language, manners, and customs. More than foreign, because the conqueror who stretches out his hand to rule over the territory he has won, and occupies himself more in creating valuable posts for his own relatives (whose generous incomes are drawn from the subjugated soil) than in enriching and improving the newly acquired populations, can never hope to inspire that friendship which frequently exists between foreign states without such unfortunate relations.

The Pays de Vaud, like modern Greece, possessed more active, able, and enterprising spirits than its little territory could support or contain. Consequently, if they must leave

their own hillsides and dearly loved lake shores, it became easier to break the bond, because in this manner they escaped the withering influence of Berne. Accordingly, in all the best families, in country and town, the most active and intelligent boys were brought up to the profession of arms, and before manhood had fairly set its seal upon their brows they hurried off to take service under divers flags, and to fight wherever honour and glory might be won. The de Loÿs, the Poliers, the Mandroz, the de Terraux, the de Crousaz, the Bourgeois, the Jaccards, the Joffreys, the Chansons, the de Chandieus, and many other Vaudois officers, gained renown in foreign lands.¹

Switzerland, as we have seen, had long before saved France in moments of great danger. After the battle of Lens (1648) the great Condé had presented d'Erlach to Louis XIV., saying: 'This is the man to whom we owe the victory.'

Jean François Polier's heroic conduct at Steinkirk on August 3, 1692, saved the French army from destruction, by arresting for nearly an hour with a single brigade the enemy's entire right wing.

Among the 14,000 men who followed William III. into England in 1688 was Macaulay's long column of bearded Swiss infantry. Two months later, in striking contrast, the Royal Swiss Guard in France took part in the reception of the dethroned King James.²

CHAPTER XLIII

THE Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685) enriched the Pays de Vaud with a new stream of blood. England and America drew some of their best elements from the same source; new industries sprang up in the New and the Old World in the wake of the ingenious victims.

Various persecutions which surrounded this central act threw into Switzerland 20,000 hungry souls, and called forth many deeds of charity and mercy. Two thousand, says Verdeil,

¹ Verdeil, ii. 214.

² Daguet, ii. 180.

arrived in one day at Lausanne, and Vevey overflowed with the refugees. Among the number were two hundred clergymen. Monthly pensions and assistance were extended to all. The Huguenots were scattered throughout the Vaud country, but principally at Lausanne and Vevey.

The Revocation had been preceded by the most absurd and iniquitous measures in France. The Protestants had there become the most industrious portion of the people. They were now excluded from all offices of trust, and from the art and trade corporations. They were forbidden exercise of the liberal professions. Children were declared free to choose their religion at seven years of age, and many were carried away and forced to abjure their faith. Examples of this practice occurred at a little later date in the family of de la Pottrie, whose descendants were frequenters of La Grotte in Gibbon's day.¹

The soldiery were, moreover, authorised to indulge in every imaginable torture this side of murder, which, however, was a frequent accompaniment of their bloody pastime. A body of dragoons preceded by a bishop and intendant scoured the provinces and persecuted those who refused to give up their religion. The French and English languages again won a forcible word; Charles Kingsley is but one of many who use *dragonnade* to describe devastations, tortures, and massacres. All who attempted flight were seized and sent to the galleys and their property confiscated. All Protestant ministers were exiled from France, with a delay of only fifteen days, under pain of the galleys, and later, of death.

Eight hundred Protestant churches were demolished: all Protestant worship was forbidden in private houses, as well as in field or desert, under pain of confiscation and death. Protestant schools were closed; infants were baptized by force by the *curés*, and snatched from their families to be brought up in the Roman communion. Catholics were not allowed Protestant domestics, and Protestants could only employ Catholic servants. Men servants who broke this law were sent to the galleys, and women servants condemned to be whipped and marked with a red-hot iron. French Protestants out of the kingdom were ordered to re-enter France and abjure; if they refused, their

¹ Brochure lithographiée: *Généalogie de la Pottrie*.

property was confiscated. The same punishment was inflicted upon every one who sheltered a clergyman, and 5,500 livres was the price set upon every servant of God.

Holland, as well as England, Germany, and America, seemed ready to receive the Huguenots, and we shall see that some of the familiar figures in this work passed through Holland, and even dwelt there several years before coming to Lausanne.

The unhappy Protestants found no rest for their feet in Geneva, where they were threatened with the approaching vengeance of Louis XIV. But the smiling shores of Vaud welcomed them to a spot where they found their language and their religious faith. The towns of Nyon, Morges, and Vevey, as well as the surrounding villages, were filled with the fugitives; but Lausanne seemed the favourite refuge.

Among those who crowded her streets were nobles, ministers, physicians, chemists, bankers, merchants, manufacturers, artisans, farmers, gardeners, and servants. These unhappy people had lost all. They had no money to repay those who might receive them under their roofs.¹ At Berne, where the Government favoured them with a noble solicitude, it was necessary to send with them watchmen, halberd in hand, to force open the houses in which temporary lodging had been assigned to them. But at Lausanne, both private and official persons welcomed them with generous warmth. Councillors, citizens, strangers, all opened their dwellings, and collected money in their behalf, while the pastors preached the virtues of charity, and the authorities of the town hastened to take public steps for their benefit.

The Councils accorded to those passing through the town provisional aid of from one to four *écus blancs*, according to the rank of the refugee and the necessities of his family. The hospital waggon was constantly employed in conducting entire families as far as Moudon. All sick persons devoid of means were removed with care from the taverns and lodged gratuitously at the hospital until recovery; and a religious and respectful burial was accorded to those who sank under their misfortunes.

The old episcopal palace was turned into a hospital. To many of those who understood some art or industry work was furnished. The wisdom of the Council was as conspicuous as

¹ *Note Historique sur la Direction de la Bourse Française de Lausanne*, pp. 7-9.

its charity, for it provided lodgings for cloth-workers, and in this manner founded manufactories, which it inspected with regularity. To stocking-makers it advanced an important sum. It received the money confided to it by the refugees, and promised them an interest of 4 per cent.—a high rate in that day, and not to be despised in this—on condition that they should take up their permanent residence at Lausanne, and contribute by their correspondence to the sale of the merchandise there manufactured.

The acquisition of the *bourgeoisie* was also made easy to the new-comers.

Under the direction of the exiles the cultivation of the vine greatly advanced, and the fields wore a more prosperous air. Gardens bloomed in the vicinity of the cities, and new vegetables were on every table. Printing-houses, binding-workshops, manufactories of hats, linen, muslin, silk, and woollen, were established under their auspices. They thus gave Lausanne a prosperity on which a flourishing future was built.

To the names of Mercier, Francillon, David, Campart, Renou, Gély, Fabre, Bessièrès, Grenier, a debt of gratitude is due. The pastors, the literary men, and the juriconsults, brought with them the love of study, and the Academy of Lausanne derived a new lustre from Jean Barbeyrac, some of whose unpublished letters will figure in this work.

Of the forty-one names of the directors of the French hospital, nineteen were of noble origin. These, with the other members of the educated classes, introduced the spirit of culture and urbanity which rendered the society of Vaud so attractive and celebrated in the eighteenth century.

One of the first things which the French refugees did at Lausanne was to name, in 1687, a committee composed of the Pastors Barbeyrac, father of a celebrated son, de Mejane, and Julien, and of MM. de St. Hilaire, de Vignelles, and Clary, to visit and console the sick, watch over the habits of their compatriots, censure those who created scandal, bring about reconciliations, and hand over the refractory to Messieurs the magistrates and to the venerable Consistory of Lausanne.

The number of fugitives increased so constantly and so largely that a committee was finally named (1688), consisting of

M. Bernard, pastor of Manosque in Provence, and the Marquis de Mirmond, a nobleman of Languedoc, to make known in Germany and Holland a sketch of the sad situation of the French Protestant community at Lausanne, prepared by the Pastor Barbeyrac. This deputation succeeded in attracting sympathy in the countries which it visited, and in obtaining substantial aid.

CHAPTER XLIV

AMONG the more remarkable characters from France who settled in the Pays de Vaud at this time was Henri, Marquis du Quesne, of an ancient family of Normandy, eldest son of the celebrated Abraham du Quesne, the conqueror of de Ruyter, who, according to Verdeil, had placed the French navy above all others.

After a brilliant career in his own country, he was so indignant at the persecutions of his Protestant brethren that he retired to Vaud, and purchased from their Excellencies of Berne, January 2, 1685, the barony of Aubonne for 138,000 French livres. This public-spirited nobleman conceived the idea of founding a republic of Protestant refugees in the Isle of Bourbon, under the protection of Holland. Ten vessels and a considerable number of colonists were already assembled at Rotterdam in 1689, when, learning that France would oppose his scheme by force, he abandoned it in the interests of humanity.

In the same year, when the Pays de Vaud was threatened by the Duke of Savoy, du Quesne (Baron d'Aubonne) offered his services to the Bernese Government, which joyfully accepted them, and charged him to organise a fleet on Lake Lemman, and construct a harbour at Morges as a place of naval rendezvous. Two large barks were built to accommodate twenty-four rowers, three cannon, and six double arquebuses in batteries on the sides. Each vessel was capable of transporting 400 infantry soldiers, and carried a company of marines armed with muskets, hatchets, and boarding pikes. He, moreover, enrolled in his fleet all other large boats on the lake, with the boatmen and fishermen. He duly drilled this effective flotilla, and contributed substantially to check the enemies of Vaud.

This baron never forgot his father's reply to Louis XIV. when that sovereign reproached him for his heretical opinions: 'Sire, when I fought for your Majesty I did not stop to ask whether the King held another religion from my own!' He placed in the church at Aubonne over the tomb enclosing his father's heart an inscription ending with these words: 'Interrogate the court, the army, the church, and even Europe, Asia, Africa, and the two oceans; demand of them why a superb mausoleum has been raised to the valiant Ruyter, and no monument set up to his conqueror. I see that, through respect for a great king, thou dost not dare to break the silence.'

When du Quesne the elder went to render account of his naval operations to the King, the latter expressed regret that he could not reward him in accordance with his merits on account of his being a Protestant. The old admiral, in reporting this interview to his wife, repeated the King's remark. 'Ah!' she cried, 'you should have answered: "Yes, sire, I am a Protestant, but my services are Catholic."'

Aubonne did not remain long in the possession of du Quesne; in 1701 he resold it to Berne and retired to Geneva, where he died in 1723. While living in Geneva he was associated with the Marquis d'Argilliers, like himself a French refugee, William Franconis de Gy of the Pays de Vaud, Jean Louis Burlamachi, and John Robert Tronchin, in the directorship of an institution called the Chamber of Proselytes, charged with the conversion of Catholics. It was at this period, says M. de Bude ('Life of Bénédict Pictet') that du Quesne pub-

¹ Verdel, ii. *Le Léman*, par M. Bailly de Lalonde, i. The castle of Aubonne had been previously in the possession of the traveller Tavernier, who bought it in 1670, and compared its situation to the environs of Erivan, in Persia. The early part of Tavernier's career was as fortunate as the latter part was unhappy. He gained riches as well as celebrity by his travels, which form three quarto volumes. In his sixth voyage, which was to India, he carried a cargo of furniture, mirrors, and jewels, of 400,000 francs value, and returned with precious stones, which Louis XIV. purchased for three million francs. He restored and rebuilt in part the castle of Aubonne. The first court was in the form of a vessel. It was surrounded by a portico sustained by eighteen Tuscan columns, supporting a covered gallery with windows like those of a ship. The exterior of the castle resembled a war frigate. Tavernier thus commemorated his voyages. The loss of his fortune through a nephew's dishonesty obliged the old man to sell his barony and begin another expedition to the East; but death overtook him at Moscow. The gallant sailor who succeeded him as Baron of Aubonne took peculiar pleasure in the nautical features of his lordly dwelling.

lished 'Reflections Ancient and Modern upon the Eucharist,' and took an important part in the preparation of the new version of the New Testament published by the company of Genevese pastors.

There was a co-seigniory of Aubonne which belonged to Humbert de Lavigny, whose daughter was M. de Loÿs de Warens' grandmother.

The religious persecutions in Savoy after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, reviving the horrors of forty years before, finally drove the Vaudois from the Protestant valleys of Piedmont, and obliged them to take refuge in England, Holland, Germany, Geneva, and throughout the Pays de Vaud. Finding encouragement in Switzerland in 1689, they succeeded in returning in triumph to their forsaken country.

The pastor, Henry Arnaud of Vaud, was chief of the first expedition from Switzerland. Owing to contradictory reports concerning the fate of Arnaud and his followers, Captain Bourgeois of Yverdon undertook an auxiliary enterprise, and went to Vevey to organise it. Having gathered thirty-three boats charged with arms and ammunition, and 2,000 men, he sailed thence and arrived near St. Gingolph on September 11, 1689. On the same day he reached Lugrin and the Tour Ronde, and scaled the steep heights overlooking those localities. At Bernex he met and put to flight the Count of Bernex with several hundred men and some dragoons. He eventually arrived at Tanninge in Faucigny, but finding his force in danger of being cut off, and destitute of provisions, he retreated, and reached Geneva on September 17. Thence his little army took ship to Nyon.¹

While disbanding and paying his soldiery, Bourgeois was arrested by the Bernese authorities, through the interference of foreign diplomacy, and to appease Louis XIV. It should be said, to the credit of himself and his country, that the English Minister made strenuous but vain efforts to save the unfortunate man. After six months' captivity Bourgeois was beheaded (1690), in the midst of an enormous and sympathetic crowd, held in check by Bernese troops. The Bernese historian Grouner says that he went to his death with the firmness of a

¹ Verdeil, ii. 278-281.

hero. He alone appeared tranquil, while all around him were bathed in tears.¹

In the year that witnessed the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, Madame de Maintenon directed Mansard to lay at St. Cyr the foundations of the magnificent buildings destined for young women of noble birth, but of modest fortune. An army of 2,500 men finished this marvellous monument within a year. It was furnished at an expense of 50,000 livres. Therein Madame de Maintenon established 250 young ladies, who were admitted between seven and twelve years of age, and gratuitously educated until their twentieth year. Proofs of ancient nobility were required for admission. Their costume was that seen in most portraits of Madame de Maintenon. They called each other Madame, followed by the family name, and their superior was addressed in the same manner. They wore around the neck a golden cross ornamented with engraved fleurs-de-lys, with our Saviour on one side and St. Louis on the other.²

Among the noble young ladies admitted (1690) to the generous privileges of St. Cyr were two daughters of the Noble H lie de Lo ys, Seigneur of Boussens, brother of Jean Philippe de Lo ys, Seigneur of Cheseaux and Burgomaster of Lausanne—relatives of Noble Sebastian de Lo ys, proprietor of La Grotte.

It appears from an unpublished note of the year 1725 of M. de Lo ys de Villardin, father-in-law of the famous Madame de Warens, that M. H lie de Lo ys, having married a lady of

¹ The *salon* at Fontainebleau in which Louis XIV. signed the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes is in the ancient apartments of Madame de Maintenon. The original furniture disappeared in 1789, when a public sale of the Palace furniture was held. Under Louis Philippe a general restoration took place, and some of the furniture returned to its old quarters. The *salon* wears a sombre air, according with that dark and damnable deed which dealt a severe blow to the prosperity of France, and deprived her of many strong arms and courageous hearts.

² At the bottom of the vast garden, in the north-east corner, was a little pavilion which witnessed many interviews between Madame de Maintenon and Louis XIV., who came thither by an avenue of trees reaching from the gate of Versailles Park to one in the wall near this pavilion. In the buildings overlooking the Green Court, Racine's *Esther* was performed in the presence of the King and Madame de Maintenon by the demoiselles of St. Cyr. In another room, next the chapel, Madame de Maintenon received the visit of Peter the Great. Her tomb was erected in the chapel of St. Cyr by the Duc de Noailles, her nephew, but was destroyed in the Revolution. Napoleon I. changed the original destination of Madame de Maintenon's institution; and since 1808 the military academy which formerly existed at Fontainebleau has become the celebrated military school of St. Cyr.

quality in France, had been persuaded to adopt the Roman Catholic religion. Consequently he placed his two daughters at St. Cyr. In order to do this, he was obliged to produce proofs of nobility, as no lady could be admitted, says M. de Loÿs de Villardin, 'without establishing her right to sixteen quarterings on her father's and mother's side. The deceased Queen of France and Monsieur the Dauphin having done the family the honour to present the eldest at the baptismal font, the King of France interested himself in the affair, and by means of his ambassador at Soleure in Switzerland, who obtained the necessary orders of their Excellencies of Berne, the way was opened for the reception of the two young girls.'¹

The goddaughter of the Queen afterwards married Count Dillon, whose family commanded the famous Dillon's regiment for more than a century; and it is said that, on one occasion, sooner than break through the rule, Louis XV. sent to Ireland for one of the family to take the colonelcy. After her husband's death, the Countess Dillon married M. de la Barre, whose name recalls one of the most cruel tragedies in French history.

Before me is the original certificate of Charles d'Hozier, counsellor of the King, genealogist of his house, and general judge of the arms and blazons of France, setting forth that in accordance with the King's commands, he has verified the nobility of the two young ladies aforesaid upon fifty-five different parchments and documents, which had been previously collated before two notaries and the ambassador of France in Switzerland; and he declares that these measures were taken in order that these young ladies might be received into the royal house of St. Louis, founded at St. Cyr in the park of Versailles.

¹ *Genealogy of the de Loÿs Family. Notice on the de Loÿs Family, by M. Loÿs de Villardin. (MSS.)*

CHAPTER XLV

WHEN the great European War of the Spanish Succession broke out in 1701, the Swiss Diet had proclaimed the neutrality of the Confederation. Swiss regiments then once more left for France, and others for Piedmont and Holland; they fought against each other as enemies at Blenheim, at Ramillies, at Oudenarde. At Malplaquet (September 11, 1709) one May regiment fought against another May regiment—the same name, the same family—Bernese against Bernese. They fought with such fury that the King's regiment lost eighteen hundred men, while the kinsmen opposed to it in the ranks of the allies were reduced to seventeen soldiers, and this regiment entered its quarters under the command of a sergeant.

In the same battle, the Vaudois regiment of Mestral, on the imperial side, had all its officers killed or wounded, except a port-ensigu—François Noé de Crousaz, a relative of the philosopher. He is declared by the learned archivists, MM. de Crousaz, to have been only thirteen years of age when he brought the remains of his regiment back in good order, and signed the report to the States-General: 'De Crousaz, port-ensigu commanding the regiment of Mestral.' Few have ever displayed in boyhood such courage and judgment.¹

His subsequent brilliant career fully justified his early promise. At the end of the War of the Succession (1714) he entered the Spanish service, and shortly afterwards, being dispatched to aid the Chevalier in Scotland, was shipwrecked upon the Norwegian coast, and remained a prisoner two years (1719 to 1721). The Elector of Saxony, who was also King of Poland, then named him captain in the corps of noble cadets, and later (1741) major and aide-de-camp of General de Milkau, and lieutenant-colonel of dragoons. He distinguished himself at the siege of Prague. At the battle of Hohenfreiburg, where the Saxons and Austrians were defeated (June 4,

¹ *Pedigree of de Crousaz: Memoir by M. Henri de Crousaz and his son M. Emile de Crousaz.* Loaned by the latter to the author. (MS.)

1745), he saved several cannon, and was made colonel on the field of battle for his gallantry and skill. In another engagement he held his line with such firmness that the army was enabled to carry out its retreat successfully.

After the peace he became colonel of all the footguards, with the exception of the grenadiers, and attained the rank of major-general. He was taken prisoner when the Saxon army surrendered to Frederick the Great at Pirna, at the beginning of the Seven Years' War, and chafed in captivity until the end of that struggle, when he was released and became lieutenant-general.

His portrait, painted at the age of thirty-eight years, represents him in a light wig, clad in full armour, and wearing a red cloak. He has a blond round face, a double but decided chin, grey eyes, aquiline nose, smiling mouth, and a forehead remarkably broad at the temples. Altogether he has a frank and expressive countenance, full of energy and vigour.

Five others of the noble family of de Crousaz, which was closely connected with the house of de Loÿs, distinguished themselves in military life during the same period.

Jean Philippe de Crousaz was first a captain in the regiment of the Queen of England in Piedmont. He afterwards commanded a company in the Reding regiment in France, and eventually a company in the service of the Elector of Saxony. Having been taken prisoner by the Swedes in the battle of Franstadt, in 1706, he was recommended by the Duke of Wurtemberg to Charles XII., King of Sweden, who immediately named him colonel of the regiment of Funk, a name whose English signification could never be applied to him; for he fell the same year leading his regiment in the battle of Kalitsch, at the early age of twenty-one. This is a curious instance of the equanimity and impartiality with which the Swiss of that day took either side of a question in which their country's interests were not involved.

Jean Henri de Crousaz, brother of François Noé, was captain in the Tschanner regiment in the service of the Netherlands, and showed such bravery in the defence of Hulst in Flanders, that the general in command publicly thanked him before his regiment. He displayed equal courage at the siege of Lille, in

1708, where he was killed on the last day, while engaged in carrying a wounded soldier from the trenches.

Jean François de Crousaz, who was aid-major in the Villars regiment in the service of the King of France, was wounded four days in succession during the siege of Landlau, in 1703, and each time while on volunteer service, directing the workmen in the trenches.

Benjamin de Crousaz, nephew of Gibbon's father in philosophy, was a captain of grenadiers in the Albemarle regiment in the service of the Low Countries. On his return home he was appointed major of the regiment of the *élite*, and in the war of 1712 commanded four thousand men at Payerne.

Jean Daniel de Crousaz was major in his grandfather's regiment, and in 1712 commanded the advanced guard in the battle of Bremgarten. During the siege of Baden he found means to enter the city and bring about its surrender. He was thereupon named brigade-major. It was he who discovered, in 1723, the plot of Major Davel, and he served for many years as lieutenant-ballival and comptroller-general at Lausanne.

A manuscript in possession of the Marquis de Loÿs Chandieu shows that on February 2, 1704, Sebastian Isaac de Loÿs entered the regiment of de Portes in the Sardinian service as ensign, and was thus at the age of sixteen engaged in the War of the Spanish Succession.

Nicholas Doxat, Seigneur of Demoret, of the noble family of that name connected with La Grotte, entered the service of Holland at the beginning of the War of Succession as ensign in the company of his uncle, Lieutenant-Colonel Sturler of the Tscharner regiment.

In 1707 he enlisted under the Elector Palatine, and took part in the campaigns in the Low Countries as aide-de-camp to the general commanding the Palatine troops in the allied army. He displayed such military genius as an artillery and engineer officer that he attracted the attention of the Prince of Orange, and was consulted in all operations during the siege of Lille. He now made the acquaintance of Prince Eugène, and afterwards was charged with the plans for the attack at the sieges

of Tournai, Mons, Douai, Bethune, St. Venant, Aire, and Bouchain (1709-1711).¹

At the close of the war he entered the Austrian service, and took part with distinction in the Hungarian campaign. Having been dangerously wounded, Prince Eugène visited him in his tent, promoted him on the spot to the rank of lieutenant-colonel, and presented him with three hundred ducats. He served with the same renown at the battle of Belgrade (1717), and after a succession of brilliant feats was created major-general. He became commander of Nissa, with the brevet of lieutenant field-marshal. Here he was purposely left without proper provisions to sustain a siege, although he constantly demanded them, and was finally compelled (October 16, 1737) to surrender his little army of some seven thousand men to the seraskier of Bosnia, whose force exceeded sixty thousand. Although he obtained the most honourable terms, and was permitted to depart with all his men, his arms and baggage, and with an escort as far as Belgrade, he was arrested, condemned, and beheaded. As he ascended the scaffold (March 20, 1738) his eyes fell upon a neighbouring bastion, the work of his ingenious brain. He cried out: 'Oh Belgrade, whom I have striven to render impregnable! Thou shalt then be watered by my blood?' The lieutenant who accompanied him could not refrain from tears, whereupon the field-marshal quoted with serenity Corneille's line: 'My friend, it is the crime which is the disgrace, and not the scaffold.'

This sad termination of a brilliant career was brought about by the envy and jealousy of less successful generals. No wonder that the unjustly treated soldier said to the imperial commissioners: 'Behold the price of twenty-four years of service, of many wounds, and of having preserved to the Emperor six thousand of his best troops.' His memory was, however, vindicated in the same year by two condemnatory edicts of the Supreme Council of War against his accusers.

¹ *Notice sur le Général Dozat de Demoret extraite de l'Histoire Militaire de la Suisse de May.*

CHAPTER XLVI

THERE hang in the charming country-seat of Hanterive, between Lausanne and Ouchy, two interesting portraits supposed to be by Sir Godfrey Kneller. One represents Marc Rodolphe, Baron de Constant Rebecque—secretary-general of William III. of England—a fine figure in the picturesque dress of that period. The other depicts his brother Samuel, Baron de Constant Rebecque, Seigneur of Villars-Mandroz and of Hermenches, and owner of La Chablière, a property charmingly situated half a league from Lausanne, near the road to Echallens.¹

These descendants of an eminent family were worthy representatives of the old stock. While one took an active part in the political events which preceded and succeeded the English Revolution of 1688, the other, entering the service of Holland in 1699, distinguished himself as an officer in the War of the Spanish Succession.

Baron Samuel commanded in 1706 a company of grenadiers at the battle of Ramillies, where he won celebrity by saving the life of Marlborough. This secured him the favour of the Duke of Albemarle, who gave him a company in the regiment of which he was proprietor. He fought with honour at Oudenarde (1708), took part with credit in the sieges of Lille and Ghent, of Tournay and Mons, and displayed conspicuous gallantry at the battle of Malplaquet (1709). He was afterwards commander at Bois-le-Duc with the rank of lieutenant-general. His monument is in the Cathedral of Lausanne, and his historical record preserved with pride in the memories of his two countries—Switzerland and Holland.

He had four sons, born at Lausanne, who all reached distinction in military services which began in the famous de Constant regiment. (The youngest was an intimate friend of Voltaire.)

Lausanne was electrified, in 1704, by news of the arrival of Jean Cavalier, chief of the Protestant insurrection in France.

¹ Golowkin, *Lettres diverses recueillies en Suisse*, p. 80.

This young peasant had formerly emigrated to Switzerland, and had worked at both Geneva and Lausanne as a baker's apprentice. Seized with home-sickness, he left Switzerland, with some of his compatriots, in 1702, and arrived in Haut Languedoc at the very moment that the infamous Abbé du Chayla was indulging in a series of persecutions. The Abbé's castle was stormed, the prisoners found alive released from torture, and their persecutor hanged. Cavalier, then only twenty, now began his notable career as prophet, preacher, and warrior, which carried him forward with success, through several years, as head of the insurrection.

His ill-starred opponent, Montrevel, was recalled (1704) and Marshal de Villars placed at the head of the King's forces. The latter soon saw the desirability of an understanding, and a conference was held at Nismes. Cavalier, to whom hostages had been given, was accompanied to the meeting by an escort, which was drawn up opposite the guard of the marshal.

It has never been ascertained whether the French government granted all it promised at this time. Cavalier always declared that he had stipulated for a free exercise of the Protestant religion, and entire liberty of conscience. It is said by some that the marshal's good faith was beyond question, but that the Catholics succeeded in defeating his good intentions. It is only certain that intense indignation prevailed among most of the old followers of Cavalier when it was known that liberty of conscience was not granted, and that Cavalier had received from the King the brevet of colonel, a pension of 1,200 livres, a brevet of captain for his brother, the liberation of his father from prison, and the authority to form a Camisard regiment.

The astonishing career of this young peasant had excited the desire of the King to see him; but when he arrived at Versailles, one disdainful look seems to have satisfied Louis XIV., who shrugged his shoulders and turned his back on a man, the results of whose deeds were not limited to making Blenheim a possibility, by withdrawing Villars and a large force from Marlborough's front, but had further effect on the fortunes of le Grand Monarque.

Marshal de Villars told Voltaire that when he asked Cavalier how he managed at his age to acquire such entire authority

over ferocious and undisciplined men, the youth replied, that when he met with disobedience, his prophetess, called 'big Marie,' was immediately inspired, and condemned the refractory to death—whereupon they were killed without further ceremony.¹

Cavalier, disgusted and alarmed by his treatment in France, returned to Lausanne, summoning thither his principal lieutenants. It was his intention to organise a corps for service under the Duke of Savoy in Languedoc. The minister of Louis XIV. in Switzerland, hearing of these efforts, addressed himself to their Excellencies of Berne, who, having resolved on neutrality, gave strict orders to their bailiffs to prevent its violation.

Cavalier, however, seems to have scoured the Pays de Vaud for adherents, and to have engaged some in various localities to follow him. On November 17, 1705, says M. Aymon de Crousaz, the lieutenant-bailiff of Lausanne was informed by the boatmen of Ouchy that there was an assemblage of armed men in the tavern of Jean Noir, under Montbenon, who wished to hire their boats in order to cross the lake. Orders were given to cut the ropes and hide the oars, and the inn was surrounded by a detachment of soldiers, who found there fifty men, and discovered muskets, pistols, and powder in the cellars. Examination of the prisoners revealed that Cavalier was in Savoy in the service of the prince whose estates were then occupied by the French. His presence in Savoy had indeed been signalled by M. de la Fenillade as early as September 29, in the previous year; for Dangeau relates in his journal, under date of October 4, that the celebrated Camisard, 'being too closely pressed by a dragoon who was pursuing him, abandoned his horse and threw himself over a precipice, where it is believed he was killed.'

It was now found that he had sent to the Pays de Vaud a Savoyan officer with money and written orders to gather the forces and transport them across the lake to the vicinity of Yvoire Castle, already associated with similar enterprises. The other bodies of Camisards were to pass the lake from Morges and Nyon, and a rising of Savoyans to take place.

¹ Voltaire, *Siècle de Louis XIV.*

The greater part of the force taken by the Bernese authorities at Lausanne were banished. Cavalier himself went to England, where Queen Anne received him with favour, and confided to him the formation of a regiment of refugees, at the head of which he took part in the battle of Almanza, April 25, 1707. He suddenly found himself opposed to an equal body of Frenchmen, some of whom had been engaged in persecutions of the Cevenols. The moment these two recognised each other, says the Duke of Berwick, they fell on one another with the bayonet with such fury that both regiments were almost destroyed.

La Beaumelle asserts that Cavalier had been the fortunate rival of Voltaire, in Holland: 'both loved Mademoiselle Pimpette, daughter of Madame Dunoyer, a young girl of much wit and coquetry. That which should arrive did arrive: the hero prevailed over the poet, the sweet and agreeable physiognomy over the wild and wicked face.'

Voltaire, who does not quote these words exactly, was rendered indignant by them. In the Supplement to his 'Louis XIV.' he says that Cavalier, then a colonel in England, visited the Low Countries in 1708, and saw Mlle. Dunoyer, who was still very young; he asked for her in marriage, but the negotiation was broken off, and he afterwards married in Ireland. Voltaire adds that he himself was then at college, that he did not go to Holland until 1714 (to be exact, he should have said that he arrived at the end of September and left December 28, 1713), and that he did not know Cavalier until he saw him in England in 1726.

Everybody acquainted with the life of Voltaire remembers his piquant adventures with Mlle. Dunoyer, and the fact that he was returned to his father from the Hague, where he was *attaché* of the French embassy, on account of Madame Dunoyer's complaints to his chief, the Marquis de Châteauneuf.

In the passage which gave rise to La Beaumelle's invidious remarks, Voltaire says that 'Cavalier was a little blonde man, with a sweet and agreeable expression. He was called David by his followers. From a baker's apprentice he became, at the age of twenty-three years, the chief of a sufficiently great multitude, by his own courage and by the aid of a prophetess, who

brought about his recognition by express orders of the Holy Ghost.'

It seems that Cavalier had been received at the Hague in 1708 with extraordinary honours. Among those who crowded about him was Madame Dunoyer, who invited him to her house and prayed him to regard it as his own. If we may believe her, she also came to the pecuniary aid of the Cevenols hero, just then covered with debts, and unable to pay the officers of his regiment.

Whether, says M. Desnoiresterres, he had fallen under the fresh charms of Pimpette, or whether, divining the views of the mother, he intended to take advantage of them for his own benefit, we know not; but he presented himself as a pretendant to the young lady's hand, and even had a promise of it in writing.

This courtship lasted two years, after which Cavalier, without regard to his engagements, fled to England in the absence of his *fiancée*, and married in Ireland. He became a major-general in the British service, and died while governor of the Island of Jersey, in 1740.

It appears therefore that Cavalier, between the age of twenty-nine and thirty-one, enjoyed the privilege of gazing on the youthful charms of Mlle. Pimpette. That experience had somewhat removed this first blush of beauty when five years later Voltaire, at the age of nineteen, arrived on the scene, we may readily believe from the almost maternal tone of some of Pimpette's love-letters to the poet, during their ninety days' billing and cooing.

Voltaire and Cavalier need not, therefore, be considered as contemporary lovers of the same person, but it would nevertheless appear that Cavalier, at any rate, had not the worst of the affair.

CHAPTER XLVII

AMONG those who took an active part in the Spanish War of Succession, was Colonel Jacques de la Pottrie, descendant of an ancient and noble family of Alençon, who after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes had taken refuge in Denmark, where in 1692 he became captain in the King's service.

His life, as well as the careers of his son and grandson, have recently been commemorated in the most interesting manner by his descendant, M. Charles de Steiguer, of Berne, of the family of the white de Steiguers, who for centuries held a most influential position in the republic, besides furnishing two advoyers who played important parts in its history. (The white de Steiguers must not be confounded with the black de Steiguers, so called from the colours in their arms, who likewise rose to eminence in the State and army.)

Like many of his countrymen, Colonel de la Pottrie had been attracted to the northern capital by the benign influence of Charlotte Amelia of Hesse-Cassel, the Protestant Queen of Christian V., who had drawn around her a body of co-religionists who established the Reformed Church still existing at Copenhagen.

Louis XIV. also, in order to deprive the army of the Prince of Orange, his antagonist, of Protestant officers, had allowed those who went to Denmark to receive half the revenues of their sequestered estates. This measure drew to the flag of Christian V. the Marquis of Bussière, captain of cavalry, the Colonels Formont de la Forêt, de Sagnols, and de Chenses; the Marquis Suzannet de la Forest, major general; and de la Rochefoucauld, Count of Roye, field-marshal commanding in chief the Danish forces.

In 1700, Colonel de la Pottrie became adjutant-general to Duke Ferdinand of Wurtemberg, commanding the Danish army in Holstein, and in the following year he served in the same capacity under the King himself.

At the beginning of the War of Succession he, with a battalion of the guard, was sent with the auxiliary troops to Hol-land. At the battle of Blenheim his battalion, together with two others of the Scholtzer and Prince Charles regiments, in the division of the Prince of Durlach, formed part of the left wing commanded in person by Marlborough. In this battle the Danes fought valiantly, and met with greater losses than all other contingents of the allied army. Colonel de la Pottrie died gloriously at the head of his men.

His son, also in the Danish service, married (July 26, 1740) a de Seigneux, of Lausanne; and his grandson, Juste Louis de

la Pottrie, was educated there, but at an early age took service in Holland.¹ He was soon named, however, gentilhomme (gentleman of the bedchamber) by the Princess of Nassau; and, after twelve years' waiting, espoused (September 11, 1778) Suzanne Louise de Loÿs, daughter of Paul de Loÿs, Seigneur of Villardin, Prahins, Orzens, and other places. Her mother was a cousin of Polier de Bottens—friend and correspondent of Voltaire and Gibbon—and the sister of Polier de St. Germain, Burgomaster of Lausanne, whose correspondence with Gibbon will appear farther on. Her father, Paul de Loÿs, Seigneur of Villardin, was half-brother of Sebastian Isaac de Loÿs, Seigneur of Warens, and it is to him that the latter addressed the matrimonial memoir hereafter presented.²

Within a brief period after the entrance of M. de Loÿs de Warens into the Sardinian service in the War of the Spanish Succession, he had risen to the rank of lieutenant of the Company Rigaud, in the proprietary regiment of the Count de Portes.

Colonel, afterwards General, Louis de Portes, called Count de Portes and sometimes Count de Verrie, of a noble family of Dauphiny, had served for several years in the infantry regiment of the Dauphin, when, in 1698, on account of difficulties arising out of his being a Protestant, he resigned and retired to the Pays de Vaud, after naturalisation as a citizen by Berne.

For his military services he was created by the Duke of Savoy brigadier-general (1707), major-general two years later, and lieutenant-general in 1717. That prince having become King of Sicily (1720), and having received Sardinia in exchange, sent him to take possession of that island. Upon his return he became general of infantry (1722), and shortly after, the King Victor Amadeus erected his estate of Verrie into a hereditary countship (1726), and made him governor of the province of Alessandria. A difference of opinion with the prime minister alone prevented him from becoming commander-in-chief of the army of Savoy, and led to his return to Switzerland, where he

¹ *Genealogy and History of the de la Pottrie Family*, lithographed for private circulation, by M. C. de Steiguer, of Berne, pp. 18–33.

² *Genealogy of the de la Pottrie Family*, p. 37; supplementary MS. Genealogical Female Descent of the de Steiguers; Genealogy of the de Loÿs. (MS.)

died in 1739. He purchased (1725) the Seigniories of Genollier, Crassier—the birthplace of Mlle. Curchod, Gibbon's first love and Necker's wife—and Coinssins, all within a league or two of Nyon. Concerning the castle which he built on the latter lordship, it is related that while abroad the General had sent home a plan for the building. Soon after hearing from his Vandois architect that the edifice was ready to receive him, he arrived, on a day appointed, and found awaiting him the architect surrounded by the villagers, who fired salutes in his honour. Having reached the court with the great crowd, the General suddenly turned to the architect, who was expecting some compliment, and said, 'You have turned the château the wrong way. Good-day and good-bye.' Whereupon, at the General's command, the coachman turned about, and, whipping his horses, left the astounded architect and vassals in the castle yard.

M. de Loÿs de Warens ceased to serve under the Count de Portes in 1705, and at his father's request returned to Lausanne. At this time Lausanne was a picturesque city, seated on the sides of fruitful hills, amidst the woods and vines of a country gradually becoming one of the most bounteous in the world. The lake spread out its brilliant waters at Ouchy beneath, and the eye ranged with freedom from the heights of the Jorat to the mountains of Savoy.

The character of the people was naturally gay, and they were inclined to the pleasures of society and the chase. Their strong French element had begun to exercise an influence over the manners and customs. Attention was increasingly paid to the graces and amenities of life, and a constant intercourse with various courts and countries was maintained by the continual passage to and fro of members of Vaud families engaged in military service in all various parts of the continent.

At Lausanne, the Bernese bailiff held his court above in the Cité, in the château graced in former times by a long line of notable ecclesiastics. Here dwelt many distinguished men connected with college and church, but the real centre of Vandois society was in the Rue de Bourg, on the Place St. Francis, and near La Grotte. Here were ancient families, preserving long lines of descent and representing the reality of local tradition, though they had also spread their colonies into other parts of

the town, and names familiar for centuries on every European battlefield were found not only in the Rue de Bourg and in the Place of St. Francis, but in the Cité, the Palud, and the quarters of St. Laurent, the Madeleine, the Pont, and St. Jean.

At this time many families who a century earlier had confined themselves to their châteaux in the country had now also town residences, though still resorting to their ancestral estates for the chase, or to enjoy festivities of the vintage season.

The character for hospitality which appears in the most ancient laws of the Pays de Vaud was preserved; a simple and kindly welcome was accorded to all cultured and worthy strangers.

Berne ruled the country by districts or bailiwicks; each bailiff was representative of the central power, which was composed of two advoyers—elected for life from the Berne aristocracy—who reigned in succession one year, the ruling advoyer being styled 'Illustrious Chief of the Republic.'

A bailiff was practically what is now called a prefect. The Canton of Berne had twenty-eight bailiwicks, comprising those of the Pays de Vaud. The author of the '*Fragments historiques de la Ville et République de Berne*' says they were chosen by lot, in order to avoid struggles for places—a useful hint to modern communities. There is still in the possession of the de Mulinen family a pair of white kid gauntlets, long used for drawing lots of this character, that family having been particularly fortunate in the last century in securing such prizes. The candidates were not permitted to draw lots with ungloved hands.

Others say that candidates for these richly endowed offices sometimes bought out their competitors; that some places were bought for as much as 20,000 francs; and that these transactions, though forbidden, were carried on in the dark.

The bailiffs were entitled to impose and pocket the fines. Some ground the people by such severe penalties that they were regarded as enemies. Many, however, were true fathers to their subjects. It was sometimes the case that the son of a noble house, after a fast life in the army in France or Spain, would return to Switzerland to repair his fortunes. Such men treated the people as a Turkish pacha treats those over whom

he rules. There was once a bailiff at Chillon whose exactions were so scandalous that he was tried and executed.

The Canton of Berne, which included the Pays de Vaud, was second in rank among the thirteen composing the Helvetic body. This canton occupied one-third of what was then Switzerland; it was great, rich, and powerful. Its northern portion was called the German country, because that language was spoken there. This included 300 parishes, and extended from Morat to the Rhine. In the southern part, called the Roman country, or Pays de Vaud—which stretched from Morat to Geneva and contained more than 150 parishes—the French language prevailed.

Both portions were fertile. The first produced grain, the second excellent wines. Fine castles and agreeable towns existed throughout the land, whose population could put on foot an army of 100,000 men.

In the government, next to the two principal personages already mentioned—the advoyers ruling alternately each a year commencing at Easter¹—stood in rank the treasurer of the German portion. The treasurer of the Pays de Vaud, although president of the supreme chamber of Vaudois Appeals, took rank in the senate of Berne only after the bannerets who had been appointed to office after he himself had entered into that of treasurer.

The treasurers and the bannerets enjoyed great authority. The former held their appointment for six years, the latter for four. The Canton of Berne had four regiments, of which the bannerets were colonels. The daughter of a banneret was entitled a 'banderette,' and his sons entered the Grand Council by right of their father's dignity.

The government was strictly aristocratic. The sovereign power was confided to a Grand Council, 'Council of the Two Hundred,' which might contain 299 members, but never 300. A smaller body, composed of twenty-five or twenty-seven senators, the 'Council of State,' was drawn from the larger. This met every day, and regulated even the most unimportant affairs, reporting to the sovereign Council only those of consequence.

Senators and members of the Grand Council held their

¹ *Fragments Historiques*, i.

places for life, and only citizens of Berne were eligible. The governors and bailiffs were selected from it, and retained their places for six years, enjoying very large revenues. Various chambers were established, such as those of justice, police, war, and finance.

The capital of this powerful little republic was almost central; it was situated on a peninsula formed by the river Aar, which surrounded it on three sides, the fourth being strongly fortified. The streets were wide, and streams running from end to end kept them clean. The houses were built of hewn stones with much uniformity and symmetry, their porticoes forming an almost continuous gallery, beneath which one might walk unexposed to rain or the summer's sun, as still in some streets of Chester in England, and Bologna in Italy.

Addison, who was there between 1701 and 1703, says: 'What pleased me most at Berne was their public walks by the great church. They are raised extremely high, and that their weight might not break down the walls and pilasters which surround them, they are built upon arches and vaults. Though they are, I believe, as high as most steeples in England from the streets and gardens that lie at the foot of them, yet about forty years ago a person in his drink fell down from the top of them to the bottom, without doing himself any other hurt than the breaking of an arm. . . . There is the noblest summer prospect in the world from this walk, for you have a full view of a huge range of mountains that lie in the country of the Grisons and are buried in snow. They are about twenty-five leagues distant from the town, though by reason of their height and their colour they seem much nearer. . . . I saw the arsenal of Berne, where they say there are arms for 20,000 men. There is, indeed, no great pleasure in visiting these magazines of war after one has seen two or three of them, yet it is very well worth a traveller's while to look into all that lie in his way; for, besides the idea it gives him of the forces of a State, it serves to fix in his mind the most considerable parts of its history. Thus in that of Geneva, one meets with the ladders, petard, and other utensils which were made use of in their famous escalade. besides the weapons they took of the Savoyards, Florentines, and French in the several battles mentioned in their history.

In this of Berne you have the figure and armour of the count who founded the town, of the famous Tell, who is represented as shooting at the apple on his son's head. The story is too well known to be repeated in this place.' [Addison might have added 'or to be believed,' only that in his time this myth had not yet been exploded.] 'I here likewise saw the figure and armour of him that headed the peasants in the war upon Berne, with the several weapons that were found in the hands of his followers. They show, too, abundance of arms which they took from the Burgundians in the three great battles which established their liberty and destroyed the great Duke of Burgundy himself with the bravest of his subjects. . . .'

Taking Addison's advice, I visited the arsenal, over which a great change had come since the beginning of last century; for at the time of their invasion, in 1798, the French carried away forty waggons of relics, which were thrown into the Rhone and the Lake of Geneva. Only a few were ever recovered, but enough remained with those since collected to repay the time spent there.

I remarked a Darche, or portative rampart of the epoch of the First Crusade. It is covered with pigskin, with a small opening at the top through which arrows were shot. This could be closed, and, the machine being circular, most missiles would glance away without penetrating it; but that this was not invariable was shown by another, which had suffered severely from arrows. I observed a Burgundian shield, ornamented with the arms of that duchy, and furnished with a spike so that it could be planted in the ground, the combatant lying behind it with his lance projecting in front. There is here also a cross-bow of the time of the mythical William Tell. It is made of horn, whereas in later times steel was the material used.

The arrows taken from the battlefield of Sempach are less pointed than the later ones, and not barbed.

I was also shown a peculiar coat of mail, which some say belonged to Rodolph d'Erlach, but its ownership cannot be authenticated. It weighs nine kilogrammes (nearly twenty pounds).

Addison remarked 'a couple of antique figures, in metal, of a priest pouring wine between the horns of a bull.' The priest

is veiled after the manner of the old Roman sacrificers, and is represented in the same action that Virgil describes in the fourth book of the 'Æneid':

Ipsa tenens dextra pateram pulcherrima Dido
Candentis vaccae media inter cornua fundit.

CHAPTER XLVIII

THE close connection between Berne and the Pays de Vaud, and the preponderating influence of the former masterful city over its conquered province, render it desirable to gain more intimate knowledge of the peculiar features of the place, and the singular character of some of its institutions.

There existed, at the beginning of last century, and still exist in modified form, a series of guilds resembling in many respects the livery companies of London. These associations, originally four, grew out of the fact that Berne, like other free cities, was governed by its *bourgeoisie*. To avoid confusion this *bourgeoisie* was divided into confraternities or tribes, and the profession or station of each individual determined to which of these he should belong. It was necessary, for the enjoyment of political privileges, to be a past-master in one's profession or trade. An individual without any vocation belonged to the tribe of his ancestors.

In the course of centuries these institutions passed through varying currents of fortune, as at this or that period one trade might be more in vogue than another. Thus grew the disparity of wealth between them. Each nevertheless possessed its own property, derived partly from bequests and gifts, and partly from the slight fees paid by each burghess on entry into his order.

The economy which characterised the administration of these corporations during hundreds of years enabled them to fulfil all obligations imposed by the regulations of their organisation, whereby they were to succour their needy members, assist their widows, and educate the orphans.

Each association, as it became more important, procured itself a house bearing its name, where its members were in the

of arms), with which it was amalgamated towards the middle of the fifteenth century.

The entrance from the street is through a spacious arched vestibule, at the bottom of which is the staircase leading to the halls on the first floor. This arched chamber was in early days an asylum, for the Abbey enjoyed the right of sanctuary even to the end of last century. This right was necessary at a time when justice was often another name for vengeance. Ordinary criminals were usually given up to the authorities for trial, but a political offender often found members of the Abbey whose sympathies led them to facilitate his escape.

To the left of the vestibule was the Trinkstube, the entry to which was one of the rights of membership.

I visited this institution some time since with M. de Gonzenbach, who, though a native of St. Gall, was made a member for distinguished services.

In the great hall on the first floor are several illuminated windows, containing the arms of various families, presented to the Abbey by M. de Gonzenbach. In one are the arms of the de Diesbachs, the d'Erlachs, the de Bonstettens, the de Watteviles, the d'Effingens, the de Hallwyls, and the de Mulinens. In another are the armorial bearings of the de Goumoëns and de Gingins of the Pays de Vaud. In the third was the shield of M. de Varicourt, whose brother's name figured prominently in the French Revolution. While the former took refuge at Berne, his brother remained at Versailles, and was present in October 1789 when the palace was attacked. He was then a page of the Queen, and it was he who, by allowing himself to be killed, afforded Marie Antoinette time to escape.

M. de Varicourt was an engineer, and on his arrival in Switzerland was attached in that capacity to the Advoyer M. d'Erlach, grandfather of the present M. d'Erlach of Berne. In consequence of his engineering services and his personal character, he was made a member of the Abbey, this being the first instance in which that honour was offered unsought.

There is now a de Varicourt in Bavaria, who usually attends the meetings of the Abbey once a year, when a dividend is declared from the funds of the institution.

Besides investments in public securities, the Abbey derives

an income from the building in which it is housed. The number of members is now fifty-seven.

M. de Gonzenbach is the second example on record of a person spontaneously offered membership of the Abbey. This dignity was conferred in recognition of services rendered to the Bernese nobility during a famous political crisis. I give the story at length, as related to me by an impartial authority, because it reveals many unknown things concerning the secret treasures of Berne, grown up out of confiscations during the Reformation and from other sources, and used as a secret-service fund by their Excellencies.

The French invasion of 1798 had been directed simply against the Treasury of Berne. Napoleon had projected a descent upon England, but as France had no money, and likewise lacked credit, Bonaparte thought that by taking advantage of the discontent of the Swiss, who were under the domination of Berne, and who, though well governed, were galled by their subject position, he might procure money from the Bernese Treasury. The idea was, no doubt, in part suggested to him by the visit to Paris of M. de la Harpe, who prayed the Directory to liberate the Pays de Vaud.

An attack upon Morat by General Brune was hourly expected, but the advance was really made upon Soleure by the army of the Rhine, commanded by Schauenberg, who marched upon Berne and entered that city at the head of his troops. The first thing the French did, said my informant, was to place sentinels before the Treasury, showing the real object of their attack on Switzerland.

The representative of the city at the moment was M. Jenner, of the same family as Voltaire's friend—all the Jenners of Berne, in fact, springing from one source. M. Jenner, Prefect of Porrentruy, was very shrewd, but looked like an extremely dull and heavy man. Two years later he displayed his real qualities in the negotiations with Talleyrand, whereby he obtained the restitution of eighteen millions of francs in titles on payment of four millions. At the close of this negotiation Talleyrand said: 'Monsieur Jenner, I would give another million to wear as stupid a look as you; for you are more clever than I, and you have the air of a good stolid Swiss.'

General Schauenberg rode into the city by the Nydeck bridge, with Jenner walking beside his stirrup, and passed the Nydeck church, which occupies the site of the original castle erected by Berthold V. in 1191. As he advanced, the windows on both sides were lined with women holding white handkerchiefs, which looked like so many flags of truce. Schauenberg was really a noble by birth, but to divert Republican attention from the fact he affected a grosser tone even than those about him. When, therefore, Jenner advanced to meet him, he said brusquely, 'Where are you going to lodge me?'

'At the Falcon.'

'I want a dinner of twenty-five covers, and I must have twenty pounds of brochet (pike).'

'I am not a fishmonger,' replied Jenner, 'but I do not doubt you will have what you want.'

In the drawing-room of the Falcon, Schauenberg pulled out his pocket-book, and said: 'Here, inscribe all the families who have an income of 100,000 francs.'

Jenner quietly returned the memorandum-book, saying: 'Unfortunately we have no families with so large a revenue.'

'Write them down for me,' said Schauenberg, 'or I will throw you out of the window.'

Jenner says in his memoirs that he looked at Schauenberg, and thought, 'I am stronger than he;' and so replied: 'Citizen General, I am charged to receive you, as I am Commissary of War for this country. I think we had better speak in a different tone. As for you throwing me out of window, I assure you that you will go out first.' From that moment they got on lovingly.

Schauenberg next asked to be taken to the Treasury. Jenner replied: 'I will take you to the Treasury, but you must leave me some money. I have still several thousand men on foot, and they must live. I cannot tax the citizens with them.'

Schauenberg answered: 'Yes, but you must await General Brune, who will arrive to-morrow.'

When the latter came, Jenner managed to save something by his skill and shrewdness.

It is a curious fact that, in order to bring the above mentioned negotiations with Talleyrand to a successful conclusion,

he was obliged to pay him one million francs. Talleyrand had earned forty millions of francs by bribes, said my informant; and Jenner, having learned that the French statesman loved money, offered him the above sum.

There was, however, a difficulty in doing this, for Jenner was accompanied by two gentlemen, MM. Luttart and Seltner, of Soleure, ministers of the Republic, who watched him with unceasing vigilance. He was compelled to tell these two what he was trying to obtain from Talleyrand; that he had arranged to give him one hundred thousand francs every eight days, to be paid to a notary, M. Sainte-Foi, in the Chaussée-d'Antin; that he could not disclose to Sainte-Foi what it was about, nor pay it directly to Talleyrand; and that he would therefore have to take a general receipt for money received for an understood reason.

In paying the first instalment to Sainte-Foi, Jenner said: 'You understand that this is not my money which I give you. I therefore desire a receipt.'

He consequently received the following acknowledgment: 'Reçu 100,000 francs pour un motif connu.'

The notary, however, suggested that the receipts should be kept by himself until the last payment, when they should all be given up. To this Jenner consented; but when the last payment was made the notary declared that the receipts could not be found, and refused to give duplicates.

Upon his return to Switzerland, M. Jenner, to prevent the suspicion that he had pocketed the million, called in two gentlemen of recognised probity, one of whom was M. Alexandre Fischer, to whom he produced a book containing an account of his fortune. He showed them how much he had inherited from his parents, and asked them to make a note of the state of his fortune, and to see after his death whether it had increased.

Notwithstanding this, a new and extremely Radical party came into power at Berne, in 1852, whose first action was to declare that the Treasury of Berne had not been taken by the French, but appropriated by the patricians of the city. This accusation created great excitement throughout Switzerland. The Conservative party proposed the appointment of a

committee of delegates from all the cantons to inquire into the matter.

A meeting was held at the Stork to decide whether the accuser, M. Staempfli, should be prosecuted for slander. Some of the nobles present were of opinion that they were too high above suspicion to be reached by an accusation of theft. Others were too lazy to move in the matter. They were consequently on the point of replying in the negative, when M. de Gonzenbach entered on the scene. He offered to place before the public a document he had read, while Secretary of State, fourteen years before, which would clear up all doubts on the matter.

In that year (1838), M. de Muralt, Burgomaster of Zurich and President of the Diet, was writing the life of Reinhart, and he applied to M. de Gonzenbach to lend him a volume which he said he had seen in 1818, when he was sent to Paris, after the peace of 1815, to negotiate the claims of Switzerland to restitution of the treasures carried away by the French. He explained that the claims made against France by various countries at this time were enormous; so much so that it was decided that only those of nations who had aided the Austrians and Prussians in their march upon Paris should be allowed. Switzerland, who had marched a short part of the way, had accordingly put in her claim.

Arbitrators were therefore named, of whom the Duke of Wellington was chief, and Switzerland was represented by M. de Muralt himself. On this occasion he remembered seeing on the table of the Duke a large volume, in which were enumerated all the acts of pillage of which the French had been guilty in Switzerland. This important list had been submitted to the Duke by the Swiss Chargé d'Affaires at Paris, M. de Haller, grandson of the great Haller.

M. de Muralt, believing this volume to be in the keeping of M. de Gonzenbach, expressed his earnest desire to examine it, in order to be enabled to set forth in his life of Reinhart what was the exact amount of the treasure of Zurich at that period; for each canton had a treasure. The archives, which always remain at Berne, were then in the charge of M. Wild, who was under the orders of M. de Gonzenbach. The latter

resorted to him for the desired volume, which was bound in red and had been signed by Rapinat.¹

M. de Gonzenbach, who had come from Lucerne for the purpose, had scarcely commenced to question M. Wild about the existence of the volume, when the latter said: 'Certainly, I know about it. It is the most sacred and secret document which exists. We dare not touch it, because it belongs to the Foreign Office of France, and was bought from a dishonest archivist for an immense sum. M. de Haller expended 120,000 francs to obtain it.'

'Yes,' said M. de Gonzenbach, 'but that is a long time ago, and it is the Burgomaster of Zurich who would like to have it.'

The archivist expressed his willingness to allow the book to be consulted, but refused to part with it on account of the decision of the Council of Berne, in 1819, when the Government demanded it in order to ascertain the amount of their treasure, and then they decided that it should not leave their possession. M. de Gonzenbach, however, considering that a sufficiently long time had elapsed between 1819 and 1838, and that the value of the document had not increased, required, as Secretary of State, that it should be produced, and undertook at his own risk and peril to have it copied.

In 1852, accordingly, at this interesting political crisis, M. de Gonzenbach remembered the precious volume; and when he informed the patrician party that he could produce a French receipt for what the opposite party called the abstracted treasure, he was hailed as a saviour. A committee was named to wait upon M. Staempfli, who had uttered the atrocious accusation, but failed to bring him to terms.

M. Tscharner then gave M. Staempfli the lie in the Council, and the Council appointed a commission of inquiry. But the state of party strife was such that no one in the canton would consent to act as commissioner except General Dufour, who came to M. de Gonzenbach. 'I know nothing about finance,' he said; 'but if you will undertake the affair I will accept the position.'

¹ On whom Bridel made the following epigram:

'La pauvre Suisse qu'on ruine
Voudrait bien qu'on décidât
Si Rapinat vient de rapine
Ou rapine de Rapinat.'



M. de Gonzenbach thanked him for his good opinion, and said that, as he was not a Bernese, all he wanted to discover was the truth.

As, however, the commission could not be formed, the Grand Council decided to name a number of its own members, half Conservative and half Radical. Thereupon M. de Gonzenbach wrote to the President of the Council, M. Brusch : ' You must give me on this commission a very decided and very intelligent Radical ; because if I do not possess such a one, it will be said that I, knowing the matter thoroughly, have manipulated the facts or the figures to suit my case. I must have a first-class man and a red Radical, who has great power over his party, so that if I convince him the rest will follow. Otherwise I can have nothing to do with the matter.'

The President consented, and M. de Gonzenbach said he should like to have M. Staempfli himself if he were not the accuser, but that he must have one almost as Radical—M. Butzberger.

' Do you know this Monsieur Butzberger ? '

' No, but I see that he is an able man, with the courage of his opinions, and if I can win him to our side we shall have a majority.'

' It must rest, then, on your own responsibility if this appointment is made. I think he is a very red Radical. Why have you so good an opinion of him ? '

' You may find my reason a poor one,' replied M. de Gonzenbach, ' but it is because he has a fine, intelligent, open eye.'

The Commission met, and finally reported that the treasure of Berne had consisted of thirty-two millions of francs, of which eighteen millions in titles had been recovered from Talleyrand. By means of the Red Book and of the books of Brune and Schauenberg (who had each received two hundred thousand francs out of the treasure), M. de Gonzenbach was enabled to account for the whole sum, within a few thousand francs, and consequently obtained a great majority against M. Staempfli.

After this signal triumph M. de Wurstemberger, the historian, proposed that in recognition of the services which M. de Gonzenbach had rendered to the Bernese aristocracy in clearing the fame of their ancestors, he should be named a member of the

thirteen Abbeys. As each Abbey gives five *toises* of wood to each of its members, this would have enabled M. de Gonzenbach to set up as a wood dealer for the rest of his life.

CHAPTER XLIX

FORMERLY, whenever a sovereign came to Berne, he stayed at the Abbey of the Nobles, a deputation of whose members met him at the gates. This was the case, for example, when the Emperor Sigismond visited Berne. His presence is entered in the books, and also his expression of satisfaction at his reception by the Abbey. His Imperial Majesty was peculiarly charmed by his visit to a House of Joy—after the Reformation turned into the executioner's residence, where people lost their heads in a less merry way.

The famous Cardinal of Sion, Mathieu Schiner, was a member of the Abbey of Nobles; for all who had important affairs at Berne had an Abbey where they lodged during their visit. The Abbey is in the Rue de la Justice. The scaffold was formerly erected nearly opposite, and faced the Hôtel de Ville, which is at the bottom of a narrow street running out of the Rue de la Justice, called the Kreitsgasse.

Bishop Burnet describes an execution which he witnessed here. The affair was solemn, for the advoyer came to a judicial bench in the open street, and the whole process was read and sentence pronounced in the hearing of all; the councillors both of the Great and Lesser Court standing about the advoyer, who after sentence took the criminal very gently by the hand and prayed for his soul. After the execution there was a sermon for the instruction of the people.¹

In following the Kreitsgasse, one reached the Altepostgasse, in which are the Archives, next the Hôtel de Ville. Within, to the right of the entrance, is the place where the treasure was kept; the spot where the invading French affixed a parchment band with two seals of the Republic is still pointed out.

On each anniversary of the Abbey occurs a dinner with

¹ *Bishop Burnet's Travels through Switzerland, Italy, and some Parts of Germany.* Dublin, 1725.

solemn ceremonials, when its elaborate plate is brought out with just pride. The precious relics of this association have been preserved, but it is well known that the Society of the Arquebusiers of Berne recently sold for almost nothing a magnificent bowl presented by William III., who had lodged with that Society on his passage through Berne.

In the hall of the Abbey of the Nobles I remarked a portrait of a d'Erlach of Hindelbank, and of a Hallwyl, with the family arms, also that of a second d'Erlach. The principal mansion of the family of d'Erlach at Berne was a fine hotel, and still stands in the street of the Nobles. This street was originally Church Street; the present name undoubtedly arose from the residence therein of the Nobles d'Erlach, de Scharnachtal, and de Bubenbergh. Near the d'Erlach property is a house formerly known under the name of Hofstadt, supposed to have been inhabited by the Imperial Governor from 1218 to 1223. It came afterwards into the hands of the de Bubenberghs, celebrated in Berne history for their eminent services to the Republic during many centuries.

This street is one of the curiosities of Berne. It preserves to-day the general characteristics which distinguished it at the beginning of the last century. It is divided into the upper and lower street. The latter is quite narrow, and the houses are small; the former is wide, and bordered by imposing mansions. A gateway called the Little Gate of Bubenbergh and passage-way under the tower attached to the house of Bubenbergh give entrance from the upper to the lower town.

There were formerly in this street, says an old authority, two religious houses—one inhabited by the *Béguines*, the other by the Grey Sisters; and opposite the small public Place stood a chapel. At its western extremity a slight eminence formed a projection in the southern slope of the hillock. On this projection the second Town Hall was built. Nearly the whole of this street was reduced to ashes in the great conflagrations of 1302 and 1405, which also destroyed the parallel Rue de la Justice.

In the Rue de l'Arsenal there was founded, in the beginning of the last century, the Hôtel de Ville of the Exterior State. This building was occupied by a body of youthful members of the patriciate, organised upon precisely the same basis as the

Government of the Republic. In this school the young men initiated themselves in the public affairs to which they might hereafter be called. Here they learned to be orators and to plead causes, and also to understand the details of administration and justice. This unofficial State had its proper complement of advoyers and bannerets, its small and great councils, its ushers, messengers, and all the other paraphernalia of office. It had its arms and livery, and proceeded in all respects like a veritable Government.

On Easter Monday, like its original, it marched in procession through the town; but in proportion as the first was solemn and magisterial, the latter was gay and noisy. One man appeared as a bear, another assumed the costume of a woman. These were followed by musicians, men-at-arms, and others clad in the ancient costumes of the Swiss. These comprised the *cortège* of the members of the Exterior State, who were covered with bouquets, and carried flowers in their hands. The origin of this curious institution is to be found in the period of the wars of Burgundy, and it did not come to an end until the Revolution at the close of the last century.

In Kessler Street is the City Library, under the charge of M. Bloentz, a worthy successor of the celebrated Haller. I found there a fine collection of maps and manuscripts; among the latter a history of the city of Berne by the Advoyer de Watteville, and also two folio volumes containing a history of the Canton of Berne by the same hand. The manuscript history of the Pays de Vaud by Ruchat is interleaved with printed pages of that work.

There is a fine series of the portraits of the advoyers of Berne going back to the fifteenth century, but without systematic arrangement of dates. For instance, the various members of the family of de Diesbach, who were advoyers at very different periods, are placed together. Here are the d'Erlachs, the Graffenrieds, the de Watteviles, the de Bonstettens, the de Mulinens, the de Wurstembergers, the de Steiguers white and black, the de Kilchbergers, and many others.

Beneath these pictures is the ancient State chair, formerly occupied by the advoyer in office. It is elaborately sculptured and gilded, and surmounted by the Bernese bear. It is of great

height and has wide-spreading arms, the enormous seat being covered with rich velvet. A small man must have appeared to disadvantage within its ample embrace, and found some difficulty in managing with grace any of the numerous gold-and-silver-mounted staves and sceptres near it. I observed a richly jewelled and enamelled altar-piece which had belonged to Charles the Bold. It had none of the characteristics of modern religious ornaments, but bore striking resemblance to the richest and earliest relics in Greek churches.

Among the most attractive objects were the brocade dressing-gown of Charles, with massive girdle and tassels, perhaps worn when he reviewed the troops at Lausanne in presence of the Duchess Yolande, May 9, 1476; also his satin robe, captured at the same time, fresh in colouring and texture as it could have been four centuries ago. The gold-embroidered garments of the priests in his train showed more clearly the passage of time.

In the Rue des Ministres is the residence of the Pastor Grosse, over whose door is the date 1560. The windows are distinguished by the small panes of the period. The next house has a coat of arms over the door, and still another a baron's coronet and a griffin sculptured on a shield.

The stupid and vandal spirit shown in the destruction of Temple Bar and Northumberland House, the restoration of Chester Cathedral, the demolition of Hancock Mansion at Boston and the Penn Mansion at Philadelphia, begins to prevail at Berne. Not long since they pulled down the historic tower of St. Christopher, because they thought it occupied valuable space.

The remaining mediæval features of Berne give a character and attraction to the city which will cease when these monuments are swept away. That which renders one human being superior to another—namely, individuality—is equally essential to places. Capitals which possess striking peculiarities attract the sight-seers, whose admiration contributes to their inhabitants the means of prosperity and comfort. It is not, therefore, a practical spirit which guides so-called 'reformers.' They are, on the contrary, possessed by a narrow-minded hatred of history or a short-sighted idea that improvement consists in obliterating the old to give place to the new. From a broader and higher

point of view, it would be much more sensible to take down the modern buildings that often hide historical monuments. This ground would be had without sacrificing the memories of the nation that are invaluable as influences on its internal life and as attractions to the outside world.

The present age seems painfully anxious to destroy the various chapters in stone of its past history.

CHAPTER L

COUNT EGBERT FRÉDÉRIC DE MULINEN, the well-known historian, from whose collections Professor Freeman drew much material for his 'History of the Norman Conquest' and 'The Growth of the English Constitution,' lives (1881) in the Rue de la Justice, in an ancient mansion containing the treasures and relics of many generations of this noble House. He and his family received me with the kindness characteristic of a name whose attribute is 'Hospitality.'

The Count and his son, Count Hartmann, made me acquainted with many interesting personages at Berne, and supplied me with much information. So strong has been the historical taste of this illustrious line, that five or six generations (two at least personally known to Gibbon) have devoted themselves to historical studies and the collection of important manuscripts as yet unpublished.

In the fine library a life-size portrait (in oil, by F. Rouget) of Louis XVIII. bears this inscription: 'Donné par Sa Majesté Très Chrétienne Louis XVIII. à l'Avoyer Frédéric de Mulinen, 1817.' The King holds in his hand a parchment roll, bearing the first words of an Act: 'A nos très chers et grands Amis'—that being the formula originally employed by the Kings of France in addressing their Excellencies of Berne. The recipient of this gift, the grandfather of Count Egbert, was sent in 1816 on a mission to compliment the French monarch on the restoration of the kingdom of France to the House of Bourbon; and it was upon his retirement from this mission that the King gave him his portrait. The frame is surmounted with the royal arms and crown.

Here also is the portrait of Charles the Bold, from an original formerly at Morat, and quite different from the portraits in the History of Barante. He has a very long nose, which seems to point to the inscription : ' Carolus dux Burgundiæ.'

Next comes General Robert Scipio de Lentulus, on horseback, in the uniform of a Prussian regiment. He died at Berne in 1786. In the distance are a château and a battle. He was bailiff at Koenitz, which I had visited the day before inspecting this likeness. Koenitz was originally a convent, which afterwards came into the use of the commanders of the Teutonic order, and was suppressed in the Reformation of 1528. Later, it was administered by different *bourgeois* of Berne, and in 1729 became a bailiwick, continuing such until the Revolution. It is now comprised in the bailiwick of Berne. There are two dates over the gateway—1610 in the arms, and 1609 on the arch below ; while on the wall next the church is 1608. In the church are the arms of the de Mulinens in the principal window. The panelled wooden roof is decidedly ancient, with Gothic inscriptions and illuminated figures of monks. The court of the castle contains a covered gallery, like that at Chillon.

Next on the wall is Leopold III., Duke of Austria, killed at the battle of Sempach fighting against Winkelried (1386). The original, in the chapel of Sempach, was painted in 1386. The Duke has small eyes, a long nose, and a blond complexion. His coat of arms is on the front of his costume.

Following him is Joseph de Rochenbach, Prince-Bishop of Basle, driven from Porrentruy by the French in 1792, ancestor of the family still existing, which has furnished many State Ministers. He is looking towards the portrait of Hans Albrecht de Mulinens, who died at the battle of Sempach with five others of his name. The family, before removing to Berne, dwelt in Argovia, and were vassals of the Hapsbourgs. This ancestor is represented kneeling on a cushion, which is embroidered with the arms of the family : or, a mill-wheel sable. He was one of the twenty knights who fell at Sempach, all buried at the convent of Koenigsfelden, where their portraits exist in the crypt. They belonged to a Suabian order of chivalry.

The de Mulinens were among the families who, after the conquest of Argovia by Berne in 1405, chose to place them-

selves under Bernese rule. The Convent of Koenigsfelden stands on the spot where Duke Albert, in 1308, was murdered, whence its name.

The lofty library is lighted by three windows, in which are different designs in stained glass. In the first are the escutcheons of all the Bernese bailiwicks, with the banneret in the middle. There are a great many of these illuminated panes in the parish churches. Banneret is equivalent to port ensign, and in the beginning he bore the flag and conducted the troops. In this window, made about 1500, he is dressed in crimson, with a yellow cap and feather.¹

In the second pane are the de Mulinen arms, with the inscription: 'Hans Frederick von Mulinen, 1520;' and above: 'A.D. MV^oXX.' Hanging in the recess of this window is a medallion of Beat Louis de Mulinen, born 1529, died 1597 at Wittekoffen. It is in coloured wax very well worked, and of the period. The arms are in the corner. He wears a black robe and brown waistcoat. This gentleman was sent as ambassador to Henry III. The King asked him: 'Monsieur de Mulinen, y a-t-il des gentilshommes en Suisse?' 'Sire,' he replied, 'j'en connais deux.' 'Lesquels?' 'L'Empereur et moi.' Henry III., finding nothing to reply, gave him a chain. There is a large portrait of him also in the dining-room. He was the richest man of his time—a regular Rothschild. He wears a long white beard and pointed ruff.

His first wife was Margaret Nägeli, by whom he had twenty-five children; his second wife was Marie Weingarten, by whom he had two. His father was the celebrated Marc Gaspard, whom I mention later.

There is a medallion containing the portrait of William III. of England, of the House of Nassau. It was presented by that king to Albert de Mulinen, who in 1693 was colonel of four thousand men, and from one of whose brothers Count Egbert descends. He had taken part in the wars of Spain before that of the Succession, and fought against Catinat. The King here

¹ Painting on glass flourished in Switzerland shortly before the Reformation in 1510 or 1512. Berne, Bienne, Berthout, and, in Eastern Switzerland, Zurich, Zug, and St. Gall, were the centres of this industry. The artists are not known, as they did not sign their work. Funk painted a great number, but the data with respect to him are uncertain.

has a flowing wig, and wears a wide blue ribbon with a blue star and a red cross in the middle.

Next is a miniature of Philippe de Mornay, Count de Breuil, Seignior of Plessis and Marly, born in 1549, who is shown in a costume of the time of Henry IV., with a ruff and a pointed beard.

De Mornay, who was born in 1549 and was allied to the most illustrious families of France, and even to the House of Bourbon itself, was so passionately attached to the reformed religion that he was surnamed the Pope of the Huguenots. When scarcely eighteen years of age he visited Switzerland, where he passed some time in the study of jurisprudence.

It is an interesting fact that de Mornay is the ancestor in the female line of the Swiss families of de Chandieu, de Charrière, de Sévery, and de Loys, through the marriage, in 1685, of his great-granddaughter, Catherine de Gaudicher, Dame d'Averse in Anjou, with Charles de Chandieu, Sire and Baron of Chandieu, Sovereign of Mezieu and Crissieu, and Seignior of Chabottes, Villars, l'Isle, and la Coudre, in Switzerland, lieutenant-general of the armies of the King, colonel of a Swiss regiment of his name, and captain in the regiment of the Swiss Guard.

De Mornay du Plessis was for twenty-five years the most intimate friend of Henry IV. On one occasion, when he was sent to ask the assistance of Queen Elizabeth of England in behalf of the King of Navarre, Henry handed him as instructions a blank paper with his signature.

Voltaire consecrated the following lines to him :

Ce vertueux soutien du parti de l'erreur,
Qui, signalant toujours son zèle et sa prudence,
Sert également son Eglise et la France ;
Censeur des courtisans, mais à la cour aimé ;
Fier ennemi de Rome, et de Rome estimé.

Another miniature, painted by Emanuel Wyss in 1815 or 1820, represents the arms of Berne. The supporters are, on one side the lion of Zaehringen, on the other the Bernese bear. The Zaehringen bore : gules, a lion or ; and the Grand Duke of Baden is still called Zaehringen.

In passing, it is curious to note the fact that Freiburg and

Berne were the only two Swiss towns founded by kings. The others were built by ecclesiastics.

The legend about a bear-hunt, to which Berne owes its name, is purely fabulous, but it was admitted, and the city took a bear in its arms.

The medallion of Mary, Queen of William III., daughter of James II., was presented at the same time as the portrait of her husband. She has long, flowing black hair, a red bodice decorated with ermine, and elaborate silver clasps across to close it. She wears a gold shoulder-knot with pearls, and pearl pendants and ornaments in her hair.

These two portraits were left by M. de Mulinen's grandfather, with instructions that they should be kept as heirlooms.

The motto of the de Mulinens is 'Pura me movent,' or, more correctly, 'Puræ aquæ me movent.' They bear in their arms the lion of the Hapsbourgs, from having been bannerets of Brugge. The difference between the lion of Zæhringen and that of Hapsbourg is, that the first is or, the second gules.

The de Mulinens have also the swan of the Rapperschwyls, whose motto is 'Suaviter in modo, fortiter in re.'

German Switzerland took up the fashion of devices much later than the other portion.

The third window-pane contains St. Vincent, the patron of Berne, with a blue chasuble, a palm-branch in one hand and a book in the other.

Count Egbert is the author, among many other things, of 'Rauracia Sacra, ou Dictionnaire Historique du Clergé Catholique Jurassien;' also of a volume entitled 'Extraits d'Actes authentiques servant à éclaircir la Généalogie de la Noblesse du Pays de Vaud.' He has also written the 'Actes de Blonay.'

Count Egbert has a vast mass of parchments and valuable muniments dating from the year 1000 to the year 1800. Here is a manuscript, 'Généalogie et Histoire de la Maison d'Estavayer,' in twelve volumes, the last two containing proofs of the authenticity of the same. Another, in six volumes, is on the same subject; and still another, in four volumes, contains genealogical tables of Zürich families.

The Count mentioned one of the family of Luternau as the first knight who scaled the walls of Antioch, since which time

his descendants bear a tower in their arms. The crest is a dog, from the nickname of Giaour—i.e. dog—given by the Turks to the Christians. The shield is: sable, a tower argent, with the crest issuing out of the parapets of a tower.

In the dining-room are many other portraits of connections of the de Mulinens. Here is Hanz Franz Nægeli, of the Munsinger Council of Berne, taken in 1554, at the age of fifty-four, dressed in red and black—the colours of Berne.

One is glad to look on Nicholas, Baron de Mulinen, in armour, with a ruff and a peaked beard, a marvellous man. He was born in 1570, and at sixteen, having finished his studies at Paris, he repaired to Malta, and, although a Protestant, took part with the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem in an expedition against the Turks. Returning to Berne, he became a member of the Sovereign Council. Having lost his wife, he went to Germany, and, taking arms under Maurice of Nassau, assisted at the siege of Juliers in 1610. He then served with great distinction in the army of the Margrave of Baden. Three years later he returned to Berne, was named Senator, and reorganised the military establishment of the Republic. A massacre of the Protestants having taken place in the Valtelline, Nicholas de Mulinen went to their rescue with a small army of 3,500 men and a regiment of the Grisons. Tirano, the capital, had been reinforced, however, by the Spanish Government, and the entire Spanish forces under Pimantel attacked de Mulinen, who performed prodigies of valour. Wounded, and almost alone among his dead, he placed himself against a wall, and, thanks to his extraordinary strength, overthrew all who attempted to approach him, and, refusing to surrender, perished nobly, in the prime of life, in 1620, overcome only by the enormous number of his assailants. His fate was commemorated in a contemporary poem, entitled 'History of the Life and Death of Nicholas de Mulinen.' Count Egbert preserved a book which he owned, containing many things from monarchs of that time.

On the right of Nicholas hangs Burgomaster Wettstein, of Basle, who represented Switzerland at the Peace of Westphalia in 1648; on the left is the historian Johannes de Mulinen, of Schaffhausen. He has a stolid countenance, and

wears a wig and a costume of the latter part of the last century.

The centuries are placed in curious juxtaposition. Hans Hallwyl, the opponent of Charles the Bold, chief of the Swiss army in 1476, is next depicted, in armour, with a steel cap. The original picture is in the Castle of Hallwyl. By his side is Hans Waldman, Burgomaster of Zurich, who engaged in the same war. His long beard falls over a lavender-coloured robe, and the chain of office is about his neck. Although the son of a peasant of the Canton of Zug, he was one of the most distinguished men in Switzerland.

Niclaus Frederick de Steiguer, advoyer, of the black de Steiguers, is appropriately dressed in black, with a white wig. He fought against the French in 1798. Count Egbert had called my attention in his library to a work entitled '*Les Généraux Bernois : Notices Biographiques, par R. de Steiguer.*' The white de Steiguers had two advoyers in their family, and the black de Steiguers three; but the white came to Berne from Lower Toggenbourg before the black from the Valais, in the neighbourhood of the Château d'Oex.

Ascending the stream of time, we find the celebrated Jan de Bubenberg (by Schilling), who was Advoyer of Berne at the date of the battle of Laupen (1339), dressed in a robe of grey fur, with long blond hair falling over his shoulders.

Hans Albrecht de Mulinen, who flourished about 1500, and belonged to the Teutonic Order at Meinar, was a grandson of the Adrien de Bubenberg mentioned in the next paragraph, and a descendant from Charlemagne. His breastplate bears a black cross, and his long hair is a conspicuous feature.

Adrian de Bubenberg, formerly a partisan of the Burgundians (1470), later the valiant defender of Morat, found himself obliged to leave Switzerland through the machinations of one of his fellow-countrymen, de Diesbach, who was devoted to the interests of France. In 1476, however, when Charles the Bold invested Morat with an army of 60,000 men, the Bernese recalled from exile their great advoyer, who, renouncing his affection for the Duke of Burgundy, returned at once, and saved by his ability the besieged city, and contributed powerfully to the celebrated victory which was gained under its walls. In

the following year, having been sent with eleven other Swiss envoys to the Court of France, Louis XI. endeavoured unsuccessfully to gain him over to his ambitious views against Burgundy. De Bubenbergh, finding that his colleagues had been corrupted, fled from the Court in disguise, and returned to his native city, where he died shortly afterwards.

There is a curious tradition at the Château of Spiez, which I visited with Count Hartmann, concerning the last two survivors of the Bubenberghs, son and daughter, who both married descendants of the family of d'Erlach (Seigniors of Spiez, on the Lake of Thoun), and were said to have perished by shipwreck in the lake on the very day of their weddings. This legend, however, is contrary to the historical facts. The church at Spiez is filled with armour, monuments, inscriptions and cenotaphs, all relating to the family of d'Erlach. One of the advocates of this name, Sigismond, prepared his tomb long before his death, and caused his epitaph to be engraved upon it during his lifetime, indicating merely the year of his death by the figures 16, leaving two spaces blank. In 1699, some one remarked to him that he would be obliged to change the figure from a 6 to a 7. 'Not at all,' said he; 'before the end of this year I shall be in that tomb.' In fact, he died in December of that year.

Hans Wilhelm de Mulinen and Adrien de Bubenbergh had been together at the Court of Charles the Bold; but both afterwards, from patriotic motives, fought against him. De Mulinen was a friend of the Archduke Frederick of Austria, surnamed Lackland. The latter, after the Council of Constance, having been outlawed by the Pope and Emperor for sustaining the Antipope, and anyone meeting him having the right to kill him, was obliged to fly, and took refuge at Potzen, in the Castle of Berneck, which belonged to the friend of his childhood, de Mulinen. He was received with respect and cordiality, and de Mulinen accompanied him to the *fête* of the Tyrolese at Innsbruck. There the two, disguised as palmers, performed a play in which they represented the Duke's own history with such pathos that they touched everybody's heart. Seizing the opportunity, they asked the people: 'What would you do if this story were true and these two knights stood amongst you?' The spectators replied with one voice: 'We would help them to

recover their rights.' Then the two threw off their pilgrims' cloaks, and declared themselves. The Tyrol took the side of the Archduke, who regained his estates and grew very rich. Frederick lavished benefits of all kinds upon de Mulinen, gave him many possessions in the Tyrol, as well as the command of the two important fortresses of Zulk and Landeck, and made him his first chamberlain; while the Emperor raised him and his brother Egbert, and Albert their cousin, to the dignity of Barons of the Empire. It was arranged between the two friends that he who died first should bequeath his property to the survivor, for de Mulinen was also a man of large wealth. The Archduke being the first to depart, de Mulinen gained a very large inheritance.

The original of this picture was painted in 1417, and is in the abbey church of Wilten, near Innsbruck, in the Tyrol. The Archduke is kneeling, holding in his hand a ribbon bearing this inscription: 'O mater Dei, miserere mei.' Behind him is de Mulinen, both being on the left of the picture and on the right of the spectator. Above and opposite is a figure representing the Deity shooting an arrow at the Archduke, while the Blessed Virgin in the centre covers him with her mantle. There is also an angel with a balance, in which the good deeds of Frederick appear by far the lighter. Near the Virgin is a figure of St. Joseph. De Mulinen wears the Order of the Finch and Branch. In one corner are the arms of Austria and of Tyrol, and in the other those of de Mulinen.¹

For many years after the above adventures de Mulinen's fidelity remained a proverb at Court. In fact, there were two branches of the de Mulinens: one was with King Albert, and for that reason was granted the right to carry the Emperor's colours—black and gold. Their arms had been gules and argent; but the fidelity they displayed at this time won the right to the imperial colours, and to carry the crown as a crest.

Count Hartmann drew my attention especially to a picture representing Agnes of Hungary's revenge for the murder of her father Albert in 1303. Queen Agnes, seated on her throne, is surrounded by the ladies and gentlemen of her household. In

¹ This picture has been described by the Baron Hormayer in *Archives de l'Allemagne méridionale*, vol. ii.

the background an execution is going on, and opposite to the Queen are assembled representatives of the principal families of Argovia—the Luternau, the Hallwyl, the Thiersten, the Landenberg, the Büttikon—kneeling to intercede for the life of a youthful de Mulinen, nephew of Berthoud, who, dressed in a long red tunic with a white border (then the colours of his House), is waiting to be beheaded. In spite of these prayers, and even of the supplications of the faithful uncle, the Queen was inexorable. The father of the condemned was a friend of the murderer, but had nothing to do with the murder. As an instance of Agnes' thirst for revenge, M. de Mulinen cited her *mot*, as she walked about in the blood of the executed: 'I am bathing in my *dew*.'

In this painting, a page is carrying the Archduke's helmet surmounted by tall peacock feathers. In the struggle between Switzerland and Austria, the greatest outrage to a Swiss was to call him a *peacock's tail*.

In the Middle Ages it was an especial privilege of the nobility to possess mills: and from the number owned by their ancestors, the de Mulinens took their name—von Mulinen, des Moulins. There was a great house at Brugge called the Mulinenhof. When any distinguished persons went to Aarau, they stayed either at the Castle of Castellen or at the Mulinenhof of Brugge. Under Louis Philippe, the de Mulinen—the French equivalent of which is de Melune—having presented himself at Court, was announced by a gentleman-usher who did not quite catch his name as Monsieur le Comte de la Lune.

There is here an old parchment representing the Archduke Leopold of Austria who fell at Sempach (1386), surrounded by the arms of the banners of his counties and those of his council. Above are those of his best friend, de Mulinen, to whom he gave a silver-gilt beaker, still in the possession of the family.

The family of Tuggen divided into the Rapperschwyls, the Wandelburgers, and the Mulinens; and the Rapperschwyls afterwards became Hapsbourgs.

Here is a likeness of Marc Gaspard de Mulinen, the most celebrated of this illustrious and ancient House, a member of the Orders of the Holy Sepulchre and of St. George and St.

Catherine, who made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, crusaded against the Turks, and was taken prisoner. Subsequently he fought against the French, and indeed seems to have used his arms against everybody. His son was educated by the celebrated Chevalier Bayard, who flourished from 1473 to 1524.

Pierre de Mulinen served against the Hungarians, and saved the standard of the Hapsbourgs by wrapping himself in it. He was killed and buried in the flag; therefore, the de Mulinens carry the flag of the Hapsbourgs round their arms.

In another room is the genealogical tree of the family, elaborately executed, with its coat of arms. The crests over the shield are those of the Grunenbergs, the Bubenbergs, the Wandelburgers, and the Rapperschwyls. In one corner is a representation of the Castellen Castle, the de Mulinen seat, on a commanding summit. Here also I find the shields of the following possessions of the family: Brandis, Avenstein, Rauchenstein, Castellen, Wildenstein, Schöftland, Berneg—whose arms were a blue bear on a gold field.

The table begins in 1140. Among the early members of the family is Albrecht, said to have been first Grand Master of St. John of Jerusalem. His sword was in the possession of the family until 1798.

In one of the drawing-rooms is the portrait of Nicolas de Mulinen (1760-1833), Advoyer of Berne, President of the ancient Federal Diet, who was made a Count of the Austrian Empire by Francis Joseph. He wears the eagle of Prussia on his breast. His father had refused eight orders.

Count Nicolas re-established the Swiss wrestling matches; and Madame de Staël, being present at one of these at Unspunden, near Interlaken, wanted to dance with the best wrestler, a very handsome man; but he, after a brief glance, declined the honour, as she was too ugly, and, directing his attention to a beautiful lady accompanying the authoress, expressed his willingness to lead off the dance with her. This story was told by M. Sturler, who had a fund of anecdotes concerning Madame de Staël.

There is here a painting of Wildenstein, showing the castle in the background amid wooded hills, two knights in the fore-

ground talking to a hermit, and near by their horses held by a squire. This castle still exists.

It is curious that the Zæhringen were Dukes of Verona, which is the same name as Berne. In Northern countries, there being no lion, the bear is sometimes taken in heraldry as the most noble animal; and at Berne they carried the same coat of arms as at Verona, which belonged to the same family.

Count Hartmann told me that the Bernese peasantry all have their own family traditions, and are better than the townspeople in their appreciation of birth. When a peasant finds that a man is a noble, he chooses him at once; but the Conservative party has neglected its interests. It is the towns which make revolutions, not the country, which is satisfied with its lot. Very few of the old families are now represented in the Government, because they gave matters up in 1830. In the last century, owing to the influence of the French Court, the nobility scarcely spoke to the peasantry, and their relations were not cordial. In 1830 the nobility wished to get some measures passed, but the people refused. 'Very well, then,' replied the nobles, 'we will withdraw, and you can try to get on without us.' They did withdraw, and have now no voice in the Government.

A branch of the de Mulinens exists in Austria, and Count R. de Mulinen is the Emperor of Austria's Minister at the Hague.

There are two fatal dates for the fortunes of the governing Bernese families—1791 and 1831. Both were revolutionary and destructive of prerogatives and privileges.

CHAPTER LI

AMONG the great governing families at Berne were the de Wattevilles, whose representative in the last century was a friend of Gibbon. In the course of a conversation with the present (1881) representative, Major Frederick Charles de Watteville, he told me that his family came from a village named Wattenville, near Thoun. There are two theories as to their origin: one, that they were *bourgeois* in Thoun and vassals of its count; the other making them descend from reigning

families in the kingdom of the Allemanni of Suabia, around Lake Constance.

M. de Watteville says that his family is one of those who have been noble from time immemorial, but the origin of whose nobility cannot be traced. In this connection the six oldest families are the d'Erlach, the de Watteville, the de Mulinen, the de Bonstetten, the de Diesbach, and the de Luternau.

At the time of the foundation of Berne many other towns were erected in Germany and Switzerland by the German princes, such as Bremen and Hamburg in Germany, Freiburg in Brisgau, Freiburg in Switzerland, and Berne itself. They sprang up like fungi in the twelfth century; it was like a revival after barbarism.

At the foundation of Berne, in 1191, by Berchthold, there were at least three hundred and sixty petty suzerains, against whom the people had frequent cause of discontent. Berchthold encouraged the disaffected vassals of these little rulers to take refuge in his city, which naturally excited great jealousy against the town.

The de Wattevilles were *bourgeois* of Berne from its birth, and their names are in the list of the Sovereign Council as early as 1226. Berne, to protect itself against the jealousy of rival cities, placed itself under the protection of Peter of Savoy, who added all the Grande Rue, from the Rue de l'Horloge to the Rue des Prisons. The Tour de l'Horloge was built by Berchthold.

In showing me his beautifully illuminated pedigree, Major de Watteville said that his family had furnished a quantity of advoyers. At the Reformation it suddenly extended itself in a remarkable manner, for some who were Catholics left the country and made marriages in France, while others entered the service of Spain and took part in the wars of that epoch.

Unfortunately, many of the family documents were burned in the two great fires to which Berne had fallen a prey, in 1302 and 1405. At the time of the Reformation one of the de Wattevilles was succeeded by a posthumous son, from whom came three children. One formed the Spanish branch, whose members became grandees of Spain, and counted among them a Viceroy of Navarre and a Viceroy of Biscay. A de Watteville of this branch, making war under Charles V., commanded the Spanish

army at Naples and the troops of the Viceroy of Toledo. This branch still exists.

Another branch was that of France, which allied itself to the powerful family of de Joux, whose successors in the female line were the House of de Grammont, of Franche-Comté,¹ which must not be confounded with the House of de Gramont and the dukes of that name, to whom belonged the Count Philibert de Gramont, whose 'Memoirs,' written by his brother-in-law, are continually printed with the name mis-spelt thus: 'Grammont.' The edition of Sainte-Beuve is the only one with which I am acquainted that does not insist upon thus connecting this celebrated character with another family of entirely different origin. My attention was drawn to this fact by the late Duke de Gramont.

The last of this branch of the de Watteilles was Marquis of Conflans, a town in Savoy, who was a general of cavalry and died in 1798.

The third branch remained at Berne, and furnished at least ten generals and nine or ten advoyers. They gave many officers to France, Austria, Spain, and the Low Countries. There have been nineteen branches of the de Watteilles at Berne since the Reformation.

The portrait of Major de Watteville's grandfather, Alexander, captain of the Swiss Guard of the Statholder at the Hague, represents him in a cuirass and a red uniform, with a decoration. He died in 1754. His wife, *née* d'Erlach, holds a red carnation in her hand and wears a Spanish hat. She has a pretty figure, brown eyes, small mouth, and a very graceful head, and wears pearl pendants in her ears.

Major de Watteville's great-grandfather, whose portrait (1634) shows him at the age of forty-two, served in France, and wears the Grand Order of Military Merit, a chain of gold, and a medal of Louis XIII. His black velvet doublet is tufted with red; he has a great Spanish ruff, and his moustache and beard are of the form in fashion at the time of Charles I. of England.

Major de Watteville is now (1881) eighty-six. Leaving Switzerland at seventeen years of age, he visited America in 1812, was present at various engagements, and once took a

¹ *Genealogy of the de Watteville Family*, by Major F. de Watteville. (MS.)

hundred American troops prisoners. He returned to Europe in 1814, and entered the service of Holland, and remained until 1829. He then went to Naples, where he reached the grade of major, and remained in that service eighteen years, leaving it in 1847.

He has had three sons, one of whom was killed at Kurstellen, while the other two took service under Victor Emanuel when the reunion of Italy occurred. As the family was well known in Piedmont, having served there and bearing the title of Count in that country, and as these two young men had an uncle who was a colonel in the Piedmontese service, it was very easy to place themselves there. One entered the Hussars of Parma, a regiment distinguished by the high birth of its officers and the extravagance of their habits. He was urged by his mother to exchange into a regiment of Lancers, but refused, resigned, and now lives in Italy on a pension.

The other son, Frederick, now at Berne, made a campaign with François II., and followed him to Rome, where he was honourably discharged. His daughter married a Venetian noble, and his son made the acquaintance of King Amadeus, who desired him to take service in Spain, but he declined.

There was a de Watteville in the English peerage in the reign of Edward III., about 1326 or 1336, with the titles of Baron and Peer of England. The name is spelt Watvil in the 'Dormant and Extinct Peerages.' He was Baron of a place in the Isle of Wight.

There was a de Watteville who became a Pacha. He was a *mauvais sujet*, who turned monk because his father would not give him enough money. He ran off with a nun, and, as this was a crime punishable in Spain by death, he took refuge in Turkey. He was captured by corsairs and taken to Algeria; his wife disappeared in some harem, and he was sold. Being a man of vigour, he interested his master, obtained his liberty, and, going to Smyrna, became a Mussulman, and subsequently Pacha of Yanina. He figured in the siege of Vienna by the Turks, and was the person who so arranged a battle in which the Turks were defeated that he might make his peace with the Pope. He deserted his ally, and finished his days, at a great age, as Abbot of Baume, in Franche-Comté.

CHAPTER LII

ADDISON, about the beginning of the eighteenth century, speaks of Lausanne as follows :

‘The next day we spent at Lausanne, the greatest town on the lake after Geneva.

‘We saw the wall of the cathedral church that was opened by an earthquake, and shut again by a second. The crack can but be just discerned at present, though there are several in the town still living who have formerly passed through it. The Duke of Schomberg, who was killed in Savoy, lies in this church, but without any monument or inscription over him. Lausanne was once a republic, but is now under the Canton of Berne, and governed like the rest of their dominions by a baily, who is sent them every three years from the Senate of Berne. There is one street of this town that has the privilege of acquitting or condemning any person of their own body in matters of life and death. Every inhabitant of it has his vote, which makes a house here sell better than in any other part of the town. They tell me that not many years ago it happened that a cobbler had the casting-vote for the life of a criminal, which he very graciously gave on the merciful side.’

The Duke of Schomberg, to whom Addison refers, was the eldest son of the celebrated Duke of Schomberg who, after a long and glorious military career, fell at the Boyne in the eighty-fifth year of his age. The father, says Sir Bernard Burke, was buried at St. Patrick’s, Dublin, and his tomb bears the following inscription :

‘Underneath lies the body of Frederick, Duke of Schomberg, slain at the battle of the Boyne in the year 1690. The Dean and Chapter of this church again and again besought the heirs of the Duke to cause some monument to be here erected to his memory. But when after many entreaties by letters and friends, they found that they could not obtain their request, they themselves placed this stone; only that the indignant reader may know where the ashes of Schomberg are deposited.

Thus did the fame only of his virtue obtain more for him from strangers, than nearness of blood from his own family.'

His son and heir, who never married, and died of a wound received at the battle of Marsaglia (Piedmont) in 1693, seems to have received no more mortuary honour from his brother who succeeded him than he had bestowed upon his illustrious father.

To-day, all memory of Schomberg's burial in the cathedral has disappeared, and the guardian of the building, when I mentioned the fact, expressed great surprise and entire ignorance of the matter. He said, however, that while some water-pipes were being laid, in 1781, the remains of a young Englishman were discovered.

The street alluded to by Addison was the Rue de Bourg, for the rights and privileges of whose inhabitants, see *ante*, Chapter IV. At that time, on the south side lived Noble Isaac de Loÿs, afterwards Seigneur of Vennes, and Lieutenant Ballival.¹ He was at this time Seigneur of Bochat, a lordship near Lutry, three or four miles south-east from Lausanne. The tower of this château, near the Paudèse, arose in the midst of rich vineyards, commanding a fine view of lake and mountain. Before the Reformation, says Martignier, the priory of Lutry possessed numerous vineyards in the territory of Bochat, out of which ecclesiastical estates the seigniority was formed. But the documents of the de Loÿs family prove that it had belonged to the de Villarzel family. The Château of Villarzel belonged to Boniface de Villarzel, son of Aymonet de Villarzel and Anne d'Avenches, in 1446. The family of Villarzel died out in the de Loÿs family, and Bochat thus passed to the de Loÿs. It had been left to Isaac de Loÿs by his father, Sebastien de Loÿs, Comptroller and Lieutenant Ballival, who died in 1697.²

Both father and son were among the founders of the Abbaye de l'Arc, in 1691; as were their kinsmen, Nobles de Loÿs de Villardin (father of M. de Warens), Abraham de Crousaz, Manlich de Daillens, Samuel de Praroman, Jean de Praye, de Rosset d'Echandens, Rodolphe de Constant Rebecque,

¹ *Memoir on the de Loÿs Family*, from archives in the possession of the Marquis de Loÿs, and Notes by the Marquis. (MSS.)

² *Parchment Will of Sebastian de Loÿs*. (MS.)

and Théobald de Seigneux. De Praroman, who had succeeded Manlich de Dailens, at this time presided over the society.¹

This venerable institution included forty-three founders, many of whose descendants still figure on the list of members. It was called the Noble Abbey of Archers. In the beginning the price of admission was fixed at fifty florins. The council of administration was composed of a captain, a lieutenant, two secretaries, a purse-bearer, and four councillors. The member gaining the first prize was called the King, and sat in the council, where he exercised a certain authority.

The matches, which were held at the bottom of the promenade of Montbenon, were eight in number—that is, one in each week during the months of May and June. They began always at four o'clock, and ended at six. The competitors shot alternately at a target, or at various figures placed at a certain elevation, such as a sun, an eagle, or a Moor; this last symbolising, no doubt, a prejudice now dormant, which had its rise eight centuries ago, in the days of Queen Bertha, when the Saracens sacked the country.

The ceremonies connected with these meetings were interesting. Quiver on back, bow on shoulder, arrows in hand, the archers, with banners displayed, with drums and fifes, escorted the King from his residence to the grounds.

M. Adrien de Constant, for a long time President of this Society, gives an interesting account of its first reunions—*fêtes* animated by joyful simplicity and a benevolent fraternity. The Bernese Bailiff, surrounded by his little Court, was usually present as representative of their Excellencies and honorary member of the Society. Those who took the first prizes offered a collation, and a banquet also took place each year on the day of the settlement of accounts.

Some years later he who obtained the first prize was allowed to refuse the honours of royalty which had invariably accompanied his distinction before, and the purple fell upon the next best shot.

After a quarter of a century the revolutionary spirit invaded the Society, and suppressed by one and the same blow the fine

¹ *Résumé historique de l'Abbaye de l'Arc de Lausanne, de sa fondation jusqu'à l'année 1849*, par Adrien de Constant (rare brochure), pp. 41-44.

parade, the escort offered the King, and the banquets and collations which had hitherto been the joy of the members. It was ultimately decided, however, that banqueting was after all a democratic custom, and that Republican principles need not interfere with a good dinner among friends.¹

The Abbey is to-day No. 1 Place Montbenon. Over the entrance gate are a bow and arrow sculptured in high relief, and three arrows adorn the inner portal. The grounds are extensive and well kept. There are two archery butts, and galleries for pistol and rifle practice. In the house itself are reception, card, billiard, reading, and dining rooms. The terrace commands views in all directions almost identical with those which Gibbon beheld from his terrace in the last century, before the prospect suffered by intervening buildings. There is here a stone dial marking thirty-eight different points of view.²

In returning from the Abbey, I noticed the autumnal colouring of Lausanne. Roofs, pinnacles, and towers, with their reddish-brown dress, seemed entirely in keeping with the foliage of the few trees which blushed under touch of the frost.

Noble Loÿs de Bochat was proprietor of La Grotte, at Lausanne, in 1706, having inherited this estate from his younger brother, Paul Louis (who received it from their father), as he afterwards inherited the seigniory of Vennes from his second brother, Samuel. His son, afterwards the distinguished historian Loÿs de Bochat, was then a little boy of ten years, and M. de Warens often walked in the pleasure-grounds of La Grotte with his little kinsman.

¹ Adrien de Constant, *Résumé historique de l'Abbaye de l'Arc*.

² The Abbaye de l'Arc at Lausanne reminds me of another social club founded 1726 at Philadelphia. It was a fishing-club, originally called 'The Province in Schuylkill,' on whose banks its castle was erected. It had a governor, a lieutenant-governor, a legislative body, and a sheriff, who took every man into custody who did not drink his allowance of old Madeira, the penalty being that the wine remaining in his decanter should be poured down his sleeve. This ancient association still flourishes, and is composed of the descendants of those who originated it. The silver dinner-service of William Penn, founder of Pennsylvania, engraved with his arms, has been used at its monthly dinners for more than a century and a half. On one occasion the late General Arthur, President of the United States, visited this venerable social centre, and drank out of a goblet which was used by John Dickinson, author of *The Farmer's Letters*, and President of Pennsylvania during and after the Revolution. Since the War of the Revolution this club is called 'The State in Schuylkill,' and since the death of the Beefsteak Club of London it claims to be the oldest social club in America or Great Britain. It will, however, cheerfully acknowledge the seniority of its Lausannois sister.

That part of the property occupied to-day by the house in which Loÿs de Bochat and Gibbon afterwards dwelt was at this time the site of an ancient building which had formed a part of the Monastery of St. Francis. Though partly burned in 1750, the foundations and walls remained, and were incorporated in the present house. At the time we speak of, its old tower alone was in the possession of the de Loÿs family, with the attached pavilion. The city wall, extending from this tower in the direction of the Rue du Petit-Chêne along the walls of La Grotte, had been levelled in the preceding century and planted with trees, flowers, and shrubbery, forming the broad terrace where Gibbon and Deyverdun so often walked. It is still a delightful promenade for the family and guests of La Grotte.

The house, which had belonged thirty years before to the executioner—situated at the west angle of a terrace overlooking that of La Grotte—with its grounds, on which M. Polier de St. Germain afterwards built the mansion now occupied by M. Louis Grenier, was then in the possession of MM. de Crousaz and de Charrière de Sévery.¹

The father of de Loÿs de Bochat at this time used the gardens, lawns, and vineyards of La Grotte as pleasure-grounds, where he and his friends trod the soil that Amadeus VIII. had pressed two hundred and fifty years before, and passed by the gate which Loÿs de Bochat, the son, Deyverdun, the grand-nephew, and Gibbon, his friend, afterwards used.

In 1705 the Place of St. Francis terminated with the massive gateway and tower of St. Francis, which limited the view from this part of the La Grotte grounds to the Rue du Grand-Chêne leading towards Montbenon, where Voltaire lived, then largely owned by the families of Bergier, de Gingins, and Montrond, and the Rue du Petit-Chêne, soon to be the Rue Gibbon. Looking across this latter street towards the south-west, one beheld what is now the site of the Hôtel Richemont, covered with vineyards of the families Bergier and Plantin.

Jean Baptiste Plantin, the eminent pastor, professor, and Vaudois historian, whose description of the city of Lausanne in 1660 I have had frequent occasion to consult, was the head of

¹ *Parchment of Cadastre of 1722* (Archives of Lausanne).

this Plantin family, and died at Lausanne, at his residence in the Cité, in 1700, at the age of seventy-six.

The house attached to the Plantin property, near La Grotte, was close to the gate of the Grand-Chêne, and had a lofty tower commanding the lake, and affording a panoramic view of the city, crowned by its magnificent cathedral.

At the north-west corner of the grounds of La Grotte, there was a small pond and benches beneath the trees and vines, from under whose cover the fair ladies of La Grotte might watch the royal progress of the King of the Abbey of Archers, and the troops going forth to exercise on the esplanade of Montbenon.

The eastern boundary of this portion of the property consisted of the city wall, behind which were the markets, and a riding-school, erected in 1619 by M. de Praroman, and frequented in the eighteenth century by the stripling Gibbon.

The riding-school was at this time (1705) the fashionable resort of the younger members of noble families living in the Rue de Bourg, on the Place of St. Francis, above in the Cité, or below in the Palud, as the case might be.

CHAPTER LIII

THE Place of St. Francis, although in 1705 very limited in comparison with what it now is, or was in Gibbon's time, had been improved by the removal of a wall which ran from the Gate of St. Francis round the church to the Gate of Ouchy, dividing the Place almost in two. The fountain now against the church was then near the middle of the square.

On the Place of St. Francis were living the families of Bergier, Bourgeois, Manlich, and Bugnion; and at the corner of the Place and St. Francis Street lived the Noble Nathanaël Deyverdun in 1706 a man of sixty-five. He had married early in life the daughter of Jean Louis de Loÿs, Seigneur of Marnand, and, she having died early, he was now the husband of Anne, daughter of Noble Jean François Manlich, Seigneur of Dailens.¹

¹ *Genealogy of the Deyverdun Family.* (MS.)

The remarkable house which belonged to Deyverdun is to-day the Federal Bank. The attention of a stranger is immediately attracted by its graceful turret, engraved with the touching motto :

A Toy, mon Dieu,
Mon cœur monte.¹

This ancient building before the Reformation was one of the dependencies of the Bishop of Lausanne. Some have supposed it once the residence of the Treasurer of St. Francis, but the facts are against this theory.² It was sold by their Excellencies of Berne, successors of the Bishop of Lausanne, between 1540 and 1550, to a private individual—perhaps one of the Deyverdun family.

In 1669—at least, according to a manuscript document of that day, communicated to me by M. Aymon de Crousaz—it was in the possession of Nathanaël Deyverdun, who in that year paid 1 sol 3 deniers ground-rent to the Government. In his acknowledgment of the sum due, he describes himself as acting in his own name and that of Dame Jeanne de Loÿs, his mother, which indicates that the property had either belonged to his father, the widow enjoying a life estate in it, or that it was originally in the possession of his mother and the de Loÿs family.

He speaks of what now forms the eastern part of the Place of St. Francis as the Public Way ; apparently, therefore, it had not in 1669 its present name. He mentions his garden and a lane in the rear of his house, and describes the property below it to the north as the undivided fief of the Burgomaster Polier, of the de Loÿs de Marnand, and of Madame de Crousaz, dame of Crissier. He says the house next to his own on the west, facing St. Francis's Church, belonged to the heirs of the Honourable Balthazar Bugnion.

The grandson of Balthazar, Pierre Bugnion, born in 1662, was a distinguished Protestant clergyman. He was pastor of Chenit, in the valley of Joux, and the Doyen Bridel says that he worked with extraordinary success to bring this parish, before sunk into barbarism, into the light of religious civilisation.

¹ To Thee, my God, my heart ascends.

² Letter of M. Jules Piccard to the author, May 19, 1880.

Between 1690 and 1696 he established four schools among this hardy population of iron-founders.¹

It is believed that the monks of the old abbey originally established a foundry in this locality; but, as late as 1550, the territory of Chenit was nothing but an abandoned valley traversed by the river Orbe, and intersected by woods and marshes. At that date, some wood-cutters established themselves there in cabins made of interlaced branches of trees. In 1590 the residents were 191, in 1750 there were 1,700, and to-day there are more than double that number.

The forges established in 1555 founded the prosperity of the locality, and the intelligent work of M. Bugnion confirmed it. The introduction of jewel-cutters, in 1720, and that of watchmakers some years later, further increased it. To-day the watchmakers of this district are believed to be the best in Europe, and its productions may literally be said to have founded the reputation of the Genevese work.

Pierre Bugnion, in 1705-6, was forty-four years of age. He belonged to the ancient company of Noble Fusileers of Lausanne, from which the Noble Abbey of Archers took its model, and he introduced into this body two of his sons. He removed to Yverdon in 1715, and afterwards retired to Baulmes, a beautiful and rich village on the Roman Road from Lausanne to Orbe, where he died at the age of eighty-three in 1745. His cousin, Antoine, was châtelain of the episcopal palace. He had married a daughter of the ancient family of Vulliamoz of Pont, and had one son, Benjamin, who filled many offices between 1728 and 1777.

Antoine's son, Anthony, called 'the Englishman,' born at Lausanne in 1733, was the friend of George Deyverdun and Gibbon, and we shall have occasion to speak of him hereafter.

Nathanaël Deyverdun had lost his father, Daniel, in 1668, and his mother in 1671. His youngest son, Samuel, born in the same year as his kinsman M. de Warens, was, in 1705, living with his father, being about seventeen years of age, and had over sixty years of life in him yet, while twenty-seven years were to elapse before his marriage with the

¹ *Biographical Note on Rev. Pierre Bugnion, and Notes on the Bugnion Family*, prepared for the author by C. A. Bugnion, Esq. (MS.)

daughter of the Noble David Teissonnière, mother of George Deyverdun, Gibbon's associate.

The eldest son, Jean Louis Deyverdun, born in 1670, married the daughter of Albert Crousaz. There were two noble families in the Pays de Vaud of similar name: one, established at Chexbres and at Lausanne, carried the *de* before it, thus, *de* Crousaz; while the other, Seigniors of Corsier, above Lutry, wrote simply Crousaz. Deyverdun's wife belonged to the latter family.

As early as 908 Corsier acquired a great celebrity by a *jugement de Dieu*.

According to the tradition, Boson, then Bishop of Lausanne, claimed the great forest of Jorat, extending from the Flon-Morand (*fons Maurone*), behind Savigny, as far as Vennes, above Lausanne; and from there to the north as far as Dom-martin. The King allowed the Bishop to sustain his rights by the proof of the hot iron. Accordingly, one of the Bishop's servitors, named Arnoulph, was chosen to undergo this test. The hot iron was applied to his hand, with the understanding that if this hand preserved the imprint until the third day the forest was lost to the Bishop; if it disappeared, it was his master's beyond dispute. Arnoulph's hand was carefully wrapped in linen, which was then sealed with the royal signet. On the third day the bandage was taken off in the presence of the King, then holding his assizes at Corsier, and no trace of the burn was found. The forest was therefore adjudged to the Bishop, and his successors possessed it until the Bernese conquest.

The seigniority of Corsier originally belonged to the royal house of Faucigny, probably ancestors of the *de* Blonays. It passed by an heiress into the family of Thoire-Villars, and thence to Othon de Grandson, who fell dead in a duel in Amadeus VIII.'s time. After his death it passed through various hands, until 1620, when Noble Pierre Crousaz acquired it.

The castle of the seigniority was in the town of Lutry, near the lake. It was restored by François Crousaz, who had married the daughter of *de* Cerjat, Seignior of Allaman. The Crousaz arms and those of *de* Cerjat are still on the gateway.

In the entrance court, over a doorway, is the date 1642.



Château of Lutry: Entrance Gate

Above the wall one sees the top of the buildings next door, formerly a nunnery communicating with the château, then a priory. In these buildings they frequently hear noises in the château, indicating imperfectly closed communications between them. On this side of the court are loopholes, and there are also remains of such over the gateway.

On the first floor of the château is a corridor running east and west, with double-arched doorways. There is here a *salon*, with a handsome wooden ceiling in the style of the Renaissance, and above each door impanelled pictures, one representing Charles II. and his Queen. Other ancient oil paintings, found in the granary, now hang upon the walls.

The property in this century was owned by two brothers Crousaz, who made a mutual agreement not to alienate any part of their effects. One of them, however, broke his promise by bequeathing a small vineyard to his niece. This so enraged the survivor that he left his entire estate, including the château, to the town of Lutry.

The castle was filled with rarest old pictures and furniture, which were sold for a song through the ignorance of those who had the management.

On the second floor is another fine corridor, and a large lofty hall magnificently wainscoted. Here the Bernese authorities held their court just after the conquest. In Deyverdun's time this hall was hung with Gobelin tapestry, and the great judgment chair, with its sculptured ornaments reaching to the ceiling, still existed. At the death of the last proprietor this remarkable relic was sold for sixty francs.

The *salon* is at present divided into two, and the tapestry has disappeared; but the graceful windows, the noble ceiling and wainscoting remain.

The north-east front of the castle and its great tower are covered with ivy. The windows retain their ancient gratings, and a graceful vine creeps over them in all directions. From them one looks down into a deep sunken road, which was once the moat. A light bridge thrown across this chasm leads to the garden.

In the inner court over a door are the arms of Berne, with a date, 1551. On the eaves are displayed the arms of Crousaz,

with the year beneath, 1576. Two towers, connected by a covered gallery, command this court. On a doorway beneath is the date 1723; the stone stairs were repaired in 1728.

All the buildings between the castle and the church were doubtless dependencies, and connected the former with the latter, before the Reformation. Tradition says there was a subterranean way between the castle and the church. Entering the lowest part of the tower, and striking the ground with a cane, one hears a hollow reverberation.

In the stone corridor leading from this court under the castle is a massive door with solid hinges of iron finely worked in branches like a tree.

Jean Louis Deyverdun, by his marriage with Jeanne Françoise Crousaz, became Seigneur of Hermenches, one league to the south-west of Moudon.

From the papers which I found in La Grotte concerning the seignior of Hermenches, I have been enabled to obtain the following information. The castle was charmingly situated in the midst of gardens, hemp fields, orchards, meadows, lawns, and woods. Attached to it was a seigniorial right over the houses and the hemp fields of the village of Hermenches. The surrounding land alone yielded sufficient produce to fill 285 waggons.

Each chief of a family on the estate owed to his lord one day's mowing, and each woman a day of haymaking. From each field one sheaf in every crop was due.

The seignior was divided into farms with such names as La Planche, La Verraz, Flaissi, Meilleries dessus, Meilleries dessous, Foux, Freyveaud, and Pandex. Besides these, there were the fields of the Cross and of the Condamine.¹

In January 1726 preliminaries were entered into between Deyverdun, Seigneur of Hermenches, and Samuel de Constant, Baron de Rebecque, then a colonel in the service of the Estates-General of Holland—already mentioned as having saved Marlborough's life—for the sale of the seignior of Hermenches.² On March 19 of the same year possession

¹ *Etat du rapport de la Terre d'Hermenges (sic) fait par M. de Seigneux en 1724 et 1725.* (MS.)

² *Conditions préliminaires pour la vente d'Hermenches à M. le Colonel de Constant.* (MS. found at La Grotte by the author.)

seems to have been given to Colonel de Constant de Rebecque of the castle and entire domain, together with a folio-book of geometrical plans, containing five plans in ten sheets with numerous additions; and another book of old plans of all the villages and the territory, containing fifty-seven pages, besides an alphabetical index. There was also a large parchment, beautifully illuminated and engrossed, which contained the original exchange between their Excellencies of Berne and François Crousaz, Seigneur of Corsier, by which the latter had become Seigneur of Hermenches, May 4, 1641.¹

Jean Louis Deyverdun's wife was now dead, and Jean Louis de Seigneux appeared as legal guardian of the children, with the approval of their father and of their yet unmarried uncle, Samuel Deyverdun. In order to clear off one of the incumbrances, M. Deyverdun journeyed to Berne, where he paid over to their Excellencies the amount of a mortgage due to them out of moneys advanced by Colonel de Constant.

Another mortgage liquidated stood in the name of Deyverdun's cousin, Mlle. Charlotte Rolaz du Rosay.² Her mother was Jeanne Manlich, and her father was George Rolaz du Rosay, minister at Daillens, the Manlich seigniory. They afterwards removed to the château of Rosay, near Rolle, brought into their family in the seventeenth century by the marriage of Noble Guillaume Rolaz with Madeleine de Steiguer, daughter of the Baron of Rolle.³

The last of the Rolaz du Rosay family was so enraged at a portion of his property being taken for the railway, that when the first train was run he planted a great black flag with

¹ *Indice des Livres de Droits que M. Deyverdun d'Hermesches a remis à M. le Colonel de Constant, le 19 Mars 1726.* (MS. found at La Grotte by the author.)

² *Projet d'Acte envoyé à M. le Commissaire Général, le 1^{er} Février 1726.*

³ In 1536 a Seigneur of Rosa was a member of the Confraternity of the Spoon, and in consequence the castle was partially burned by the Bernese army when marching on Geneva. In a MS. genealogy of the Manlich family it is said that the banquet which originated this Confraternity took place in the Castle of Rosay. The memory of the Rolaz du Rosay family has recently been revived by several references to them contained in the interesting life of Albert Gallatin by Professor Henry Adams, from whence it appears that Albert Gallatin's mother, Sophie Albertine Rolaz du Rosay of Rolle, was a woman of talent and great energy, while her brother Alphonse was kind-hearted, generous, and popular.

golden tears on the balcony of his house, and promenaded there in sign of protestation.

The daughter of Noble Jean Louis Deyverdun, Suzanne Ursule Deyverdun, became the second wife of Jean Ulrich de Goll in 1740, and removed to Colmar; in one of her houses Voltaire resided during the winter of 1753-54. She is frequently mentioned in Voltaire's correspondence. Her husband died at Colmar in 1754, and she soon followed him to the tomb.

CHAPTER LIV

THE house immediately adjoining the Bugnion property on the Place of St. Francis was in 1705 occupied by M. Boizot, and a large mansion adjacent by the noble family of Manlich, descended from Melchior Manlich (born at Augsburg in 1499, as shown by a silver medal struck in his honour, with his portrait and his arms—a lion issuant).

Christopher, the son of Melchior, was received as *bourgeois* at Berne in 1570, and acquired some years afterwards the seignior of Daillens, three leagues north-west of Lausanne. A century later, the château, with its towers, dependencies, and forty subjects of the Seignior, are mentioned.

The village of Daillens is one of the most ancient of the Pays de Vaud, and is named in a donation to the Monastery of Baulmes by King Gontran, who reigned 572-593.

The Manlichs being thoroughly established in the Roman country, intermarried with the most ancient houses, such as the de Gingins, Barons of La Sarraz, the de Praromans, Seigniors of Cheire and La Molière, and the de Charrières, Seigniors of Mex.

Jean François, head of the family in the middle of the seventeenth century, and banneret at Lausanne, espoused the daughter of Nathanaël de Montherond, and afterwards Jeanne Française, daughter of Pierre de Loÿs, and widow of François de Seigneux.

His daughters by his first wife were Margaret, who married Daniel de Molin, Seignior of Montagny; Madeleine Louise,

who married a son of Gamaliel de Loÿs, Seignior of Correvon ; Anne, who married Nathanaël Deyverdun ; and Françoise, who married Vincent Sturler, of Berne, of the eminent and ancient family of that name.

The eldest son, Joseph François, who was also banneret and major at Lausanne, married his aunt, a daughter of Pierre de Loÿs—in other words, the sister of his father's second wife, the latter therefore being both his stepmother and his sister-in-law. The second son, who was in the service of France, and fell at the battle of Ramillies, May 23, 1706, died unmarried ; and the third, though twice married, left no issue.¹

Their eldest sister, Jeanne, as already mentioned, became the wife of George Rolaz du Rosay, minister at Dailens ; and their second sister married François Crousaz, Seignior of Corsier.

Nicholas, brother of Jean François, inherited the seigniorship of Bettens, not far from Dailens, from his father. By his second wife, a daughter of Jean Polier, he had a numerous family : Christopher, in the French guards, killed in France ; Paul, lieutenant of grenadiers and aid-major of the Swiss guard, who, like his cousin, fell at Ramillies ; Louis, treasurer of and captain of his brother's Bettens regiment, who died at Girone ; Jean Marc, major in the regiment of de Chandieu de Villars, killed at the siege of Landau ; and George, the eldest son, who became seignior of Bettens and brigadier in France, was wounded at the battles of Steinkirk, Neerwinden, and Ramillies, and distinguished himself in 1714 in the assault upon Barcelona, where, though sick unto death, he had himself carried into the breach. George had an only child, Angélique, who married David de Saussure, Baron de Berchier (1725), and carried the seigniorship of Bettens into that family. There is a tablet to his memory in the Church of St. Francis with a long Latin inscription, with his arms and trophies.

The other well-known names in St. Francis Street were those of Bourgeois and of Bergier, and near the gates were the stables of Nathanaël Deyverdun. In passing down the street there was the property of Professor George Polier next to the old town-house, whose gardens were bordered on the west by the city wall and on the north by the Flon. He was the uncle

¹ *Genealogy of the Manlich Family.* (MS.)

of Voltaire's friend, and the father of Polier de St. Germain, in his later life Burgomaster of Lausanne and correspondent of Gibbon.

A year or two later, in 1708, the younger Turretini, during a short stay at Lausanne, visited his friends Bergier, de Crousaz, Barbeyrac, and George de Polier. We can imagine the pleasure with which these eminent men welcomed Turretini, who at that time figured by the side of Grotius, Paley, Fénelon, Abbadie, Jaquelot, and Bonnet. The following maxim of Turretini deserves passing mention: 'As far as regards the matter of salvation, we ought to act as if it depended altogether upon us, and to pray and to render thanks as if nothing depended upon us.'¹

Other notable families in this street were the Vullyamoz, the Bourgeois, and the de Prayes (allied to the de Loÿs).

On the north side of the Rue de Bourg was the residence of M. Polier de Bretigny, allied to the de Montagnys and de Treytorrens, whose son, seignior of Goumoëns, married his relative, Charlotte de Loÿs, the sister of M. de Warens, whose mother was a Polier. He had also large gardens in the Rue de St. Pierre.

This house, which is now numbered 8, was subsequently occupied by MM. Loÿs de Bochat, father and son. The father eighteen years afterwards was living nearly opposite, under the name of de Loÿs, seignior of Vennes.

On the same side, towards the east, were the inns called the 'Golden Lion' and the 'Bear.' Beyond was the house of M. de Saussure, seignior of Vernand, a seigniory a little more than an hour's distance from Lausanne to the north, which included a noble forest formerly called *le bois de Lance*, still a possession of the family.

George de Saussure, Seignior of Vernand in 1706, was the father of Jean Louis, first Baron de Berchier, and great-grandfather of Gibbon's correspondent.²

The Vullyamoz possessed two houses on this side of the Rue de Bourg and the family of de Rolaz one. Isaac Grand, ancestor of the present Colonel Paul Grand of Lausanne, and of the

¹ E. de Budé, *Vie de J. A. Turretini*, pp. 65-80.

² *Genealogy of the de Saussure Family*. (MS.)

branch of Grand d'Hauteville, owned a house on the other side, at the corner of the Place of St. Francis. He had married Susan Vullyamoz, and belonged to the Council of the Two Hundred.¹

Next came the de Chandieu mansion, occupied in 1706 by Charles, Baron de Chandieu, Seigneur of Chabottes in Maconnais, and of Villars, l'Isle, &c., in Switzerland, knight and lieutenant-general of the King's army. The adjoining property belonged to the Manlichs and the de Pluvianes. The next house was occupied by de Praroman, Seigneur of Renens, a noble house, taking its origin from the village of Praroman, in the Canton of Freiburg.

The Seigniory of Renens was situated three miles to the north-west of Lausanne, in a fertile territory. It derived its name and origin from a Germanic tribe—the Runingi, who, after the destruction of ancient Lausanne, established itself on the site of the old Roman city. This was before the translation of the seat of the bishopric to Lausanne.

In 896, Count Gerlandus and his wife, Ayroara, gave to the church of Lausanne five domains at the end of the Runingues, near the village of Runingis. As early as 963 the Chapel of St. Saviour in this place received substantial gifts, and the property which the Lausanne church possessed here and in the neighbourhood formed a prebend of the chapter. The Knights of Rugnens took their name from this territory, which they held from the chapter. After the Reformation the Bernese Government erected Renens into a Seigniory in favour of Claude de Praroman, Canon of Lausanne.

The de Praromans go back to the twelfth century, and are amongst the greatest benefactors of the Abbey of Hauterive. Seven of them were advoyers of Freiburg, and ten were present at the battle of Morat.² The Vaudois branch, established at Lausanne in 1431, became extinct in the middle of the last century. The Freiburg branch died out in 1868. On this occasion the silver bell belonging to the family, which was rung

¹ *MS. Cadastre of Lausanne*, 1722; also Letter of M. Jules Piccard to the author, January 8, 1880.

² *Chronique Fribourgeoise du XVII^e Siècle*, par Héliodore Remy de Bertigny (1852), p. 125.

in their chapel whenever a member of it died, sounded for the last time.

The castle and domain became, towards the end of the last century, the property of the family of Doxat, who sold them in 1865 to M. Sandoz, of Neuchâtel.

Within the Seigniory of Renens-sur-Roche there is the fine house occupied by M. Mercier, the son-in-law of M. Bugnion, of Lausanne. Some time ago, the proprietor of this property desired to enlarge his principal drawing-room, when he was informed by the architect that the moisture had so affected the foundations of his house that it would be necessary to make a cellar underneath, so that a current of air might freely pass. In the course of the excavations there were found immediately under the drawing-room three skeletons in a monumental tomb.¹

CHAPTER LV

THE mansion of Sebastian de Charrière, Seignior of Sévery, next claims our attention on the south side of the Rue de Bourg.

He married a daughter of the noble house of Gruyère, and his son was at this time (1705) about thirty years of age, whose daughter, born in 1703, married Professor de Molin, Seignior of Valeyres, and became the mother of the two Colonels de Molin de Montagny, to one of whom Deyverdun left La Grotte, and whose descendants in the female line, the Greniers, now occupy it.

Samuel de Charrière de Sévery, born a year before his sister—in 1702—became Seignior of Mex and afterwards of Sévery, but died without children, and was succeeded by his brother Frederick, who was the father of Solomon. The latter was born

¹ This discovery reminds me of another which occurred in a family known to me in early life, relating to a kneading-trough in which the family bread had been prepared for two centuries. The marble slab was of a peculiarly fine texture; the trough was considered an heirloom, and handed over to each generation of the family with due solemnity. That their interest in it was not over-estimated was proved by the fact that when on one occasion its framework required repairs, the workmen discovered on the other side a glowing epitaph of a remote ancestor of the family, and it was eventually found that this was in reality his gravestone.

in 1724, became Seigneur of Sévery and privy councillor at the Court of Hesse-Cassel, and married (1766) Catherine Louise Jacqueline, daughter of Benjamin de Chandieu. These were intimate friends of Gibbon, and their son was his partial heir—also Seigneur of Sévery, and the grandfather of the present M. William de Charrière de Sévery of Mex.¹

The next mansion was that of Jean Louis de Saussure, who was made first Baron de Berchier after the battle of Villmergen, in 1712, and became Seigneur of Bavois by purchase. He was grand-uncle of Victor de Saussure, Gibbon's friend and correspondent, who was the son of his brother André, living at this time above in the Cité.

His eldest son David, Lieutenant-General and second Baron de Berchier, married Marianne de Chandieu, and his second son, called M. de Fey, became Seigneur of Bavois, and married Jeanne de Loÿs. His daughter married Colonel Samuel de Constant de Rebecque, of the French service.

This family also intermarried with the Poliers, the Hugonins of Vevey, the Gaudards, and the Bergiers.²

De Saussure's next neighbour was Jean Daniel de Crousaz, son of the burgomaster, who was major in the regiment of his grandfather Abraham, and in 1712 commanded the vanguard in the battle of Bremgarten. During the siege of Baden he contrived to enter that town and bring about its surrender. In 1723 he discovered the dangerous project of Major Davel, who was arrested in his house. For his services he received from the Government of Berne two hundred golden louis, and became Lieutenant Ballival and Comptroller-General of Lausanne.

Two doors away lived Jean Jacques Polier, Seigneur of Bettens and Banneret of Bourg, the father of Voltaire's friend, the doyen Polier de Bettens. By his wife, Etienne Quisard, of Nyon, he had twenty-three children.³

Adjoining lived Etienne Benigne de Polier (first cousin of the doyen), Seigneur of Vernand and Councillor of Lausanne. His sister was the wife of M. de Loÿs de Villardin, and consequently the stepmother of M. de Loÿs de Warens. His aunt,

¹ *Genealogical Tree of the de Charrière Family.* (MS.)

² *Notice on the de Crousaz Family.* (MS.)

³ *Genealogical Tree of the Polier Family.* (MS.)

Susan, had married Sebastian de Loÿs, the owner of La Grotte in the preceding generation. His father had been Professor of Philosophy, Minister at Lausanne, and Professor of Theology. One of his aunts, Anne, married François de Treytorrens, the officer of Gustavus Adolphus.

The Seignior of Vernand had been acquired in 1602 by Noble Jacques de Polier. It had previously belonged to Gabriel de Blonay, Baron of Châtelard, and Philippe de Cerjat, Seignior of Denezy.

We now reach the abode of MM. de Loÿs, Seigniors of Cheseaux. One of them, Louis Etienne, was banneret at Lausanne, and another, Ferdinand, was lieutenant in France as early as 1672.

Jeanne Judith de Loÿs, sister of Jean Louis de Loÿs de Villardin, and aunt of M. de Warens, had married Jean Philippe de Loÿs, Seignior of Cheseaux, who became burgomaster in 1684, and died in 1702. His brother Elie, born in 1645, became Seignior of BousSENS and captain of cavalry in France, and was father of the two young ladies already mentioned as being educated under the auspices of Louis XIV. at St. Cyr.

Charlotte, the daughter of Jean Philippe de Loÿs, Seignior of Cheseaux, married Jacques Ribot, Seignior de Lignon, whom Gaullieur mentions in connection with de Loÿs de Bochat; and she was consequently the aunt of the two distinguished mathematicians and economists, Jean Philippe and Charles de Loÿs de Cheseaux.

The Seignior of Cheseaux came into the family of de Loÿs by the intermarriage of Ferdinand de Loÿs, Seignior of Prilly, with Claude Champion, whose family had inherited it from the de la Sarraz. As early as 1475 the Castle of Cheseaux shared the fate of that of la Sarraz—it was pillaged and burned.

It is a notable fact that this seignior originally belonged to a family of knights of that name. Mermet de Loÿs married Noble Nicolette de Cheseaux, the last of her family, from whom descend all the de Loÿs of Switzerland and of France.

Their son Arthand, Syndic of Lausanne in 1447, in his will recommended his sons to hold together, in order that their house might not fall asunder and perish; and to this end he instructed them always to honour the eldest of the family. He

desired to be interred in the cloister of the Cathedral of Lausanne, in the tomb of his predecessors, before the altar of God.¹

It appears that cloisters formerly existed on the north-west side of the cathedral, some of which remained in the last century, although part of the site was occupied as a cemetery. Here was a small mortuary chapel belonging to the de Montherands, and next to it a more spacious one, owned by the de Loÿs family. This is the tomb to which Arthaud de Loÿs refers in his will. Bergier mentions this chapel as existing in 1763.

There was another tomb within the cathedral itself, near the rose window, and on this spot at the same date a great block of black marble, whereon were engraved the de Loÿs' arms with this device: 'Sub umbra alarum tuarum protege me, Domine.' This was the monument of Noble Etienne de Loÿs, Seigneur of Denens, brother of the ambassador Noé de Loÿs, who died in 1613-14.²

Jeannin de Loÿs, son of Arthaud, was Syndic of Lausanne in the time of the consolidation of the two towns, and he appeared with the rest of the nobles in the Assembly of the Estates of Vaud in 1518. In his will, made in his house in the Rue de la Cité, he directed that his body should be borne to the Church of St. Francis, and interred in the Chapel of Notre Dame de la Consolation, in the tomb of his ancestors.

Isaac de Loÿs, Seigneur of Bochat, cousin of Jean Rodolphe de Loÿs de Marnand, owned the next property. He was now about forty-two years of age, and the proprietor of La Grotte. He was the father of de Loÿs de Bochat, the historian, who afterwards lived and died in La Grotte. He married, first, Elizabeth, daughter of Jean Philippe de Loÿs, Seigneur of Villardin, and aunt of M. de Loÿs de Warens; and, secondly, the widow of M. de Buren, some of whose descendants are mentioned in the will of his son, de Loÿs de Bochat. His brother Samuel, Seigneur of Vennes, married the Baroness Kettler in Pomerania.

Isaac de Loÿs, in the marriage settlement of his son de Loÿs de Bochat, dated August 23, 1723, promised, instead of a *dot*,

¹ Archives of the de Loÿs family in the possession of the Marquis de Loÿs, Chandieu (MS.).

² Bergier's MSS.

to lodge the young couple in his house. He shortly afterwards presented the Seignior of Bochat to his son, and when that son made his will (1730) he committed the care of his father to his sister, Noble Etienne de Loÿs, whom he named as his heiress.

Outside the gate of St. Francis, at the corner of the Derrière Bourg, on the right going to Ouchy, were gardens of the Banneret Polier de Bottens. Adjoining to the south were the vineyards of M. de Rosset and of M. de Polier, Seignior of Vernand; and on the road to Ouchy itself were the gardens of the families of Grand, Praye, Vullyamoz, Pluviane, Deyverdu, and de Chandieu. The eastern part of the Derrière Bourg contained vineyards belonging to their Excellencies and to MM. Cheseaux.

Beyond the Rue de Bourg, outside St. Peter's Gate, lay the faubourgs of Martheray and d'Etraz, mostly owned by small proprietors; but in the Rue du Faubourg, now Rue d'Etraz, near the present fountain, there was a large property, part of the tithe leased to M. Gaudard, and sublet to various small cultivators, and partly to the Vullyamoz family, who there had a garden, vine, and hemp field. Next above were the meadows and vineyards of the Bergier family.

The property, which afterwards became historical under the name of Mon Repos during the sojourn of Voltaire at Lausanne, was at this time cut up into small holdings.

CHAPTER LVI

QUITTING now the great Rue de Bourg, we ascend to the Cité above, formerly the residence of the bishops, and now the abiding place of the representatives of Berne.

On entering beneath the massive portal of St. Maire, one came at this time to the guard-house of the château and the granary of their Excellencies of Berne, occupying the remains of the ancient Church of St. Maire.

Advancing towards the south, one had on his right hand the château amid its gardens and dependencies, and surrounded by high walls. This was the seat of the Bernese Bailiff or Viceroy,



Château at Lausanne: with Gate and Church of St. Mair, demolished in 1890

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who held his court and ruled his subjects with as much ceremony and dignity as the governor of many a larger kingdom.

Noble Sigismond de Steiguer had held this post for five years, and had given way in 1707 to Noble Jacques de Sinner,¹ the author of two folio manuscript volumes still in the library at Berne, entitled 'Bernese Regiments and Contingents,' the first volume treating of the troops of the German portion of the canton, the second of those of the Pays de Vaud. De Sinner held this high office until 1713, and after occupying other eminent posts died in 1758, at the age of ninety-two.²

In advancing from the castle towards the cathedral, the first building of importance before reaching the college was the residence of the Burgomaster, Noble David de Crousaz, who had been elected to that office in 1702 in succession to Noble Jean Philippe de Loys, and was destined to hold it for thirty-one years, as his friend and successor, Noble Jean Samuel de Seigneux, was called to fill it for the still longer term of thirty-three years.

Besides this important mansion and its outlying offices, the Burgomaster was the owner of other buildings, and of a large pleasure-ground divided into gardens, lawns, and orchards, running along the back of the château and college. This part of his property extended to the Chemin de la Madeleine, now called the Chemin Neuf; and underneath the northern part ran the secret passage from the castle by which Bishop de Montfaucon had made his escape when the Bernese took possession, more than a century and a half before.

David de Crousaz was the son of Abraham, who had been Lieutenant Ballival and Châtelain of the Chapter, colonel of a regiment of fusileers, and Seigneur of St. George, and who (1710) was buried in the choir of the cathedral beneath a massive monument. He was Seigneur of Mézery, and the grandfather of Rodolphe de Crousaz, also Seigneur of Mézery, whom Gibbon mentions at length in his memoirs, and with whom he resided from May 1763 to April 1764, at Lausanne and at Mézery. He married the daughter of Noble Benjamin de Rosset, Seigneur of Pully, whose family papers I found in La Grotte. He was brother of

¹ MSS. of the Bernese Library.

² *Prodromus einer schweizerischen Historiographie*, by M. le Comte de Mülinen, p. 135.

the celebrated Jean Pierre de Crousaz, the friend of Voltaire, to whom Gibbon confesses he owed his early knowledge of philosophy. In 1711 Jean Pierre was living in a fine house in the rear of the Bishop's palace, beyond the cathedral, was Counsellor of Embassy to the King of Sardinia, Governor of Prince Frederick of Hesse-Cassel, and member of the Royal Academy of Sciences of Paris.

The college now comes into view with its grand outlines. Its vast site was once occupied by numerous houses, which were purchased by Berne and consecrated to the purposes of education. The foundations of the edifice were laid in 1579, but it was not completed until 1587, when the first classes met within its walls. In 1628 a school of theology was established in the right wing, and also a library. Thirty years later, the latter was converted into a hall for the professor in philosophy. The beautiful lime trees which now adorn the court of the college were planted in 1711. In that year, M. Verrey, Councillor and Inspector of Public Buildings, planted five lime trees, which the Academical Register says replaced the great elm planted by the celebrated Scapula, who held the office of Greek Professor at Lausanne at the time of his death in 1579.¹

The earliest traces of collegiate life at Lausanne are found in the lectures given in private houses by the professors. The Professor of Philosophy, for instance, taught in the vestibule of the canons' house in the eastern part of Cité Dessus. The library and the college were later placed in the Château of Menthon, nearly destroyed by fire in 1587; but the fundamental instruction—Theology—was originally given in the choir of the cathedral.

Berne showed herself a too anxious guardian of Calvinism. For instance, as late as 1698, some students accused of Arminianism, having refused to sign the Consensus, were banished from the country, and the Bailiff ordered to arrest them if they returned to Lausanne.

The signing of the formula was now considered an insufficient guarantee, and the authorities resorted to the oath. On December 28, 1699, the Bailiff solemnly convoked the Academy, the pastors of Lausanne and its environs, and the other digni-

¹ Gindroz, pp. 32, 420.

taries, and directed his secretary to read the form of the new oath to be imposed upon all, swearing all those admitted to the holy ministry, as also all the professors and regents of schools in the towns of the Pays de Vaud, 'to maintain and defend the holy evangelical reformed religion and the divine faith as they have been introduced by our sovereign seigniors of the city and canton of Vaud, and as contained in the Helvetic Confession, and to oppose in every possible manner every doctrine contrary to the said religion, such as Pietism, Socinianism, and Arminianism, without in the slightest degree suffering or favouring in this respect the persons who are infected by such doctrines, so help me God.'

This oath, called the Oath of Association, had, says M. Gindroz, more of a political than a religious origin. Pietism made such progress at Berne that it threatened to invade both Church and State. The dominant clergy were alarmed, and undertook to arrest its course. It was necessary in the first place to prevent the access of the new sect to power, and for this purpose a Chamber of Religion was constituted—a tribunal of inquisition on a small footing, but with great power. This body proceeded in its work without delay. A great number of suspected persons were brought before it, and destitution, exile, civil interdiction, privation of parental rights over the education of children, and a variety of other penalties were showered on the unfortunate people, but without the desired effect. As a further safeguard, this Chamber of Religion invented the further condition that candidates for office should promise under oath to oppose Pietism. To refuse this oath was to exclude one's self from the candidature.

This obligation was translated into French for use in the Pays de Vaud, with the substitution of more precise, narrow, and severe terms. To Pietism and Socinianism was added Arminianism. Such was the origin of the oath which the Bailiff intimated by order of their Excellencies was to be exacted. This form was duly adopted and followed, and nobody refused to sign the Consensus or to take the oath.

These conditions of admission to the evangelical ministry continued until 1712. No difficulty, in fact, arrested the inscription of names. The rector, without consulting the

Academy, according to Grindroz, admitted many signatures with certain variations of form. We shall have occasion to refer, in connection with the celebrated Barbeyrac, to the sudden change which took place in these matters.

At the time of M. de Warens' temporary sojourn at Lausanne there were no means of heating the class-rooms, and the students found them so cold in winter that they were unable to study there. It was not until 1727 that stoves were introduced. In the early part of the last century the people had not yet been rendered effeminate by the luxuries of a later age.

Many of the poorer class of students who frequented the college came from the country and the villages. They were sent by parents who, in their desire to open to them the career of the ministry, were willing to expose themselves to the greatest privations; and even with the utmost effort they were unable to afford them other food than vegetables and wheat.

The students lived in hired rooms in the Cité, and generally took their repasts together in certain households, where the provisions furnished by them uncooked were prepared and served to them. Each one took his bread from the baker, and the head of the house levied upon the supplies furnished by his clients. Those who submitted to this *régime* were called *archers*, in order to distinguish them from the ordinary pensioners. The etymology of this word is unknown.

Deprived of the comforts and restraints of family life, and those relations of life which hold men in check, the students lived among themselves a somewhat rude life. Given to practical joking, like all young men abandoned to themselves, they often offered battle to the watch and guardians of the city who attempted to take exception to their tumultuous cries during the night. Notwithstanding these occasional escapades, their general standard of conduct was high, and the senate of the students was particularly severe upon all actions which implied a lack of personal honour.

The Church, the Bar, and the upper Magistracy were recruited from the Academy or College—for it is called indiscriminately by the one or the other name—and this institution elevated the moral sense of the population, and made Vaudois society one of the most high-minded in Europe.

CHAPTER LVII

THE influx of French refugees, as already remarked with regard to the higher classes, had an effect upon the primitive *laissez aller* of the Lausanne lower classes. The labourers were becoming economical and steady men, who gradually augmented their property and considered the well-being of their families.

The love of pleasure and dissipation had always been prevalent in episcopal Lausanne. Under the Bishops the people seized every occasion to banquet and amuse themselves. Weddings were held in the public hostelries, and it was the custom for friends as well as relatives to offer presents to the pair. When a rich person was married, hundreds attended the ceremony. Minstrels hastened thither, and the dancing lasted until after dawn. This usage, involving considerable expense and other inconveniences, attracted the attention of the new masters; and their Excellencies of Berne sought to reform what they considered an abuse. Accordingly, four years after their entry into possession, in 1540, they forbade more than fifty or sixty invitations to a marriage, and no one was to come without invitation, nor to offer presents, although he might pay his share of expenses attending the festivities. If dancing took place, each man was fined two florins, and each woman one.

Bernese ideas may be thus summed up: Immorality, drunkenness, banquets at baptisms and funerals, tobacco, pride, and dancing, are forbidden.

The Bailiffs resided in their châteaux, held their courts, and even had their poets. They administered the country, says Vulliemin, like a farm. They had the privilege of selling wine wholesale, while the Vaudois themselves were not permitted to employ casks of large size. The solicitude of their Excellencies went even so far as to root out vineyards planted in unfavourable positions.

The subjects, excluded from active employ, devoted themselves more and more to frivolous distractions. The noble-men endeavoured to surpass the *bourgeois*, and the *bourgeois*

attempted to equal the noble. The country, in consequence, soon found itself without money, and the ruined peasant became prey of the recruiting sergeant.

Berne, from the beginning of its rule, sought to suppress this military tendency. But, above all, it desired to arrest luxury. There were ordinances which determined even what kind of stuff or cloth each class of society might wear. The nobles alone might employ cloth of gold, brocades, collars in point-lace, and shoes ornamented with buckles. The burgesses were forbidden capes worth more than ten crowns, or false hair, or more than one robe and one petticoat. The length of the wig was regulated, as well as the extent to which the female bosom should be displayed.

There was an incessant struggle between the Government and the fashion. The aim of the legislators was not only to maintain the privileges of the upper classes, but also to restrain domestic manners within what they considered righteous bounds. Officers were created whose duty it was to prevent the use of tobacco. The Bailiff considered himself the sole exception to this law; and we are told by Vulliemin that on one occasion when during the sermon a magistrate rapped his snuff-box, the preacher announced to his Excellency: '*On ne prise ici que la parole de Dieu.*'

Under influence of the French element already alluded to, society began to assume a less feverish form. Lines were clearly drawn between the classes, but at public festivities there was innocent intermingling. This had its occasional drawbacks: a certain Bailiff of Nyon, who had taken part in a national dance with his son, was astonished to hear a sturdy charwoman, who separated them, suddenly break out in a powerful voice:

Dansons, dansons.
D'une main je tiens l'âne et de l'autre l'ânon;

and it was with difficulty that he was made to understand that these were words of an old song, and without personal significance.

Sometimes the measure changed into a *farandole*, and the joyous circle winding in and out beneath the arms of a dancer

finally broke into a run and dispersed itself in meadow, field, or wood, engulfing age and infancy in its course.

Haymaking, harvesting, and vintaging were carried on amidst merry songs. The rustic ballad begun at Lausanne continued its refrain from vineyard to vineyard as far as Vevey. The strangers who flocked to this happy country were carried away by the gaiety and sociability of the people, combined with the beauty of their surroundings and simplicity and ease of their daily life.

That the neighbourhood around Lausanne was, however, not altogether safe at the end of the seventeenth century, appears from the experience of one of the college students, Abraham Ruchat, whose unpublished manuscript I found in La Grotte. He nearly fell a victim to the brigands of the Jorat. This historian was born at Grandcour, and in infancy his nurse was a woman of the neighbourhood of Carouges. In July 1696 Ruchat passed his examination at Lausanne, and, after being entered as a student in philosophy, hastened to take advantage of the vacation. Setting out to visit relatives at Moudon, he reached the Jorat in the midst of a tempest, drenched, and hastened to the house of his old nurse, with whom he had always been on best terms. Notwithstanding his warm welcome, he noticed embarrassment in the woman's manner, which increased when Ruchat requested shelter for the night. After hesitation she cried out that she was the most unhappy woman in the world; that her husband, formerly a hard-working man, was now associated with a band of brigands, and would that night enter with his evil companions and Ruchat would be in danger. She then led him into a little room next the kitchen, bidding him feign sleep, no matter what happened, and she would watch over him. The husband having returned with some of his band, she made him understand by signs that she had given shelter to a stranger, and they must not awaken him. But the other robbers caught the signs, and began to say between themselves, 'We are lost if we do not get rid of this fellow.' They determined to see whether the youth was asleep or awake. The woman, having made them promise not to injure him, permitted them to enter the room. With dark lantern and bare feet the brigands crept towards

Ruchat, and one, to ascertain whether his slumber was real, pretended to be about to strike a knife into the youth, who, nevertheless, did not change a muscle. This self-control saved his life. In return for this service of his old nurse he promised to reveal nothing, and kept his word. The husband having, as Martignier states, perished on the wheel at Vidy (1702), and his wife dying shortly after, Ruchat felt himself released, and told the story.

The gang consisted of thirty or forty individuals who met in a wood near Vucherens on fixed nights. There each recounted his crimes, and the spoils were shared. All swore by the devil and by *le chancre* never to abandon one another. They then divided themselves into three bands: one lay in wait on the route from Moudon to Lausanne, the second had its rendezvous near St. Catherine, and the third betook itself towards Romont and Freiburg. They assassinated for the smallest profit. The share of each man was frequently not more than from fifty centimes to a franc. The Bernese authorities were so overwhelmed by the neighbourhood of such scoundrels that they took steps to change the character of the sparse population in the vicinity of the Jorat. Their first movement was to pray Jean Pierre de Loÿs, the son of Noble Gamaliel de Loÿs, Seigneur of Correvon, and maternal uncle of George Deyverdun, to take charge of the Church of Savigny.

This eminent native of Lausanne had served as camp chaplain in France and Flanders. His pious and energetic memory is still maintained in the parish where he laboured so long and successfully. He is said to have exercised superintendence over all the houses of bad fame in his district. In the evening, and even in the night, he was accustomed to go and knock upon the windows, and call to the men of the house. As they could not understand French, in going his rounds he used the *patois* words: 'Hé, Djan-Pierro, es-to quie?' When he heard the voice of Jean, Pierre, or Isaac in reply, he would pass on to another house to fulfil the same duty.

In the course of one of these excursions, when he had entered into a certain dwelling to make his inspection, he found only a young boy in the kitchen. Questioned as to the whereabouts of his father, the child replied that he had just gone out

with two other men, who came to seek him, to lie in wait. Immediately the pastor, having ascertained the direction taken by these men, succeeded in coming up with them, and in bringing them back with him, after a serious exhortation.

This excellent man would never have succeeded in his work had he not been upheld by the arm of the Government. At this time the parish had no authorities, for the peasants would not pay the expense. Upon the representations of M. de Loÿs, the Bernese, therefore, established four regents in the parish—one at Savigny, the others at Martinet, Cornes-de-Cerf, and Grenet. These regents were the best paid in the country. Their pensions were often more considerable than those of many pastors. By such measures civilisation gradually penetrated into these isolated dwellings, scattered on the heights of Lutry and La Villette. The lands were better cultivated, extreme poverty disappeared, and it is now almost a century since any travellers have been robbed on the Jorat route.

Between October 2, 1702, and April 30, 1703, twenty-eight malefactors belonging to villages around Lausanne were broken on the wheel and burnt alive at Vidy. Plantin gives the following idea of one of these terrible scenes:

‘Etienne T—— was burnt alive because he would not confess to being a brigand, but simply to having intended to poison his sister-in-law—poison which caused the death of his mother-in-law, but by accident. Being in the midst of the most frightful flames, God willed that he should remain there so long that the greater portion of his members were consumed and roasted, and his hands were so calcined that the bones were as white as if they had remained for hours in the fire. Having succeeded, however, in spite of the resistance of the executioner, who repulsed him with a great pole, in throwing himself outside of the fire, and being come forth entirely monstrous and horrible as he was, with all his members consumed, he cried out to me that he finally recognised the justice of his torture, that he demanded pardon of God and of the authorities, and that he prayed to be knocked on the head before being thrown back into the fire. Which the noble Justice accorded, and he was then reduced to cinders.’¹

¹ Plantin MS.

The Pastor Buffat in 1704 seizes the opportunity to say that Monseigneur Sigismond de Steigner, then Bailiff, was not present either at the condemnation or the execution. This duty fell to the Colonel or Lieutenant Ballival in behalf of their Excellencies of Berne, to the ordinary judge on behalf of the city of Lausanne, and to the seignior banneret of the Cité representing the bishopric.

CHAPTER LVIII

AMONG the students at college in 1705-6 was Noble Frederick de Treytorrens, subsequently celebrated as Gibbon's professor and the employer of Jean Jacques Rousseau's musical talents.¹ He was born in the same year as M. de Loÿs de Warens, at Yverdon, where his father held an important official position.

I have already had occasion to refer to the antiquity and eminence of his family. One of his aunts, Margaret, married Humber de Clavel, of Cully, father of Clavel de Brenles, the eulogist of de Loÿs de Bochat and friend of Voltaire. His aunt Judith was the wife of François Nicholas, Councillor and Lieutenant Advoyer of Berne, and afterwards Advoyer of Payerne.

Frederick de Treytorrens had a brother, Emanuel, Councillor of Yverdon, and later Military Professor of Mathematics in Piedmont with the rank of captain. He himself was appointed Professor of Philosophy at Lausanne, in 1726, in the place of Jean Pierre de Crousaz (resigned), and occupied this post until his death. He married one of the Bergier family.²

¹ Everyone is familiar with Rousseau's account of his attempt to raise money at Lausanne by giving lessons in music and singing, and how, taking the hint from another adventurer, he made the anagram of the name of Rousseau, turning it into Vaussore, and, adding to it Villeneuve, became the Noble Vaussore de Villeneuve.

It was easy to change his name, but difficult to change his ignorance into knowledge. He went about boasting not only of his talents as a performer, but of his genius as a composer. Having been presented to M. de Treytorrens, who loved music, and was in the habit of giving amateur concerts at his house, Rousseau, in his self-sufficiency, promised to compose a piece for his next entertainment. He carried his audacity so far that, during the fifteen days employed in producing his work, he distributed the parts with pride and assurance. The appointed evening brought the natural results. The charlatan was covered with ridicule.

² *Genealogy of the de Treytorrens Family*, prepared for the author by M. Jules F. Piccard. (MS.)

On the other side of the college grounds, though not within them, was the house of Jean Pierre Dapples, Professor of Greek and Ethics, 1703-7.

The summit of the great western tower of the cathedral and its bells having been injured by lightning on June 7, 1674, the tower was repaired and the bells recast. On one of them, says an unpublished manuscript of M. Bergier in the Berne Library, were the following Latin lines prepared by Professor Dapples :

Hos edo sine mente sonos sine voce fideles ;
 Accio quo tremulæ non datur ire mihi.
 Ætherio destructa alio restauror ab igne :
 Destruor igne poli, sed novor igne soli.¹

M. Dapples was a connection of de Treytorrens through his first marriage with Marie Bergier. By his second wife, Gabrielle, daughter of Abraham de Charrière, Seigneur of Penthaz, he was also connected with the families of de Saussure, de Loÿs, and de Charrière de Tuyl.

Among other children by his second marriage, he had Jean François, who succeeded to his professorship, and afterwards became the father of the celebrated Dr. Tissot's wife ; and Jacob Dapples, Doctor of Medicine, under whose auspices Tissot commenced practising at Lausanne. In the genealogy by M. Jules Piccard, former Commissary-General, the family is said to descend from Rodolphe d'Apples, or de Apples, Donzel of Vufflens, issue of a branch of the Sires de Mont. Its representative in the middle of the seventeenth century was also professor in the College of Lausanne ; and it has furnished a number of eminent men to the liberal professions and the public service.²

In the street running from the rear of the cathedral towards the castle, Rue Derrière de la Cité Dessus, there is a venerable house (No. 23) which is an interesting specimen of the solid mansions of bygone days.

In its gardens are tombstones of the Secretan family let into the terraced wall. The staircase is supported by stone columns, and lighted by large windows.

¹ *Description de Lausanne*, par Fred. Em. Rod. Ch. Bergier, p. 963 ; *MS. Hist. Helv.* viii. 208.

² *Genealogy of the Dapples Family.* (MS.)

It was occupied at this time by Jean Pierre Secretan, who was for some years Minister at Vevey, and is the root of the English and Canadian branches of the family, and from whom spring the present M. Henri Secretan, High Forester at Lausanne; Professor of Philosophy Charles Secretan; and the late Professor of Law Edward Secretan, author of an 'Essay on Feudalism.'¹

His brother Jean Philippe was the progenitor of the well-known author, the present Colonel Edouard Secretan, whose father was for many years pastor at the Hague, and whose grandfather was pastor at Vevey and afterwards Professor of Philosophy in the College of Lausanne. Colonel Secretan, like his kinswoman, Madame Paul Ceresole, *née* Secretan, wife of the ex-President of the Swiss Confederation, is twelfth in descent from Jacques Secretan, who was received as a *bourgeois* of Lausanne on October 26, 1552.

Another brother of Jean Pierre Secretan, Jean, the judge, was the father of Louis César Secretan, Lieutenant Fiscal, who married Françoise Deyverdun, paternal aunt of George Deyverdun, the owner of La Grotte. Louis César's father, Jean Secretan, born in 1661, was Judge at Gollion, and married Susanne Elizabeth Bally, who resided on the right bank of the Venoge at a spot romantic by name and tradition, Le Moulin d'Amour.

According to the legend, a Chevalier de Crousaz, who had taken part in the Crusades of the twelfth century, found upon

¹ 'Secretan paraît dériver de *sacrista*, *sacriste*, ou *sacristain*, possesseur, bénéficiaire, ou administrateur d'une sacristie.' The name is found in Acts of the Pays de Vaud in the years 922, 926, 928, and 968, under the following forms: *Sacrista*, *Sacristain*, *Sacristani*, *Sacristans*, *Secrestam*, *Sacristam*, *Secrestan*, *Secrestani*, *Secrestans*. In 1239 a *Sacrista* was canon of the chapter of Lausanne. In 1285 a Secretan was arbiter at Lausanne in a suit of the noble family of de Goumoëns. In 1474 a Secrestani was Syndic, or Burgomaster, of Lausanne. A branch exists in Canada since the middle of the last century, and has given its name to the village of Secretan, in the province of Assiniboine. The family has been allied with the most ancient houses of Vaud, such as de Loÿs, de Goumoëns, de la Molière, de Molery, de Loës, Clavel de Branles, de Treytorrens, Constant de Bebecque, Carrard, d'Apples, de Palésieux, Vullymoz, and Deyverdun. It embraced with warmth, at the end of the last century, the cause of Vaudois independence in its struggle against Berne. Philippe Secretan (1756-1826) was a member of the Helvetic Directory with General F. C. La Harpe, and fell with him. Louis Secretan (1758-1839) was deputed to the Helvetic Diet, and later Landamman of the Canton of Vaud. They were followed in the nineteenth century by many other distinguished members. (Information furnished to the author by Colonel Edouard Secretan.)

his return that his only son had married the daughter of the miller of Gollion. Filled with sorrow, he became a Knight of the Order of St. John, to which community he gave his seignior of Crousaz; while the son took refuge with his father-in-law, whose mill thence received the name of Moulin d'Amour—'Mill of Love.'

George Baptiste Secretan, Commissary Banneret of the Cité, lived on the other side of the same street.

The vigorous Secretan family has two marked characteristics—the great preponderance of males in each generation, and absence of the commercial spirit. Its history at Lausanne begins with the acquisition of the *bourgeoisie* by Jacques Secretan.

Since his time, for above three hundred years, it has furnished distinguished clergymen, professors, magistrates, and soldiers. In addition to being a family of physical force, it is remarkable for its intellectual powers. In the present generation there are thirty males, of whom not one is engaged in trade, but all active in liberal professions.

Both George Deyverdun and Samuel his father make frequent mention of the Secretan family in their unpublished journals.

Claude Secretan, the grandson of Jacques (I.), married Françoise de Loÿs. He was commissary and banneret of the Pont, and the ancestor of the foregoing. His younger brother, Nicholas, Seignior of Cheires and Naz, was Commissary, Councillor, Maisonneur, Judge, Boursier, and Banneret of the Cité. He married, in 1587, Noble Suzanne d'Arnay, and they both died of the plague on November 1, 1613.

The seignior of Naz lay three or four miles from Lausanne on the right of the road to Yverdon. In 1453 a portion of it belonged to Rodolphe Gavard, Canon of Lausanne.

The seignior of Cheires was in the Canton of Freiburg, on Lake Neuchâtel, two leagues from Yverdon, with fine vineyards and a superb view. The castle, which in 1704 was in possession of the family of Anselme of Yverdon, was purchased by the Government of Freiburg and made the seat of their bailiffs; and here, in 1778, was found a mosaic Roman pavement, representing Orpheus surrounded by the animals drawn by his lyre. The antiquity of these Roman relics was, however, put to the

blush by the vertebrae of a mammal subsequently found in a neighbouring quarry.

The noble family to which Madame Secretan belonged, although they took their name from the seigniory of Arnex-sur-Orbe, always signed d'Arnay (arms: argent, a cross sable). This family transported itself to Orbe after losing the seigniory of Arnex and the mayorie they had held from the beginning of the twelfth century. Antoine d'Arnay had filled the office of Châtelain and Maître d'Hôtel of Hugh de Challant, Seignior of Orbe, in 1450. In 1534, the d'Arnays were qualified as donzels of Orbe, and in the preceding year M. d'Arnay is mentioned as Châtelain of Orbe, Seignior of Montagny-la-Corbe, co-Seignior of Luxurier, of St. Martin-du-Chêne, and of Mollondin.

St. Martin was an ancient castle (of which there now remains only one tower) between Paquier and Mollondin, in Vaud, near Yverdon. Chêne was in the parish of Paquier, and occupied a charming situation.

The family of d'Arnay has since furnished a professor to the Academy of Lausanne, and many learned ministers to the Church.

Jean Secretan, the son of Nicholas Secretan and Suzanne d'Arnay his wife, was born in 1590, and was minister at Montreux. He had previously filled the office of deacon at Cully, where he married, August 11, 1614, Jeanne, daughter of Augustin de Constant de Rebecque. (This nobleman, flying from the persecutions of the Duke of Alva, resorted to Paris, and from thence to Geneva, where he received the *bourgeoisie* in 1570, and, coming to Lausanne, died in 1593.¹ He was the common ancestor of the distinguished family often named in this work.) Jean Secretan and Jeanne de Constant de Rebecque, his wife, were the ancestors of Professor Eugène Secretan, author of the '*Galerie Suisse*.'

The ample house and grounds of the first minister of Lausanne adjoined the premises of Jean Pierre Secretan. Jacobus Plantin filled this office and occupied this house from 1701 to 1714. He had been preceded by Gabriel Bergier, and was followed by Ludovicus Cæsar de Saussure, who held

¹ *Genealogy of the de Constant Family.* (MS.)

office twelve years, being succeeded by Abraham de Crousaz (1726-36), followed by Benjamin Rosset de Rochefort, who was succeeded by the famous Polier de Bottens in 1753, at the moment of Gibbon's arrival.

In the street opposite to the College there were fine houses belonging to the Secretan, Plantin, Dapples, and Allamand families.

Thomas Allamand was Regent of the College and father of François Louis Allamand, the friend of Gibbon, whose letters to Voltaire appear in this work. Jean Nicholas Sebastian Allamand, François' brother, and hardly less well-known, was successor of the distinguished natural philosopher S'Gravesande in the chair of physics in the University of Leyden.

Thomas Allamand had a large property near the residence of Jean Pierre Secretan, not far from the castle. Near by were the vast premises belonging to the Partaz family. Benjamin de Loÿs, Seigneur of Correvon, resided in a house facing the rear of the cathedral, in the midst of extensive grounds, next to the house in which M. Vuilleumier, the well-known minister, and father of the professor, now resides.

De Loÿs was the grandfather of M. de Seigneux de Correvon, the friend and correspondent of de Loÿs de Bochat, many of whose papers I found in La Grotte. His sister married Jean Philippe, brother of Samuel Deyverdun. We have already referred to the saintly labours of his brother Jean Pierre at Savigny. At the time of M. de Loÿs de Warens' arrival (1705) the old episcopal palace still retained its original proportions; but in the following year three towers and more than half the building were torn down to make way for part of the terrace, which, with its chestnut trees, extends to-day before the cathedral, and discovered for George Deyverdun admirable views of the city, lake, and Alps.

The criminal tribunal had been situated in this building, and the present linen storehouse was then the Chamber of Torture. The instruments of torture were employed, or at least preserved, until the Revolution of 1798. At that time the populace, says Blanchet, destroyed almost all of them, though some are in the municipal archives.

The remaining tower, fortified with machicoulis, still bears

on its north-west face the arms of the Bishop Guillaume de Challant, and there is a gate in ogival style by which one penetrates into the court. This tower dates from 1240, and in it is a vaulted chamber which appears to have been one of the chapels connected with the palace.

CHAPTER LIX

IN the Hospital Street, near St. Etienne Gate, stood (1706) the Arsenal, on the spot where before the Reformation the parochial church of St. Etienne was erected, and the Cantonal Hospital, founded in 1282, which had replaced an ancient chapel. Between these two important edifices was the locality whereon Gibbon afterwards lived. At this time this space was occupied by the hotel and gardens of M. de Loÿs, Seigneur of Marnand, who had another house on the opposite side of the street, beside the garden and house of the third minister of Lausanne. The Arsenal is replaced by the present German church, and the Hospital turned into an industrial school.

The Gate of St. Etienne has been already mentioned as the place where the Bishops, and afterwards the Bailiffs, took their oaths of office. It appears from Manuals of Lausanne quoted by M. Chavannes that the roof of this gate, which marked the limit between the Cité and the Lower Town, was in 1519 repaired, the wall re-whitened, and Etienne Capiot, painter, charged to decorate the whole with frescoes. This work was completed in 1520, when the statue of the Holy Virgin was replaced in the niche which it had occupied from time immemorial.

Opposite the Hospital stood the mansion belonging to Jean Rodolphe de Loÿs, Seigneur of Marnand, who married the daughter of Daniel Sturler, Baron of Belp, and Jeanne de Watteville. He was the cousin of de Loÿs de Bochat, the historian's father, and of M. de Loÿs de Warens' father.

The seigniorship of Marnand originally belonged to the Villarzel family. Etienne de Loÿs inherited from Georgea de Montricher, widow of Vuillelme de Villarzel, the co-seigniorships

of Marnand, of Middel, and of Trey; and, towards 1540, his descendants took the title of seigniors of Marnand. They retained it until 1708, when they sold the seigniorie to Jean Müller, Bourgeois of Berne. The castle, recently restored, dominates the village. In the last century the remains of a Roman aqueduct were discovered in the vicinity.

The original residence of the de Villarzels, from which they took their name, had a fortified château, where the Bishop sometimes resided. This was erected by Bishop Berthold, of Neuchâtel, about 1214. Bishop Boniface built the surrounding walls towards 1231. In 1316, under Bishop Girard de Vuipens, the château sustained a siege against Louis de Savoie, Seigneur of Vaud. It was ruined by the Freiburgeois in 1447.

The mayorie of Villarzel belonged to the noble family of that name, whose origin goes back to the thirteenth century, and who possessed likewise the metralie of Lucens, the seigniories of Delley and Portalban, and the co-seigniories of Bochat, Trey, Chatonnaye, Middel, Marnand, Sepey, and Bressonaz.

The seigniorie of Delley was in Freiburg, in the midst of a fertile country on a height above the Lake of Neuchâtel. It is now a country-seat, whose beautiful promenades command a superb view. Portalban is now a busy port on the lake opposite Neuchâtel. In 1695, the lake being frozen over, three inhabitants of Neuchâtel crossed to Portalban and back on foot. Châtelard and Chatonnaye are also in Freiburg, the latter close to the Vandois frontier. The de Villarzels' motto was 'Rien sans raison,' and their attribute 'frankness.' The de Loÿs family are to-day their sole representatives.

At twenty-six years of age, Jean Rodolphe de Loÿs, if we may believe his portrait, was singularly handsome. A round, rich-complexioned face, a Roman nose, brown eyes shadowed by thick eyebrows, a small brown moustache curled up at the ends, a short upper lip, a small smiling mouth, a decided chin and dark curling locks, form an agreeable *ensemble*, with the well-developed yet nervous figure clad in brown velvet, with silk or satin shoulder-knots, a buff embroidered sword-belt crossing from right shoulder to left side, and a narrow lace cravat with broad fan-shaped bow. In this vicinity, in a small

street near that of St. Etienne, was the house set apart as an asylum for the French refugees.

In the street of Couvaloup the three important properties were those of the family of Courtey, of Jean Louis Gaudard, Boursier of Lausanne, and afterwards Seigneur of Vincy in the district of Rolle, and of Abraham de Charrière, Seigneur of Penthaz, who had married a de Saussure.

One of the tombs in the cathedral records the services of Noble Jean François Gaudard, Lieutenant Ballival during the space of thirty-one years, who died in 1662, aged sixty-nine.

One of the most remarkable monuments of the original Cité was the Castle of Menthon, which stood near the fortified gate of Couvaloup, east of Notre Dame Cathedral.

We have now explored the Cité at the beginning of last century. In descending the steps below the cathedral, one saw on the right hand the great house, with tower and gardens, occupied by the Second Minister, and on the left, towards the Butter Market, the terraced grounds of the Banneret Bergier de Pont, adjoining another Bergier estate.

If one issued forth from the Cité by the St. Etienne Gate, on entering the Rue de la Mercerie, there appeared on the left the massive house belonging to André de Saussure, Banneret of Lausanne, brother of Jean Louis, first Baron de Berchier. This was the grandfather of a correspondent of Gibbon.

Adjoining was a second house, belonging to M. Louis Auguste de Saussure, his next neighbour being David de Constant, born in 1638, minister at Coppet in 1664, who may have become Principal of the College two years later. He was appointed Professor of Theology in 1700, and after frequently filling the office of Rector, resigned in 1726 and died in 1733, his ninety-fifth year. He was the grandfather of Voltaire's friend and the father of two distinguished sons.

In this same street lived the Councillor Gaudard, M. de Montherond, and the family of Doxat, near the Gate of St. Etienne, whose gardens adjoined the same, but within the Cité.

In the street of the Palud was the house of the Banneret Bergier de Pont, whose gardens, however, were near the episcopal palace. His son was also a resident of this quarter, where the Bourgeois family was also located.



Hôtel de Ville, Lausanne

The Bergiers possessed the seigniory of Mont, on the heights of the Jorat, one league north of Lausanne. This fief was originally acquired by the Receiver Bergier of Lausanne, in 1586. The feudal mansion of the family was at Grandmont, and distinguished by a fine tower.

Mont was originally a direct dependency of the bishopric of Lausanne; the men of Mont marched among the troops of the Bishop under the banner of the Cité. Under the Bishops the Chapel of St. John the Evangelist was a daughter of the Church of St. Paul at Lausanne, to which parish the inhabitants of Mont belonged. After the Reformation the parochial church was built, to which that of Romanel was annexed; but the pastor had his residence at Lausanne.

This locality is particularly rich in fossils; it was once the home of the rhinoceros, a fossil jaw of that animal having been found in the molasse underlying this district.

At the end of the Palud lived Samuel de Seigneux, councillor and boursier, afterwards judge, who married the daughter of Burgomaster de Rosset. He was the uncle of Seigneux de Correvon, and grand-uncle of George de Seigneux, author of the 'Silhouettes' of Gibbon and others.¹

On the Place de la Palud still stands the Hôtel de Ville, whose foundations were laid in 1454. The old building, says Bergier, did not present an imposing appearance, and was confined in its accommodations. The entrance hall, where the Two Hundred assembled, was very dark, and above the windows the arms of various bishops were partly effaced. Also certain old pictures and inscriptions in Gothic letters were once seen on the walls, the equestrian portrait of the Emperor Sigismund being especially notable. In one corner were suspended large urns of various forms. Thence one entered into the assembly room of the Council, and into the chamber of the Sixty.

In 1674 they began to rebuild, and to produce the present spacious and attractive edifice. Colonel de Crousaz, then Major and Maisonner of the town, who was deeply versed in mathematics and architecture, prepared the designs. The façade was an admirable piece of work in cut stone reposing

¹ *Genealogy of the de Seigneux Family.* (MS.)

upon fine arcades, with a tower containing the staircase and clock.¹

Facing the Place de la Palud and its fountain was the house of the Assessor de Seigneux, brother of the last-named. He married a de Saussure, and his son, Gabriel, Doctor of Laws, a councillor and châtelain of the Chapter like his father, married Esther de Loÿs, Dame de Correvon. He was the intimate friend of his cousin de Loÿs de Bochat and of the latter's wife, to whom he addressed many poetical effusions.

Gabriel died without issue, but François, who was also châtelain of the Chapter and judge, had a son, Jean Daniel, who became a councillor and boursier, and was the father of Gibbon's friend. The de Seigneux' constantly intermarried with the de Rossets and the de Loÿs. In fact, in examining the condition of society at this period, one is struck with the close connection existing between all the well-known names.²

Two doors from him lived his relative, the Minister Marc Benjamin de Rosset, Seigneur of Rochefort, whose family has already come under our notice. He was born in 1672, was minister at Coppet in 1705, deacon at Lausanne in 1713, and first deacon in 1721. He married Louise Catherine Suzanne Michel, a French refugee, who died while he was residing at Coppet.³ His marriage contract cites, among other relatives, his late father, Noble Sebastien de Rosset, and his mother, Noble and Virtuous Dame Louise Elizabeth d'Aulbonne, who had become the wife of Noble Antoine de Saussure, Seigneur of Boussens.

Boussens was acquired in 1581 by Jean de Saussure, Seigneur of Dommartin.

The constitution of Dommartin was extremely curious. Like other towns founded by the Catholic clergy, the upper town was saintly, the lower profane. It belonged to the Chapter of Notre Dame of Lausanne, and was one of its most important possessions. Towards 1200 the village was surrounded with fortifications, and for further protection a vast château was erected upon the hill above, and a great tower

¹ *MS. Description of the Town of Lausanne*, by Bergier (1768), in the Library at Berne.

² *Genealogy of the de Saussure Family.* (MS.)

³ *Genealogy of the de Rosset Family.* (MS.)



Place de La Palud Lausanne In Gibbon's Day

built on a hillock in the interior of the fortress. Within the walls of this tower was the house of the Chapter.

In 1230, by common agreement between the Provost and the subjects of the Chapter, the castle and the inferior town were assimilated to the lower town of Lausanne, while the square tower then called *La Motte* was assimilated to the *Cité* at Lausanne. Whoever was convicted of an offence in the *château* incurred double the punishment visited on one who committed the same crime in the lower town. The *château* also had the right of sanctuary as regarded the lower town, and *La Motte* as regarded the *château*. The only exceptions to this right of sanctuary were those of brigandage and treason.

There was anciently the office of porter, or sub-commandant, attached to the *Château* of *Dommartin*, and he had the same privileges which belonged to a similar official of the *Château* of *l'Isle*.

CHAPTER LX

MARC BENJAMIN DE ROSSET's mother belonged to one of the most ancient and illustrious families in the *Pays de Vaud*. Their origin is lost in the mists of time; but already in the twelfth century we find them established in the seigniorship of *Aubonne*, enjoying large possessions and power.

Humbert d'Aubonne, in 1150, desired to join to his land the village of *St. Livres*, which belonged to the episcopal manse of *Lausanne*. He consequently took violent possession of that place, and oppressed the inhabitants. *Amadeus*, afterwards canonised, was then Bishop of *Lausanne*, and the misfortunes of *St. Livres* deeply touched his heart. On his deathbed he pardoned his enemies, with the exception of Humbert d'Aubonne, whom he cited before the judgment seat of God to answer for the wrongs committed against his church at *St. Livres*.

Humbert left four sons—Guerric, Nantelme, Aymon, and Jacques. Jacques was the direct ancestor of de Rosset.

In 1219 Guerric d'Aubonne assisted with his brother Jacques at the treaty concluded with Thomas I. of Savoy and the Bishop of *Lausanne* concerning the Castle of *Moudon*.

Placed before the Reformation in the diocese of Geneva, Aubonne was the chief town. It was only in 1444 that Pope Felix V., otherwise Amadeus VIII. of Savoy, transported the seat of this diocese to a more central place. The castle of the sires of Aubonne commanded one of the richest views in the Canton of Vaud.

In the franchises granted by Gueric d'Aubonne in 1234 we find, among other obligations due to the seigniors, the following: Aid shall be rendered to them, first, when they make a voyage beyond the sea; second, when they go on pilgrimage to St. Jacques or to Rome; third, when they marry their daughters; fourth, when they purchase lands; and fifth, when they ransom prisoners. The men of the town and of the castle were bound to render military service during a day and a night at their own expense. If they were required for a longer period, it was at the cost of their lord. He had the right to send guests to the houses of the burghers, who were obliged to furnish stabling and a bed, with the reserve always of their own particular sleeping-place.

The two above-mentioned brothers d'Aubonne were the first in the Pays de Vaud to range themselves among the vassals of Peter of Savoy. As early as 1241, when this prince was only Count de Romont, these two seigniors did homage to him for the Castle of Aubonne in return for 100 Genevese livres received from that prince.

The branch inheriting the Castle of Aubonne seems to have died out about this time. Peter of Savoy, by his will in 1268, gave the territory of Aubonne to Agnes de Faucigny, his widow, for life. She instituted as her sole heir her daughter Beatrice, who had espoused the Dauphin of the Viennois; but Agnes the mother had a sister, also named Beatrice, who was widow of Etienne de Villars, and she set up a claim to her portion of the inheritance to the House of Faucigny.

A war ensued between the parties, in which the Dauphin and his sons were taken prisoners, and shut up in the Château of Vigon by Beatrice de Thoire-Villars. Through the interference of the Count of Savoy, it was eventually determined to refer the matter to Edward, son of the King of England, and Philip, Count of Savoy and Burgundy, who finally decided that

the castles and territories of Aubonne and of Hermenches were to be given up to the Dame of Thoire-Villars.

It was in this manner that Humbert, Seignior of Thoire and of Villars, became one of the most powerful seigniors of the Pays de Vaud. He was among the first to range himself in the party of the Bishop of Lausanne with the other great feudatories of the country against his relative, Louis of Savoy, Seignior of Vaud, in 1300.

Aubonne subsequently passed by marriage into the family of Alleman (Allemandi, Allaman), an illustrious house of Dauphiny, which descended from the sovereign house of Faucigny, and was allied to that of the Dauphin of Viennois. After passing in the same manner into the family of de la Baume, Aubonne was acquired by Guillaume de Grandson, who followed the Green Count in his expedition in the East, and accompanied the Red Count in his two campaigns in the Valais, where he knighted the latter before the walls of Sion in 1384.

The sad fate of his son Othon, who fell in combat with Girard d'Estavayer, has been fully described. The Count of Savoy, having confiscated the seigniory, sold it and that of Coppet to Rodolphe, Count of Gruyère, whose descendants held it for a century and a half, until the unfortunate Count Michael was obliged to abandon all his estates to his creditors in 1554.

It then passed through a great variety of hands, until it finally reached Tavernier and Duquesne.

The co-seigniory of Aubonne was in 1406 given by Marguerite d'Aubonne to her maternal uncle, Henry de Menthon, of the family of the founders of Menthon Castle, at Lausanne, whose descendants possessed the co-seigniory until 1581.

De Rosset's relative, Colonel Paul Bernard d'Aubonne, who married Louise de Tavel, had about this time (1709) born to him a son Paul, who entered very young the French service in the regiment of Villars-Chandieu, and made the campaigns of France in the regiment of Bettens, being present at Oudenarde and at Fontenoy, and losing an arm at the battle of Lawfeld. He became Camp-Marshal, proprietor of the Jenner Regiment, and Commander of the Order of Military Merit. His brother,

David Louis, born two years later at Nyon, was ensign in the regiment of Constant, became aide-de-camp to the Stadthouder of Holland, major-general and colonel commanding the Swiss Guards. I shall have occasion for further mention of the d'Aubonne family in connection with Voltaire and Gibbon.¹

One of the brothers of de Rosset, David François, Châtelain of Montherond, who married the daughter of Pierre de Seigneux, had his house on the other side of the Hôtel de Ville. Another brother, Jean Louis, Seigneur of Echandens, which seigniory he had inherited from his uncle Benjamin, married a de Polier, whose mother was a de Loys, and was Banneret of the Pont in 1730.

Marc Benjamin himself was a theologian, highly esteemed by a large circle of friends and correspondents. The celebrated Turretini the younger, of Geneva, wrote to him a letter (unpublished), March 1706, which may be quoted :

'I seize the occasion which presents itself to pray you to accept the inaugural discourse which I pronounced at the commencement of my professorship of theology, and which our company [of pastors] has obliged me to have printed. You will see in this piece what are my views at the present time with regard to theology, and in what manner I shall attempt to teach it. You will behold there also a little eulogy of Monsieur Tronchin, that I have thought it my duty to consecrate to his memory and to his great qualities, as well as to the special friendship he had for me. You will give me very great pleasure, Monsieur and Right Honourable Brother, if you will have the goodness to communicate to me the remarks which you may make upon this document. I count much on your discernment and your friendship, and am always, with all my heart and without reserve, &c.'

Turretini, who at this time was thirty-five years of age, had terminated his theological studies in his native town, and afterwards visited Holland, England, and France. In all these different countries he had formed intimate friendships with celebrated men, such as Le Clerc, Basnage, Spanheim, Newton, Burnet, Tillotson, Fontenelle, Huet, Bossuet, and Malebranche.²

¹ De Montet, i. 20, 21.

² *Ibid.*, ii. 588.

It was not unnatural that he should dedicate a portion of his address to Tronchin, whom he had succeeded in the chair of theology. Turretini the elder, Diodati, Burlamachi, Calandrini, Tronchin, Pictet, and Turretini the younger are familiar names to the Protestant world.

Turretini was endowed—says M. de Montet—with a very remarkable oratorical talent, and with a clear, subtle, and penetrating mind. Although his health was often sadly disordered, his capacity for work equalled his high intelligence. He possessed a broad and liberal spirit, and opposed constantly and with indomitable energy the narrow orthodoxy which reigned at that period in the Church of Geneva. He laboured with his friend William Wake, Archbishop of Canterbury, to bring about the reconciliation of all the Protestant Churches, and even attempted to draw into this union the Gallican Catholics. With this end in view he reduced dogma to a certain number of fundamental truths recognised by all Christians, abandoning the other doctrines to the individual conscience.

He seems to have inoculated with some of his ideas the well-known Mademoiselle Marie Huber, who, at a somewhat later period—for she was born at Geneva in 1695, and died in 1753—promulgated similar theories. Unfortunately, her works, which were intended to strengthen the foundations of Christianity and to reconcile the incredulous, had really an opposite effect.

Voltaire, in his letters to the Prince of Brunswick-Lunenburg, says that she was a woman of great *esprit*, the sister of the Abbé Huber. He might have added that she was the granddaughter of the more celebrated Protestant theologian Benedict Calandrini.

Voltaire continues :

‘She associated herself with a great metaphysician to write towards the year 1740 the volume entitled “La Religion essentielle à l’Homme.” Unfortunately, it must be admitted that this ‘essential religion’ is pure theism, such as the Noachides practised before God deigned to form a cherished people in the deserts of Sinai and Horeb, and to give them particular laws. According to Mademoiselle Huber and her friend, the religion

essential to man ought to be of all times, of all places, and of all spirits. All that is mysterious is above man and not made for him. The practice of the virtues can have no relation to dogma. A religion essential to man is in what he ought to do, and not in what he cannot understand. The relation of intolerance to the essential religion is that of barbarism to humanity, of cruelty to meekness. Herein lies the gist of the whole book.'

Some writers, among others Lamartine, have believed that they saw the idea of Rousseau's Savoyard vicar in the writings of Mademoiselle Huber.

The Turretinis, observes the biographer of M. François de Budé, are among the most brilliant representatives of the Italian emigration of the sixteenth century at Geneva. We may make a similar remark with regard to their connections, the de Budés, and the French emigrants.

Guillaume de Budé was one of the most profound Hellenists of his century and the restorer of the Greek language in France, whose influence determined Francis I. to found the College of France, and whom Erasmus called the prodigy of that country, and the purity of whose writings are admired even by the Greeks themselves. There is an amusing anecdote illustrating his devotion to study. On one occasion, when he was hard at work in his library, his servants came running to inform him that the house was on fire. Looking up from his manuscripts, he merely replied: 'Go and tell my wife. I have no time to occupy myself with household affairs.'

His wife and his three sons embraced Calvinism, and nine years after his death, in 1549, left Paris for Geneva. His son Louis, Seigneur de la Motte, became Professor of Oriental Languages in that town, and published a French translation of the Psalms. Matthew was highly versed in the Hebrew language; while Jean de Budé, Seigneur of Verace, became one of the first magistrates of Geneva, and was sent with Farel and Théodore de Bèze to the German princes to treat concerning the affairs of the Calvinists in France.

William de Budé the younger, Seigneur of Ferney, had three remarkable sons: first, Bernard, Count de Montréal, who served in France, and, returning to his country, played an important political rôle at Geneva, and in 1737 became the chief

of the aristocratic faction called Tamponneurs; second, Jacob de Budé, who also served with distinction in the French army, and afterwards rose to the grade of major-general in Holland; third, William, Baron de Montfort, who, like M. de Loÿs de Warens, entered young the service of Sardinia in the regiment of de Portes. He distinguished himself in a variety of hard-fought campaigns, and became general of infantry. His nephew, Jacob, having entered the English army, was chosen to conduct the military education of the Dukes of York and Kent. He died at Windsor, holding the rank of lieutenant-general, and his tomb is in the Royal Chapel.

The de Budés were connected with the Turretinis, and formed one of that brilliant group of immigrant families which has given Geneva some of her most illustrious citizens.

The ancestor of Turretini was Gonfalonier or First Magistrate of the Republic of Lucca. Benedict Turretini (born 1588, died 1631) was Professor of Theology at Geneva, and distinguished for learning and eloquence. François his son (born 1623, died 1687) began his studies at Geneva and completed them at Paris and Saumur. He also was Professor of Theology, and Rector of the Academy, and was employed in various difficult missions which he successfully fulfilled. He likewise was remarkable for his oratorical powers and extensive acquirements; but, unlike his son, Jean Alphonse, he was intolerant in his religious views.

The extraordinary difference in personal appearance between Bénédict Turretini and Jean Alphonse, his grandson, is well illustrated in the portraits published in 'Fragments Biographiques' (Geneva 1815). Bénédict, with his shaven head and skull-cap, his long meagre face, his pointed imperial and moustache, and his cavernous eyes, presents a forcible example of the ascetic school of Calvin. The physiognomy of François, his son, devoid of beard, and the austerity of its lines in a measure relaxed, still, through its low and somewhat narrow forehead, indicates the rather intolerant and restricted mind; while Jean Alphonse displays a flowing Louis Quatorze wig, and a round and smiling face ennobled by an ample, high, and benevolent brow.

CHAPTER LXI

THE conciliatory spirit of Jean François Turretini is illustrated in another letter (unpublished) to Marc Benjamin de Rosset, May 27, 1722, wherein he treats of events connected with the Consensus, and says :

‘Although I am very much incommoded since some days, I cannot help replying in a few words to your letter which I have just received. I continue to take every imaginable interest in your affairs, and as I can neither condemn nor blame Messieurs of the Academy, who have followed the belief of the deputies of their Excellencies, I have no intention either to pronounce any disadvantageous judgment against those who, learning that the further information given was not authorised by the sovereign, refused the signature they had been ordered to give. I am very much grieved that this should have made a tempest fall upon the heads of so many good subjects, whose merit is so great, and who would be so proper to edify your churches. Perhaps some light will come from Berne which will relieve them and you from your scruples, and will give peace to your country. I hope this from the bottom of my heart, interesting myself most particularly in that which regards you, and in that which concerns these gentlemen of whom you speak to me. The firmness of these seven gentlemen and their delicacy of conscience cannot but be praised and respected by all good people ; but also, if anything arises to allay their scruples, they ought to consider it attentively, and do nothing, as St. Paul says, for contention nor for vainglory. A tempest has also arisen here in our councils with respect to the order of the services of the Church, which are supposed to have been approved by our company and by the Little Council, so that there is a great prospect that all or nearly all that will be reversed.’

To sign the Consensus and take the oath were conditions of admission to the ministry up to 1712, when the Academy, presided over by the Bailiff, began to fear that the slight variations

in the oath as administered to certain persons might appear of consequence to the sovereign authority at Berne, and decided to add to the signature the words: 'Non contrarium docebo,' or 'Non aliter docebo.' Associated with the *quatenus*—says M. Gindroz—this agreement had nothing to frighten the conscience. It was the symbol of the exterior unity necessary to the Established Church.

Gindroz, in his 'History of Public Instruction in the Canton of Vaud,' furnishes a picture of the religious difficulties which now arose between Berne and Lausanne. On one side were their Excellencies, the Two Hundred, the Senate, the Economical Chamber, the Chamber of Religion, the clergy. On the other, Lausanne had only its Academy—small, isolated, feeble in credit and money, but strong in its cause. Berne represented the enemies of religious liberty, the despots of conscience; Lausanne its modest, respectful, but firm defenders, faithful to the true character of the Gospel.

The 'Consensus' controversy really turned on the doctrine of Predestination, in which Berne enforced an extreme fatalism against the Arminian principle of the freedom of the human will.

The Academy assumed in this struggle the most admirable position. The storm burst at the opening of the year 1716. The Bailiff assembled the authorities of the Academy at the Castle under his presidency, and communicated to them a letter of the Economical Chamber, which advised the Bailiff that some members of the class of Morges had addressed a complaint concerning recent signatures of the Consensus admitted by the Academy. They pointed out also the progress of Arminianism. Explanations were asked from the Bailiff before bringing the matter to the notice of their Excellencies. It was decided that the rector—the celebrated Barbeyrac, who occupied the first professorship of law at the Academy—should prepare the reply; and this reply is one of the best productions of that renowned jurisconsult. It is distinguished by the broadest and most generous views, and by a spirit so entirely Christian that it would have delighted the heart of Turretini; but notwithstanding its power it created little impression at Berne, and the

authorities directed the Bailiff to send them a copy of the signatures of the Consensus from beginning to end.

Barbeyrac, disgusted with the condition of matters, resigned his place and accepted the professorship of law in the University of Groningen, but did not abandon his late colleagues in their struggle; he wrote to M. Sinner, former Bailiff of Lausanne and member of the Academic Senate at Berne, a letter, wherein he pleaded with warmth and lively conviction the cause of tolerance and of religious liberty.

Jean Barbeyrac was born at Beziers in 1674, and was consequently now in the prime of life. His family had left France after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and took refuge at Lausanne, where he continued his theological studies. He afterwards resorted to the Universities of Frankfort and Berlin, and renounced theology for jurisprudence. He was appointed to the professorship of law at Lausanne in 1708, and became rector in 1714, but withdrew from this employment on account of the above-mentioned disputes. Unfortunately, his liberal ideas degenerated eventually into Deism. I shall have occasion to speak of him again in connection with de Løys de Bochet, his friend, correspondent, and successor.

I possess a copy of a *brochure* published on the subject of the Consensus by Barbeyrac, entitled: 'Formulaire du Consentement des Eglises Réformées de Suisse, sur la doctrine de la grâce universelle et les matières qui s'y rapportent, comme aussi sur quelques autres articles, traduit en Français avec des remarques.' It bears on its title-page the autograph of Samuel Deyverdun, with the written date 1723. In the preface the author says:

'It has been thought that it would be well to bring to light the formulary of the reformed churches of Switzerland, called the Consensus, which is making so much noise, and which has given occasion to some ecclesiastics to excite unpleasant comments against the Academy of Lausanne and a number of ministers of the Pays de Vaud. . . . The clergy of Lausanne have ventured to say that it is a marvellous armour against Socinianism, Arminianism, Deism, and even Atheism, and thereupon they have become extremely warm, and have

neglected nothing to paint in the blackest colours the Academy of Lausanne, which by a very humble application has asked its sovereign to suppress this formula, or at least to sign it with some omissions.

'It is very certain that one may very well refuse to subscribe to this formula without, on that account, being either an Atheist, or a Deist, or a Socinian, or an Arminian. The reader has only to read it in order to be convinced of this. He will see that it includes various articles contested among the reformed churches, and that Messieurs the authors of the Consensus have had no difficulty, whatever they may say, in departing from the sentiments of our blessed reformers and of their immediate successors. There are others which are palpably false. It is in order to point out these to the reader that we have added some notes to the translation of this formula.' ¹

The order requiring a copy of all the signatures of the Consensus was communicated to the Rector alone. This chanced to be M. de Constant, Barbeyrac's successor and professor in theology.

The dispute now entered on a new phase, continued with varying aspects, and called forth printed arguments on both sides. Finally, on June '13, 1718, the Bailiff convoked the Academy, and declared that the Bernese authorities from this moment imposed silence on both parties, and required that in future all those admitted to the holy ministry should sign the Consensus pure and simple under penalty of exclusion.

In 1719, Berne sent a delegation to inspect the administration and course of study at the Academy. This commission subjected the Academy to cross-examination. In vain the Bailiff strove to maintain peace. As a result of this examination, says M. Gindroz, the delegates made a severe report, containing malicious and calumnious insinuations; the Academy was declared to be infected with heresy, and three of its members particularly stigmatised.

A lively discussion arose in the Little Council at Berne, which desired to establish as much uniformity as possible between the Academy of Lausanne and that of Berne. It eventually decided that all ministers of the Pays de Vaud, as

¹ Barbeyrac, *Formulaire du Consentement*, &c., pp. 2-7.

well as of the German country, should sign the Consensus according to the admitted explanation, and take the oath of association against the Pietists, Arminians, and Socinians. Two senators were sent to Lausanne to direct the execution of this decision, with orders to dismiss on the spot all who refused to sign in this manner or to take the oath.

It is easy to imagine the consternation which prevailed in the Lausanne Academy and among the clergy. Some ministers thought of resigning their places, and wrote abroad to ask for a refuge and for bread. On May 10, 1722, there arrived at Lausanne two deputies charged by the Grand Council of Berne to make a new examination. The Doyen Bergier and Professor Polier distinguished themselves on this occasion by the firmness, loyalty, and wisdom of their language. The Academy, says M. Gindroz, was ably represented by its rector, the eminent Pierre de Crousaz. Professor Polier laid a declaration before the Bernese deputies on May 19, but it was not allowed to be read, and the signatures were required to be given 'pure and simple.' On May 20 the newly ordained ministers were summoned to the Château. The Bailiff Villading invited them to obey the sovereign order in following the example of the Academy. M. de Crousaz, son of the professor, first spoke, protesting his respect for the Council, but declaring that his conscience did not permit him to obey. 'I am ready,' said he, 'to sacrifice all that I hold most dear in the world rather than go against my conscience.' The second, the third, the fourth spoke in similar terms, when the Bailiff, interrupting, said: 'The session is adjourned.'

The Bailiff having informed the deputies of the resistance of the young men, the members of the Academy present were charged to make new efforts to convince them. Finally, the candidates were recalled, and the Bailiff, clad in his robes of office and escorted by two members of the Academy, addressed to them a solemn discourse.

A second meeting was held at the Castle, at which Professors de Loÿs de Bochat and Ruchat were present. The Banneret Tillier, one of the deputies, addressing himself to one of the young ministers, inquired whether they persisted in their resolutions, asking them to say 'Yes' or 'No.' Those who would

not sign must leave the room, and remain outside until their sentence was made known. M. de Crousaz attested anew his submission to their Excellencies, and declared himself ready to prove it with his blood, but that in his conscience he could neither sign nor swear; and he went out with those who, like him, persisted in their refusal. Two remained and signed.

Immediately after, the recalcitrants were recalled, and Tillier declared to them that they were from that moment deprived by their Excellencies of the holy ministry, and their names would be stricken from the academic book.

The town of Lausanne was painfully stirred, and public sympathy showed the persecuted ministers that they had not lost the esteem and affection of their fellow-citizens. They were indeed, says Arnaud, in his 'Memoirs on the Consensus,' regarded as the *élite*.

The Bailiff of Lausanne was charged to exact the signature and oath of five persons who had not been present at the great ceremony. Four obeyed. The fifth refused, and was dismissed; also one who had previously refused submitted. There remained, therefore, seven young ministers under the weight of this degradation: De Crousaz, Crinsoz de Dionens, Barthélemy Carrard, Arnaud (author of the 'Memoirs on the Consensus'), Curchod, Sylvester, and Thomasset.

These were the seven referred to by Turretini in his letter to de Rosset; but, nearly all the pastors having signed and taken the oath on faith of the explanations given by the deputies and the Academy, four of the seven recusants reconsidered, signed, and were rehabilitated. Thus ended the incident.

CHAPTER LXII

At the beginning of the eighteenth century institutions of higher education were multiplied in Switzerland. The Academy of Geneva had already made a brilliant figure, and Berne did not wish that of Lausanne to fall behind. In 1700 (to follow Gindroz) a new system for its government was devised. With a view to more active and consecutive superintendence, the Senate of Berne appointed four of its members, called curators,

whose duty it was, under the collective name of *curatelle*, to occupy themselves in an especial manner with the Academy of Lausanne. All affairs relating thereto were to be submitted to them. The Bailiff preserved attributes more honourable than real; the seat of power was at Berne.

Their Excellencies authorised another institution, apparently modelled upon the Exterior State at Berne. The students were allowed to form a kind of republic. They had their forum, and a sort of military *régime* or abbey. This politico-academic institution existed before 1700, but it now received formal sanction. A senate named by the students was invested with some administrative and judiciary powers for matriculation and discipline.

This senate recalled a little that of ancient Rome. A council, presided over by a questor, filled the functions of minister of finance. An orator spoke on behalf of the students, and watched over the rules. These functionaries even exercised a sort of inspection over the morals of their co-disciples, and constituted the private senate, which was elected by the general senate, or the reunion of all the students.

This institution, imbued with democracy and destined to become a counterbalance to the Academy, enjoyed an authority and influence at Lausanne much greater, no doubt, than the founders had foreseen. Once organised as a body, the students were seized with an *esprit de corps*. This little government, though subordinated to the Academy in some essential acts of authority, soon felt that desire for independence so natural to youth, and so often united to the early exercise of power. Hence arose resistance and struggles against the Academy, and victory did not always perch on the banners of the strongest before the law.¹

Seven ordinary professorships were recognised by the new rules: two of Theology—one doctrinal, the other polemical—one of Hebrew and the Catechism, one of Greek and Morals, one of Philosophy, Mathematics, and Physics, one of Law, and one of Eloquence or *Belles-lettres*. The Professor of Eloquence was Principal of the College.²

¹ *Armorial du Pays de Vaud*, par M. Clavel de Ropraz.

² *Genealogy of the de Rosset Family*. (MS.)

On the left of the old entrance door at the west end of the nave of the Church of St. Francis there is a marble tablet to the memory of noble and generous Benjamin Rosset, with a shield of arms. The crest is a demi-lion rampant, and the arms of Rosset are quartered with those of Bachiez. The following inscription is beneath: 'Hic jacet nobilis et generosus Benjaminus Rosset, dominus a Wfflans la Ville, Lausannensis Consul, Nobilis Johannis Rosset ibidem Consul hic etiam sepulti Filius, qui LXXIII. ætatis anno die XIII. Decembris M.D.C.XXIX. obiit.'

The grandfather, the great-grandfather, and the great-great-grandfather of Marc Benjamin de Rosset were each in their turn Burgomaster of Lausanne. We shall presently speak of the latter's distinguished son, Jean Alphonse de Rosset.

On the north side of the street then called Sous la Madeleine and now La Madeleine, leading to the gate of that name, were the garden and house of Noble Théobald de Seigneux, who married his cousin of the same name, aunt of Seigneux de Correvon. Their daughter married Jean Alphonse de Rosset, son of their neighbour, Marc Benjamin.

In the same street lived the noble family of de Montricher, and one of the Vullyamoz family. This street led to the Place sous la Madeleine, near which was a cemetery. Outside the city walls to the north, and touching the grounds of Burgomaster de Crousaz, were the grounds of Dr. de Constant, whose house was in the Rue du Pont. The Rue du Pont was behind the Hospital, to the south of the Rue de la Mercerie.

Jean Jacob de Constant, the brother of David de Constant, the professor just mentioned, had been a student in 1660, and became doctor of medicine and member of the Sixty of Lausanne. He was the author of many useful works, and died unmarried in 1732.¹

A few doors further south resided another brother, Augustin de Constant, Banneret of the Pont, who married twice—the second time, Mademoiselle Sturler, of Berne—but left no heirs.

There was still another brother, Gabriel de Constant, minister at Nyon and then at Lutry, whose son, Gabriel François, was a member of the Two Hundred in 1718, and

¹ *Genealogy of the de Constant Family.* (MS.)

married Françoise, half-sister of M. de Loÿs de Warens, daughter of the Seigneur of Villardin by his second wife, Suzanne Polier. The second Gabriel's daughter, Jeanne, married M. de Bondely, Baron de Châtelard, and his daughter Benigne espoused Richard Louis de Rosset.

Next to the Banneret de Constant, on the north of the Rue du Pont, which here turned off to the Rue du Pré, was the Banneret de Rosset d'Echandens. This was the house afterwards occupied by Jean Louis de Rosset, Seigneur of Echandens and Banneret of the Pont in 1730, and here the uncle died of gout some time after.

The Councillor Bourgeois and Assessor de Seigneux lived on the opposite side.

In the Rue du Pré were two houses belonging to the Secretans, one to the Bourgeois, and three to the Vullyamoz family. One of these three was a large house with a corner turret, like the Deyverdun house, which still carries this picturesque ornament. These houses were all bounded to the south by the Flon, and on the opposite bank was another Vullyamoz mansion.

The Rue du Pont branched off near the Maison de Ville du Pont, one part going towards the Palud, the other towards the Rue de St. Jean, which is joined by a bridge over the Flon. In this portion of the Rue du Pont the Bergier family possessed three important properties.

In an island in the Flon, in the rear of this part of the Rue du Pont, there was a mill belonging to Councillor de Seigneux, whose house we have already passed, and on the opposite bank were the garden of Professor Polier and the garden and house of the Banneret de Seigneux. Here was also the house of de Saussure, Seigneur of Boussens, the second husband of Madame de Rosset.

The cellars of the father of Jean Samuel de Seigneux—George Pierre, Châtelain of Dommartin, who married the daughter of Professor des Bergeries, by Jeanne Marie de Rosset—were also here.

Jean Samuel was born in the same year as M. de Loÿs de Warens, and became justiciar and councillor in 1718, banneret in 1730, and burgomaster in 1733. In 1734, he entertained

the young Prince of Hesse-Cassel. He married, first, Marianne, daughter of Joseph Doxat, Seigneur of Demoret, by Margaret Sturler, receiving fourteen thousand francs with her, and sixteen thousand from his uncle Jean François. He married, secondly, Dame Rose de la Tour d'Orange.

His daughter, Jeanne Suzanne, married the celebrated Jean David Louis de Constant, Baron de Rebecque, Seigneur of Hermenches. His other daughter, Louise, wedded M. Duval de la Pottrie. I shall refer, later, to the correspondence of this family.

A great house, with towers and outbuildings, belonging to the De Gaudard family, stood on the north side of the Rue St. Jean. Adjoining on the east was the small building belonging to Madame de Renens, and west of it the houses of the Bannerets de Seigneux and of Philibert de Illens, Secretary of the Council of Lausanne, who married, first, the daughter of Abraham de Crousaz, and, second, Mademoiselle Blecheret.

Philibert had a brother, André, affianced in 1659 to the daughter of Jean Matthey, Councillor at Lausanne. His father had been Banneret of St. Laurent in 1646. His grandfather, Jacques, had likewise been Banneret of St. Laurent, and married one of the ancient family of De Goumoëns, and afterwards a daughter of the Seigneur of Ropraz.¹

The great-grandfather, Jean, was the first of the family who settled at Lausanne. He was Donzel of Cugy, and co-Seigneur of La Molière and Minier. He was received as a *bourgeois* in 1544, and married Rose, daughter of William d'Arnay, of Orbe, Seigneur of St. Martin-le-Chêne.

Secretary Philibert's son, Jost Louis de Illens, married, in 1703, the daughter of Henry Portaz of Lausanne, by one of the de Diesbach family. The family had owned a house in the Rue de Bourg, and Claude was Banneret of Bourg in 1558.

Behind the houses in the Rue de St. Jean ran a lane from the Flon bridge to St. Laurent, in which were the gardens of Châtelain David François de Rosset, whose house was in the Palud, pleasantly situated on the river. At the beginning of Rue St. Jean, on the south side of the Flon, another lane led to the Pépinet Gate, where M. du Teil, brother-in-law of Madame de

¹ *Genealogy of the de Illens Family.* (MS.)

Loÿs de Bochat, afterwards had a house. Here were also a house and stable of the de Rossets, behind them the garden of Assessor Jean Louis de Seigneux, father of de Seigneux de Correvon.

At the end of Rue de St. Jean, on the south side, and looking upon St. Jean Place, was the seigniorial residence of the de Saussures, with its massive tower. This house was strongly built, and its lower part formed a portion of the city wall, its gardens being beneath.

The Rue St. Laurent, which ran from the gate of that name to its church, there forked ; a left branch going to the Palud, a right to join the Rue St. Jean. In the latter was a large mass of buildings consisting of mansion, stables, and offices, with spacious gardens beyond the city walls, belonging to the De Charrière family. Adjoining it was a house belonging to the De Illens family, which commanded a view of the solitary tower of St. Laurent, and of the Place which led to the Gate of Mauborgex. On the other side of this place, in the Grande Rue de St. Laurent, south-east corner, was the imposing residence of M. de Saussure, afterwards councillor.

This house, distinguished by its tower, adjoined a building with massive buttresses belonging to the family of D'Arnay. Next were residences of the families of De Goumoëns, Forneret, and D'Asperling, Seigniors of Ballaigues. The De Goumoëns' property came from the D'Asperlings. The city wall, which ran behind these estates, divided them from the gardens fronting the road to the Chauderon. Noble Emily d'Asperling, wife of Noble Victor de Gingins, was the owner of one of these plots.

On the northern side of the Grande Rue de St. Laurent, commencing from the gate, were the houses belonging to the family of Carrard, and to Jean Louis Deyverdun, Seignior of Hermenches. The Bourgeois family possessed two houses here, with gardens separated by one belonging to Gabriel Louis Balay, and followed by gardens belonging to the De Saussures and the Gaudards.

Going out of St. Laurent Gate one came to the Faubourg of the Aisle de St. Laurent. On the south were gardens, stables, meadows, and vineyards belonging to the De Seigneux, the De Poliers, and the Bergiers. The properties on the north were unimportant, but the road in the rear of the faubourg

contained a large field belonging to Judge de Seigneux, separated by a pathway from a larger field of his, and from one belonging to the Burgomaster David de Crousaz.

The Rue Chaucrau ran from the gate of that name to the Grande Rue de St. Laurent opposite the church. This street was filled with a multitude of small dwellings with unknown names.

CHAPTER LXIII

HAVING now examined the localities of Lausanne at the time of M. de Loÿs de Warens' visit in 1705, we can estimate the pre-eminent position of his family in the society of that epoch.

The De Loÿs, with their relatives and friends, the De Charrières—in the several branches of Mex, Sévery, Bournens, Penthaz, Senarclens, Cossonay, Robelaz, and Crose¹—may be said to have been the bulwarks of Lausanne society, and exercised a more powerful influence than any other connection in the Pays de Vaud.

Of course there were many other ancient and eminent families seated throughout the Roman country, who were without town residences at Lausanne, such as the Blonays—living at their mediæval castle above Vevey, and in their several châteaux across the lake in Savoy—the De Gingins de la Sarraz, the De Senarclens of Vufflens, the De Cerjats of Moudon, the D'Estavayers, the Mayor-Ramberts of Montreux, the De Joffreys, the Hugonins, the De la Tours, the De Cossonays, and the De Montets of Vevey, the Curnilliats of Nyon, the De Meleys, Bannerets of La Tour, &c.

The branch of the De Loÿs of La Grotte—in 1705 living in

¹ The de Seigneux, the de Bossets, the Deyverduns, the de Constants, the de Crousaz and the Crousaz, the de Poliers, the de Tavel, the Daxats, the Secretans, the Bergiers, the d'Aubonnes, the de Cerjats, the Gaudards, the Grands, the de Saussures, the de Goumoëns, the de Manlichs, the de Molins, the de Praromans, the de Prayes, the de Gingins, the Bugnions, the Carrards, the Vullymoz, the de Montheronds, the Dapples, the Bourgeois, the Allamands, the de Teissonnières, the du Teils, the Ribot du Lignon, the Rolaz du Rosay, the de Treytorrens, the d'Arnays, the de Pluvians, the de Chandieus, the Portaz, the Rochats, the Chavannes, the de Clavels, the Crinsoz de Dionens, the Curchods, the Arnands, the de Montrichers, the de Illens, the Fornerets, and the d'Asperlings.

the Rue de Bourg—descended from Jean Louis, Seigneur of Marnand, Middel, Trey, and Bottens—formed one De Loÿs centre, closely associated with the De Loÿs de Correvon (whose residence was in the Cité, behind the cathedral), with the De Loÿs de Marnand (whose home was in the Rue de l'Hôpital), with the De Loÿs de Villardin (living in the Palud, descended from Aubert, younger brother of the Seigneur of Marnand), and the De Loÿs de Cheseaux (also living in the bourg, descended from Ferdinand or Ferrand de Loÿs, Burgomaster of Lausanne in 1557, captain of the Jeunesse, and younger brother of Jean Louis and Aubert).

Aubert de Loÿs was Seigneur of Denens and Mayor of Lucens. He married the daughter of Noble Claude de Glane, Seigneur of Villardin and Montet, Vidom of Moudon, co-Seigneur of Pralins, Domneloye, Brenles (Burrenault), Denens (or Dignens), and Governor and Bailiff of the Pays de Vaud by Bernese appointment in 1536. He was the son of Jacob de Glane, Knight, Seigneur of Cugy, Ropraz, and Villardin.¹

Of this family was also Benott de Glane, Seigneur of Cugy, and colonel of the auxiliary corps of two thousand men raised in behalf of France by Count Michael de Gruyère. He was killed at Ceresole, in attempting to rally his troops, on April 14, 1544.

Humbert de Glane, an earlier Seigneur of Cugy and Vidom of Moudon, having rendered various services to the Bernese and Freiburgeois during the Burgundian wars, was indemnified by the latter for the loss of his château (Cugy), which they had burned during the invasion of Vaud, by being named (November 14, 1475) Bailiff of that province, a post he held until the treaty of Freiburg, August 12, 1476.²

This name recalls the memory of the older House of De Glane, from which some have erroneously supposed that of Moudon descended.

In 778, in the time of Charlemagne, several Frank nobles, Christians, obliged by the disturbed condition of their country to seek refuge elsewhere, came to Nuythonia, which was

¹ Archives of the de Loÿs family, in the possession of their representative, the Marquis de Loÿs Chandien. (MS.)

² De Montet, i. 368.

Christian. Among them were the De Glanes, sprung from the Counts of Vienne and the Kings of Burgundy, who, taking up their residence between the Sarine and the rivulet which bears their name, reared a castle whose ruins were used for pious work.

This traditional origin of the family of De Glane is attested by Guilliman and the chroniclers, but there is no document to confirm it. The first seignior known under this name was Uldric, who in 1078 espoused Rilenta de Villar Walbert. They had two sons, Peter and Philip, who were attached to the Kings of Burgundy. In 1127 these were at Payerne, in attendance upon William IV., called the Infant, when the latter was assassinated in the abbey church. The two De Glanes, with other nobles of the suite, perished in defence of their sovereign, and were buried in the Priory of the Isle of St. Pierre, Lake Bienna.¹ Philip died without issue, and Peter left an only son—William, founder of the Abbey of Hauterive, and four daughters—Emma, who married Rodolphe, Count of Neuchâtel; Ita, wife of Aymon II., Count of Genevois; Juliane, who espoused William, Seignior of Montsalvens; and Agnes, who married Rodolphe, Count de Gruyère.

William de Glane built with the stones of his ancient castle the Monastery of Hauterive, two leagues from Freiburg, which, by giving—says the author of the '*Chronique Fribourgeoise*'—the first impulse to industry and the arts, opened a new life to Nuythonia. Five years afterwards he finished his days in this holy abode, in the habit of a friar, and was buried in the mausoleum beside the great altar. His gold ring is preserved and his anniversary is celebrated by the Roman Catholic Church. His arms—gules semée with crosses argent, a lion rampant crowned azure—quartered with those of the order, are the arms of Hauterive. The melancholy inscription upon his tomb recalls the sad fate of his father and uncle:

'Anno 1442, III Idus Feb. obiit Gulielmus de Glana fundator, sepultus in praesenti tumulo, cujus pater, Petrus et Philippus de Glana fratres, anno 1126 cum Gulielmo Comite Viennensi et Salinensi, cum multis aliis nobilibus, injuste, ab

¹ *Chronique Fribourgeoise*, p. 206, note i. seq. See *Mémoire sur le Rectorat de Bourgogne*.

injustis, in occisione gladii apud Paterniacum mortui sunt, et in prioratu Cluniacensi, sito in insula lacus, sepulti.'

Aubert de Loys became Seigneur of Villardin and Vidom of Moudon through his wife—the last of her family—and Mayor of Lucens by inheritance. Lucens lies north-east of Moudon on the Lausanne and Berne route. The village existed in the tenth century, and is mentioned in the Chronicle of the Bishops, called the 'Cartulary of Lausanne,' in the twenty-eighth year of King Conrad (A.D. 965). It belonged to the Bishop of Lausanne. The village is dominated by an ancient castle flanked with numerous turrets and surmounted by a great round tower or donjon, whose summit commands a magnificent view of the valley of the Broie. In the centre of the tower is a cistern of great depth. A series of terraces served the double purpose of ramparts to arrest an enemy and to retain the soil on the declivity of the summit.

In the Middle Ages this was a most important point, being an advanced post to cover Moudon, which also was a dependency of the Bishop of Lausanne. The period of the foundation of the castle is unknown, but it was ruined in 1127 by Amadeus I., Count of Genevois, who was soon dispossessed by Conrad of Zaeringen, Rector of Burgundy. Bishop Landry de Durnes, during the eighteen years of his episcopate, strengthened the fortifications. In 1190 it witnessed another attack on the part of another rector of Western Helvetia—Berthold V.—who took the castle and partially destroyed it by fire; but it was speedily rebuilt by the Bishop. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the Bishops of Lausanne were in the habit of resorting to it in summer. One of them, William de Menthonay, was here murdered as he was getting out of his bed one morning: his *valet-de-chambre*, who was also his barber, ran him through with his sword, and he died a few days after at Lausanne. This crime was committed July 6, 1406. The murderer was condemned to be disembowelled and quartered.

In 1476 the castle was again burned by the Confederates; in 1536 it was taken possession of by the Bernese Government, who held it until 1798, during which period it was the residence of the Bernese bailiffs of Moudon.

Between 1579 and 1586 the castle received repairs from the Bernese Government, these works being executed under direction of the Maire and Châtelain of Lucens, which hereditary offices the de Loÿs family had received from the de Villarzels, who had held them from at least the early thirteenth century.¹

Villardin—or Villardens, as the *patois* has it—was an ancient seigniory, which at one time formed a single seigniory with that of Montet in Morlens parish, prefecture of Rue, canton of Freiburg. The Château of Villardin was built on the borders of a precipice near the Broie, where are still remains of a wall and gateway.

In the sixteenth century, the de Loÿs of Moudon having done homage on their knees for the Seigniory of Villardin and Montet, the Council of Freiburg permitted them to erect a gallows and establish a tribunal, from whose jurisdiction only the right of appeal was reserved.

This seigniory, in the middle of the seventeenth century, was in the possession of the descendant of Aubert de Loÿs, Noble Jean Philippe de Loÿs, Vidame of Moudon.

The latter also purchased, in 1652, from Noble Louis de Roll of Soleure, who possessed it through his wife (*née* Vallier), the seigniory of Chanez, and the co-seigniories of Donneloye and Mézery, in the district of Yverdon, for 9,000 petits écus of 20 batz, equal to 27,000 francs. In 1670 it appears, however, that the widow of Noble Joseph Masset held a portion of the seigniory of Mézery. Her maiden name was Jeanne Rolaz du Rosay. Her brother was Noble Matthew Rolaz du Rosay, Châtelain of Rolle, and both were related to the family of that name at Lausanne.

Jean Philippe de Loÿs gave the name of Loÿs to a tower in the domain of Donneloye. He was also Seigneur of Chavannes-sur-Moudon; he inherited a third of Moudon as Vidame of that place, the remainder being given him by their Excellencies in 1663, and of Lavigny and Aubonne. The last two formed the *dot* of his daughter Gabrielle Judith, who married a de Metral, whose descendant, Seigneur of Pampigny and Lavigny,

¹ Martignier and de Crousaz, p. 568; *Vevey et ses Environs au Moyen Age*, p. 120.

rebuilt the castle, with its dovecot and prisons, early in the last century.

The seigniory of Prahins (district of Yverdon), inherited from the family of de Glane, was also in the possession of Jean Philippe de Loÿs, and that of Orzens was re-united to it by his heirs by purchase in 1685.

In conjunction with his nephew and cousin, Jean Philippe de Loÿs, Seigneur of Cheseaux, who afterwards became his son-in-law, he obtained leave from their Excellencies of Berne, in the year 1670, to create an inalienable fund in favour of the De Loÿs family. (This Act is still preserved in the De Loÿs muniment room.) He was a member of the Council in 1645, Banneret of Lausanne, and the first captain of the Noble Fusiliers, having been elected immediately upon the foundation of this society, May 29, 1654, on which day his three sons were also received into the same company.

This corps presented to him a silver vase, on which were engraved the arms of the noble company with his own; and they also presented to him an engrossed Act of April 28, 1658, which contains the following passage: 'And in memory of the fact that he is their first captain, they bestow upon him and upon his successors of his name and arms the right to bear the centaurs as crests or as supporters, which are the arms of the aforesaid noble company.' This relic is still religiously preserved.

In a curious genealogical tree, prepared in 1665, under the directions of noble and generous Jean Philippe de Loÿs, a centaur with an arquebuse over its shoulder figures as one of the supporters, the other being a griffin, the ordinary supporters of the de Loÿs arms. This tree includes all the genealogies of the families intermarrying with the de Loÿs. It begins with the arms of the de Loÿs quartering those of the de Glanes and surmounted by the coronet of a marquis. From the shield issues on the left the name and arms of Jean Philippe de Loÿs; next, his father, Philippe de Loÿs, and his wife, Jeanne de Crousaz, daughter of Isbrand de Crousaz by Guillemaz Grand, and so on. From the right of the shield issues the name and arms of Jean Philippe de Loÿs' wife, Etienne de Lavigny, whose genealogy is carried out in the male and female lines.

The De Loÿs line continues through eight generations, that of Lavigny two generations further, while that of De Crousaz stops at the same point as the De Loÿs'. The nineteenth generation—the last—includes Etienne de Villars, Seigneur of Villars.

Jean Philippe de Loÿs' portrait shows a strong face, with aquiline features, a pointed, dimpled chin, dark eyes, flowing locks, and a moustache *en brosse* and imperial of the style of Charles II. His costume is a dark, rich velvet doublet, to which his lace cravat lends its delicate lines, while a broad embroidered shoulder-belt supports a stately sword. He is represented at the age of fifty. His arms and the date 1673 appear in the upper right-hand corner of the painting.

Like several of his ancestors, he had antiquarian tastes, which descended to his son, Jean Louis de Loÿs, born November 6, 1665, who, when under twenty years of age, succeeded his father as Lord of Villardin and other places, and Vidom of Mondon.

He married his relative, Esther, daughter of Sebastian de Lavigny and Esther de Martines, Dame de Warens, widow of M. de Joffrey, by whom he had eight children. He espoused, secondly, Suzanne, daughter of Noble George Polier, Professor of Theology at the Academy, by whom he had fourteen children.

CHAPTER LXIV

JEAN LOUIS DE LOÿS inherited, also from his father, the seigniorial mansion in the Palud (corner of the Rue de St. Laurent), which had been in the family three hundred years.

In the MS. genealogy of the De Loÿs family, in the possession of M. Charles de Steiguer, it is mentioned that Mermet de Loÿs, Syndic of Lausanne in 1438, acquired the seigniorship of Ecublens in 1401, and in 1404 purchased of Jean de St. Cierge a house in the Palud for 182 livres.

Martignier and De Crousaz state that Mermet de Loÿs acquired this fief at Ecublens from Antoine Renivier, Donzel of Yverdon, and from his daughter Margaret, wife of Pierre Metral

de Rue, and that it then passed to Noble Pierre de Loÿs, Seigneur of St. George, whose daughter Françoise married Jacques Polier, and that in 1674 the co-seignior of Ecublens was in the possession of the heirs of his son Jean Pierre Polier, Burgomaster of Lausanne, Banneret of Bourg, and Seigneur of Bottens.

Count Frederick de Mulinen possesses several valuable manuscript volumes, entitled 'La Noblesse Vaudoise.' In one of these is the following extract taken from the archives of Corsaux, near Vevey: '1404. Jean de St. Cierge, son of Perrod de St. Cierge, clerk at Lausanne, sold to Mermet de Loÿs a house in the Palud, with the consent of Johannet, his sister, and of Isabella, the widow of his brother Aymon de St. Cierge.'

The grandfather of Jean de St. Cierge was Châtelain of Estavayer in 1379. Their descendant, Esther, daughter of Michael de St. Cierge, Burgomaster of Lausanne, 1579-1587, married Etienne de Loÿs, Seigneur of Denens, and the families of St. Cierge and de Loÿs thus were allied for a brief period; but, as they had no children, the seignior of Denens passed into the de Tavel family.

The de Loÿs' house in the Palud, still standing, has additional historical interest in connection with the de la Pottrie family (friends of Gibbon), who inhabited it in the latter part of the eighteenth century; but for the moment its interest for us is as the birthplace of M. de Loÿs de Warens, and the town residence of his father, Jean Louis.

The main building looked south upon the Rue de St. Laurent, and east upon the Palud. A stately marble gateway, adorned with machicoulis and surmounted by a tower, gave entrance to an inner court, around which were outbuildings and offices, and on the other side of which another tower contained the main staircase, with the date 1650 cut in the keystone.

Gardens and grounds ran thence to the city walls to the point now occupied by the Musée Arlaud. The river Louve then swept before it unobstructed and unconcealed, but has now disappeared beneath archways, and a stranger would not suspect its presence.¹

¹ Letter of Madame Olivier to the author, November 16, 1881; coloured plan of 1678; Cadastre of 1722.



Court of the de Poller, now the de Loye, Mansion, Rue de Bourg, Lausanne

1. The first step is to identify the problem or question that needs to be answered. This involves understanding the context and the specific requirements of the task.

A recent visit to this mansion revealed the substantial character of its foundations, whose architecture indicated their antiquity. The main building is five storeys in height, and one remarks amid the black tiles of the roof two lovers' knots and the ace of diamonds in red. Its ground floor is now a little below the street, and contains the kitchen of the Société de la Consommation. In M. de Warens' time it was a great vaulted hall, whose ceiling was supported by massive pillars, which, the floor having been raised, now appear dwarfed.

In an outbuilding adjoining the second tower there is a deep well, and in the wall above it are cut the arms of the de Loÿs de Villardin quartering those of the de Glances.

In the stone staircase of the inner tower, at each landing, is a large antechamber, and a stone-paved corridor leading to the various rooms, closed at either end by an arch.

There is a queer, small, low chamber above the gateway, approached by a winding stair. In a large old-fashioned room full of sunshine, where a bird was singing (to my ear sweet echoes from the past), I found a curious earthenware stove adorned with singular figures.

Madame Lucie Olivier, née de Larrey, now living near Clarens, who is the granddaughter of the de la Pottries, who inherited the house from the de Loÿs, retains vivid recollections of this mansion in her youth. She says a great garden, containing many peaches, extended to the town wall. An elaborate series of steps ran along the Flon, and gave entrance to the Place Riponne, beyond the walls. On two other sides the grounds were bounded by charming gardens. By a short bridge above the offices was reached a terrace shaded by plantains, from which opened a view of the cathedral. M. and Madame de la Pottrie, the friends of Gibbon, resided in the house until their death; and their granddaughter says the *salons* and vestibule on the first floor seemed to her immense, all being changed after the house was sold. She attended a religious reunion there some years later, and all appeared to her gloomy and suffocating.

The Musée Arlaud and neighbouring buildings have invaded a large portion of the ancient gardens. The granduncle of Madame Olivier and of M. de Steiguer—M. de Loÿs d'Orzens,

the son of M. de Loÿs de Warens' half-brother—was an officer of the Swiss Guards at Paris in the last century, and presented to his relatives a complete set of carved furniture for the *salons*, with flowered tapestries, representing the nine Muses, and even an enormous screen covered with similar designs, which greatly aided the nephews and nieces in their classical studies. This was the furniture in Gibbon's day. The tower chamber was turned into an aviary.

Sebastian Isaac de Loÿs was the eldest of his father's twenty-two children, and was probably born in this house in the year 1688. He was the eldest and only surviving child of his father's first wife, the Dame de Warens.

Of his fourteen half-brothers and sisters, two sons grew to man's estate. One was George Louis, Seigneur of Orzens, who married (1737) Suzanne, daughter of Jean François de Cerjat (by Marie Elizabeth d'Erlach), who served in Flanders, returned to Lausanne in 1722, and died in 1754, the same year as M. de Warens. The second, Paul, sometimes called Seigneur de Chavannes and sometimes Seigneur of Villardin, who was born in 1705—the year of M. de Warens' visit to Lausanne—married (1743) his relative Marie Anne, daughter of Professor George Polier (by Suzanne Caille), and, surviving his brother and half-brother thirty years, succeeded to the seigniories of the family.

Paul de Loÿs had three children—George Sebastian, who died in 1767, and Charles Etienne, who died in 1802, both without descendants, the male line of Aubert de Loÿs de Villardin thus becoming extinct. Their sister, Louise Suzanne, born in 1747, espoused (1778) Juste Louis Duval de la Pottrie, son of Charles, by Françoise Suzanne de Seigneux, daughter of the Burgomaster Samuel de Seigneux.

Juste died in the Palud house, inherited from his father-in-law, August 22, 1818. His wife predeceased him by twenty-three years, dying at the de Loÿs château of Vidy, near Lausanne. Their only son, Charles Paul, born in 1780, developed a talent for painting, but died in Germany at nineteen. Of the two daughters, Louise, born in 1785, married in 1807 Count William de Larrey, major of dragoons in the service of Prussia, brother of Count Jean de Larrey, Chamberlain of the King of Holland. Count Jean's daughter is the present Madame Lucie Olivier, of the Bassets, near Clarens.

The second daughter, Angelique Caroline Wilhelmina, also born at Lausanne (1789), married in 1812 Charles Louis Balthazar de Steiguer, of the Sovereign Council of Berne, Bailiff of Buren, and afterwards lieutenant-colonel in the service of the King of the Two Sicilies, father of the present M. Charles de Steiguer, of Berne.

These two daughters were made the heirs of their uncle, M. Charles Etienne de Loÿs d'Orzens, last of the branch of the de Loÿs de Villardin, who died unmarried at Paris in 1802.¹

The four half-sisters of M. de Warens who grew up to womanhood were—Charlotte, who espoused (August 26, 1722) Jean Abraham de Polier, Seigneur of Bretigny; Jeanne Marie, who (April 1727) became the wife of George de Saussure, Seigneur of Bavois; Françoise, who married the same day Jean Augustin de Constant de Rebecque; and Sophie Louise, who married (1719) her relative, Daniel François de Loÿs, Seigneur of Middel, Trey, and Ecublens (the son of Jean Rodolphe de Loÿs, Seigneur of Marnand), to whom M. de Warens addressed the memoir printed in the second volume of this work. Daniel was ancestor of the only remaining branch of the de Loÿs, now represented in the male line at Lausanne by Jean Louis Henry, Marquis de Loÿs Chandieu, and M. Robert Ferrand de Treytorrens de Loÿs Chandieu.

During M. de Loÿs de Warens' stay at Lausanne occurred a total eclipse of the sun, which is described in a quaint manuscript of Jean Chessex, of Veraie, Justicier of Les Planches de Montreux, and a member of the family to which the present proprietor of the Hôtel des Alpes belongs.

'This total solar eclipse,' he writes, 'was the thirteenth after the birth of Jesus Christ; and the next, which will be the fourteenth, will be seen neither by us nor by many generations after us. The one of which I speak commenced at 8.54 in the morning. It was half over at 9.58, and was finished at 10.4. The sun was entirely obscured for the space of four minutes. This phenomenon arrived upon a day which was entirely clear and serene, and upon a Wednesday. It brought with it such a general fright, as much on account of the obscurity, which

¹ *Genealogical and Historical Notice of the de la Pottrie Family*, prepared by M. Charles de Steiguer for private circulation.

was as complete as in the middle of the night, as because it seemed everything was coming to an end, especially as all the stars were apparent. Many workmen were compelled to quit their labour or to demand a candle. The labourers and the vinedressers quitted their work and retired to their houses. The woodcutters found themselves in complete darkness in the midst of the forests. Travellers saw themselves enveloped in darkness in different places, exposed to robbers, who, knowing of this beforehand, had taken their measures to surprise the passers-by. Simple women or idiots, not informed of this eclipse, thought themselves at the beginning of the Last Day, and set to work to pray once at least, if they had never done so before. The most enlightened were not without fear and apprehension on account of this unaccustomed and entirely extraordinary event. The astonishment augmented all the more in perceiving, each in his place, that at the moment that the sun was about to become entirely black a certain failure of the heart and of all nature took place, which seemed to indicate a complete annihilation. The animals and the inanimate things were so much affected by this change, that they each and all gave signs, according to his species, that when God shall destroy nature at the end of the world, all the creatures will take their appropriate movement in this great destruction. So great is the power of that great God, Author and Preserver of the world, that during this eclipse the domestic beasts and animals retired to rest, and ruminated as in the night-time. The hens went to roost, the birds no longer sang their songs; while, on the other hand, those accustomed to sing in the night commenced their chants, which they immediately discontinued after the sun commenced ever so little to resume its force. The fishes betook themselves to the surface of the water, where they were easily taken with the hand. The dew began to fall at the highest moment of the eclipse. The bats began to fly, as they are wont to do in the night-time. Finally, as light began to appear, new matter of joy presented itself in such a manner that each returned to his work, and each thing to its ordinary habits. The rest of the day was fine and clear.’¹

¹ *Conservateur Suisse*, x. 83.

CHAPTER LXV

On August 28, 1706, after twelve months spent with his father at Lausanne, M. de Loÿs de Warens entered the Swedish service as an officer in the Swiss battalion, in which he apparently continued until elected captain of the company of the Chapter of Lausanne by order of their Excellencies, May 25, 1712, having not yet completed his twenty-fourth year. The battle of Bremgarten was fought two days after; but, although many of his relatives took part in this contest, I find no traces of his presence.

The war arose out of ancient difficulties, but the question of Toggenbourg was its pretext. Vulliemin, Daguet, Verdeil, and de Rodt, give interesting accounts and details which enable us to gain a clear view of the situation and progress of affairs; and an examination of the original authorities on which they base their narrations, and a multitude of others with which they were unacquainted, enables me to do justice to their accuracy.

The Prince-Abbot of St. Gall had purchased the Toggenbourg from the Sires of Riron, heirs of the ancient counts, but with the engagement that he was to formally respect the franchises and the religion of the people, four-fifths of whom belonged to the Reformed Church; out of fifteen thousand capable of bearing arms only three thousand were Catholics.

The Prince-Abbot, although the son of a shoemaker, had no sympathy with popular liberties; he oppressed the people with new taxes, and especially made himself disagreeable to the Protestants. The Toggenbourgeois revolted, and asked for aid from Schwytz and Glaris, while the Abbot signed a perpetual alliance with the Emperor Leopold I.

Zurich, which desired to get Toggenbourg under her political and religious direction, secretly fanned the flame; and Glaris, and then Schwytz, at her instigation, pronounced in favour of Toggenbourg. But divisions soon arose between them, and they came to blows even in the churches. The Catholics, partisans of the Bishop, were called Softshells, and their adver-

saries Hardshells. It therefore appears that there is nothing new under the sun, and that hard- and soft-shell Baptists and hard- and soft-shell Democrats had their predecessors in the early part of the eighteenth century.

Schwytz, now seeing that the matter was taking a religious turn, and that the Protestants were oppressing the Catholics, deserted them. The ambassador of France, Count de Luc, played a rôle similar to that of his predecessor, Labarde, during the War of the Peasants. To the Catholics he promised under his breath the aid of France; to the Protestants he declared that no French soldiers should pass the frontier.

Hostilities opened in April in the Toggenbourg, where Nabholz defeated the partisans of the Abbot of St. Gall. He was aided by five thousand Zurichois, Bernese, and Thurgovians. The bombardment of Wyl on May 21 and 22, 1712, having made him master of that place, Rorschach, and Rheinthal, he marched straight upon St. Gall and pillaged the abbey, whose fine bells were transported to Zurich, together with the rich library of the monastery, and, adds Vulliemin, four thousand cartloads of wine.

The lesser cantons had taken arms with their allies of the Valais and the Levantine. Lucerne and Zug imitated their example; Freiburg and Soleure, on the contrary, preserved their neutrality, to the great regret of the peasants in those cantons.

The war party at Berne, with the Advoyer Villading at its head, prevailed. The united forces of Berne and Zurich formed an effective force of sixty-four thousand men, to which the Catholic cantons could oppose only twenty thousand, twelve thousand of whom were Lucernois. But Berne and Zurich were obliged to divide their army. Berne placed some thousands of one upon the frontiers of Freiburg, and some corps of observation on the frontiers of the Valais, Unterwald, and Lucerne.

The Bernese army directed against Argovia consisted of twenty thousand men, in great part Vaudois soldiers, even the principal chiefs, after Tscharnier and Frisching, being Vaudois—General de Sacconay, Colonels de Gingins and Monier, and Major Davel, who were excellent officers trained in the wars of the Low Countries.

The first serious action was on May 26, at Bremgarten, in

Argovia, eighteen kilometres west of Zurich, on the right bank of the Reuss. Seven thousand Bernese were suddenly assailed and broken by three thousand five hundred Lucerne musketeers under Conrad de Sonnenburg, who were hidden by the bushes—hence the name *Combat des Buissons*. But the rear-guard, commanded by De Sacconay, De Gingins, Frankhäuser, and De Berthoud—whose little white horse remains, says Daguet, fixed in the popular memory—re-established the fight.

The Baron de la Sarraz, charging at the head of his dragoons, was killed. His lieutenants, Pache of Morges, De Thon of Yverdon, De Hennezel, and De Rovéréaz, fell killed or wounded. General de Sacconay and General de Gingins d'Eclepens, with Captains de Saussure, De Berchier, and Polier de Bottens, when the army was falling back in disorder, rallied the fugitives, re-formed the battalions, and led them on, under the command of General Tscharner, to a hand-to-hand combat.

Here the Lucerne forces appeared again to be getting the advantage, when Lieutenant-Colonel de Charrière de Sévery—ancestor of the present Major William de Charrière de Sévery of Mex—with his two captains, Guisan of Avenches and Duret of Lausanne, swept forward under a hail of balls at the head of fresh reinforcements, and succeeded in thrusting back the enemy, while Major Davel, aide-de-camp of Sacconay, sustained De Sévery with two battalions with such vigour, that the Catholics were beaten, and were obliged to submit with all the free bailiwicks.

De Crousaz de Mézery, De Cerjat de Féchy, and Major de Loys de Cheseaux, the latter at the head of a squadron of cavalry, likewise distinguished themselves in this battle.

The Bernese, united to the Zurichois, now proceeded to besiege the federal city of Baden. Ten thousand men, comprising five hundred Neuchâtelois, surrounded the place, which was defended by strong walls and casemated towers, and garrisoned by a thousand men. Fifty mortars commenced the bombardment, on May 30, 1712, and in a few hours would have destroyed the place had not Davel persuaded the inhabitants to surrender. The Zurichois, taking advantage of their victory, razed to the ground the ancient château with the fortifications

of the town, and divided with the Bernese the fifty pieces of artillery found in the Arsenal.

On July 25 the second battle of Villmergen took place near the flooded banks of the Bunz. At first the Catholics had the advantage, and their impetuous charges enfeebled the troops of Vaud and Neuchâtel; but, fortunately for the latter, a false manoeuvre of Pfyffer separated the right and left wings of the Catholics. Seizing the occasion, De Sacconay precipitated himself upon one wing, while Davel with his dragoons fell upon the other, and forced them into the waters of the Bunz.

Captain Polier de Bottens occupied the château of Hilficon, with two hundred men of Lausanne. Lieutenant-Colonel De Cerjat de Féchy, at the head of the battalion of Moudon, guarded the village of Villmergen, while Colonel Petitpierre, a quarter of a league to the right, occupied the heights of Sarmensdorf with five battalions.

Captain Delessert now volunteered to undertake a reconnaissance towards Bosswyll upon the route to Mouri, and at two o'clock in the morning he marched, with his Cossonay company and several hundred other men, on this duty.

Captain Jenner charged the Lucernois with his dragoons, and was the first to fall dead. General de Sonnenberg fell wounded under his horse, which was killed. Captain de Metral, of Payerne, was killed, and General de Diesbach, wounded, was only saved from death by his aide-de-camp, General Sturler, who in covering his body received three wounds. Quartermaster-General Tscharner fell mortally wounded by the side of General de Sacconay.

It was three o'clock in the afternoon. The heat was extreme, and the soldiers, who had been under arms for twelve hours, were dying of hunger, and especially of thirst. The devotion of the officers to their men at this trying moment was heroic. 'We should have been lost,' said Abraham Viard, of Vevey, 'if our Captain Hugonin and all the other officers had not done their duty and exposed themselves in every way.' More than two thousand corpses strewed the field of battle, and a body of eleven hundred men of the enemy's right wing were drowned in the waters of the Bunz.

Among the Vaudois officers killed were Lieutenant-Colonels

de Cerjat de Féchy and Quisard d'Arnex; Captains Métral, of Payerne, and De Pailly; Lieutenants Langin, Jacquiery, Demière, Challand, De Mestral, Martin, and Savigny, of Rolle. Among the wounded were Lieutenant-General de Sacconay, who received three wounds; Major Demorzier; Captain de Saussure; De Clavel, lieutenant of dragoons; Prelaz, Martin, Bourgeois, Estoppey, Muret, Vuilleumier, and many others. It was thus a costly victory.

Lieutenant-Colonel Jean Nicholas Quisard, Seignior of Crans, Arnex, Borrex, &c., was fifty-nine years of age at his death. He had distinguished himself in the service of Holland in the various battles of the War of the Succession, was wounded at Senef, lost an eye at Moncassel, and, having been noticed for his bravery at the battle of Mohacz, he had returned to his country and taken command of the battalion of fusileers of Nyon. He was descended from the Jurisconsult Quisard, Seignior of Crans, author of the first codes of the Pays de Vaud, dedicated to the Advoyer Jean de Steiguer, Baron of Rolle and of Mont. The Quisards had intermarried with the De Loÿs, as did the De Saussures, one of whom, Jean Louis de Saussure, for his brilliant services on this occasion, was created first Baron de Berchier.

The direction of the battle on the part of the Bernese and of their allies is an example of the manner in which the civil and military functions were joined. General de Diesbach took the command of the right wing, General Manuel that of the left, which he had already so ably led at Bremgarten. The President of the Council of War, says Verdeil, the old Banneret Frisching, and Lieutenant-General de Sacconay, preserved the command in chief. He refused this honour in the first instance, but eventually, at solicitations of the three generals, accepted, but for the form only. 'You direct the battle,' said he; 'as for me, I will march at the head of the army to give the example. I cannot better employ the few days which remain to me to live than in sacrificing them to my country. If I succumb, my death will be useful; it will excite our brave soldiers to avenge it.'

It was ten o'clock when, after having crossed the defile, the army took up its order of battle in the plain of Villmergen, at

a cannon-shot from the defile, and at the height of the little village of Hemmbrunn. Lieutenant-Colonel Quisard d'Arnex, posted with four hundred men from Nyon, seeing that the fight continued and that a difficulty had arisen, conceived the happy thought of quitting his retreat and marching where the cannon called him. He descended from Meiengrun, passed the bridge of Hendschikon, rallied the fugitives, and by his determined conduct arrested the attack of the Lucernois. This intrepid man received a mortal wound, but gave time to the division of De Diesbach to re-form its lines and make a successful retreat.

The retreat was forced by the discouragement of the soldiers, who, worn out by fatigue, refused to recommence. Every effort was made to recall them to their duty. In vain the Banneret Frisching cried out to them in the midst of the fire: 'Courage, my children. Do not abandon me; march with me. I wish to conduct you to victory and honour.' But suddenly Colonel Portefaix managed to electrify two hundred Vaudois grenadiers, and at their head dashed forward upon the Lucernois, crying, 'No quarter!'

Falling upon them, his men discharged their pieces at ten feet distance, and attacked them with the bayonet. Now ensued a varying struggle, which was decided by the arrival of the brigade of De Mulinen coming from the heights of Lenzbourg, accompanied by Colonel May's artillery. The enemy now made one more desperate effort, but in vain; and at six o'clock in the evening the battle was gained.

The two horns of Uri, a present from Charlemagne, which at the battle of Nancy had struck terror into the heart of Charles the Bold, and had since announced so many victories, were found among the spoil.

Peace was signed on August 11, 1712, at Aarau, whereby the five Catholic cantons renounced the county of Baden, Mellingen, and Bremgarten. The common bailiwicks were divided into two territories, one of which was common to the seven cantons, while the other was exclusively dependent upon Berne, Zurich, and Glaris.¹

These advantageous results were in a great part due, says Verdeil, to a statesman of the Pays de Vaud, General de St.

¹ Verdeil, ii. ; Daguet, ii.

Saphorin, who had powerfully seconded the Advoyer de Villading in the questions of Neuchâtel and the Toggenbourg, and in his resistance to Louis XIV. They were due also to General de Sacconay and the Vaudois officers, and to that militia of the Pays de Vaud which had gained renown at Bremgarten and Villmergen.

Berne obtained besides part of the co-regency of Thurgovia, Rheinthal, and Zug, and divided that of Rapperschwyl with Zurich and Glaris.

In return for the great services of the Pays de Vaud, Berne, says Verdeil, considered that she had fully cancelled the debt in deigning to accord to General de Sacconay the *grande bourgeoisie*, to the hero of Sins the *lesser bourgeoisie*, to a Vaudois captain the title of baron, to some officers small pensions, to others money, or even a medal struck in honour of the sovereign and victorious city, and to the soldiers the pillage of an unfortunate village.

Dagnet says that the conduct of Berne and Zurich proved that the object of the war was power and not religion. The battle of Villmergen was followed by the deplorable consequences which have always arisen from wars between Swiss and Swiss. The project of dismembering Switzerland was whispered at Versailles. The Austrians were to take possession of Zurich, and the French of Western Switzerland. Leopold I., Emperor of Germany, had been counselled by Paul de Hochet, his chancellor, to feign the lamb until he could show himself to be a lion. At the moment of the war of Villmergen, the Emperor Charles VI., thinking the day had come to show the lion, proposed to the states of the Empire to incorporate in the German body Switzerland, the cradle of his dynasty. But this project fell through on account of the opposition of the first King of Prussia, recently become Prince of Neuchâtel.

Two years afterwards a European congress was opened upon Swiss ground, at Baden. The ambassadors of two Powers—the Count Trautmansdorf and De Luc—revived the projects of diplomacy against Berne, and extended them to other parts of Switzerland. The plan was to take Vaud from Berne, in order to make another canton, or perhaps to annex it to France or Savoy, whose sovereign, now become King of Sicily, had

re-assumed the title of Count of Geneva and Baron of Vaud; also to restore to Austria the county of Kybourg, purchased by the Zurichois nearly three hundred years previously. Thurgovia was to be submitted exclusively to the Catholic cantons, and Neuchâtel given to the Prince of Conti; while the ecclesiastical principalities of Geneva, Basle, and St. Gall were to be re-constituted.

Fortunately, these views did not find favour in the minds of the two great leaders to whom belonged the solution of the questions arising out of the Treaty of Utrecht—namely, Prince Eugène, generalissimo of the imperial armies, and the Marshal Duke de Villars, representative of Louis XIV.

CHAPTER LXVI

In the year following the Peace of Aarau, and one week after the Peace of Utrecht—that is to say, April 18, 1713—Noble Sebastian Isaac de Loÿs was legally affianced to Noble Demoiselle Louise Françoise de la Tour, daughter of Noble Jean Baptiste de la Tour, *bourgeois* of Vevey, and Dame Jeanne Louise Warnery.

The marriage contract, which has never been published, was executed at Lausanne, and conceived in the following terms:

‘To the Honour and Glory of God. Treaty of Marriage has been made and promised to be accomplished under His benediction in the Church of the faithful, between Noble and Virtuous Sebastian Isaac de Loÿs, captain of a company of election for the service of their Excellencies of Berne, our sovereign seigniors, son of Noble and Generous Jean de Loÿs, Seignior of Villardins, Warens, Orzens, Prahins, Chaneaz, Montet, Chavannes, and other places, and citizen of Lausanne, and of the late Noble and Virtuous Dame Esther de Lavigny, assisted by the aforesaid Noble and Generous Seignior of Villardins, his father, and by the Noble, Generous, and Virtuous George Louis de Loÿs, his brother, Isaac de Loÿs, Seignior Lieutenant Bailiff, John Rodolphe de Loÿs, Seignior of Middel-

Councillor and ancient Boursier, Benjamin de Loÿs, Seigneur of Correvon, Councillor and ancient Boursier de l'Epargne, Daniel de Loÿs, son of the aforesaid Seigneur of Middel, Nicholas Bergier, Seigneur of Forel, and Etienne de Polier, Seigneur of Vernand and also Councillor at Lausanne, his relatives, and Noble and Virtuous Demoiselle Louise Françoise de la Tour, daughter of the late Noble and Virtuous Jean Baptiste de la Tour, *bourgeois* of Vevey, and of defunct Virtuous Dame Jeanne Louise Warnery, assisted and authorised by Noble and Virtuous Jean Baptiste de la Tour, Seigneur Assessor of the Consistory of Vevey, and Justicier of the Tour de Peilz, her paternal cousin, who has promised to obtain the ratification of the present treaty of marriage from Noble and Virtuous Jean Gamaliel de la Tour, his father, former Seigneur Castellan of Châtelard, paternal uncle and testamentary tutor of the aforesaid Noble Demoiselle spouse, absent on account of illness, and by the Noble, Generous, and Virtuous Christophe de Charrière, Seigneur of Mex, Cæsar de Charrière, Seigneur of Bournens and other places, Rodolphe de Charrière, Seigneur of Senarclens, Jean Pierre de Charrière, and Salomon Langin, her relatives. In view of which marriage the aforesaid Noble Louise Françoise de la Tour promises herself to the aforesaid Noble Sebastian Isaac de Loÿs, her dear spouse, with all the properties which she possesses, with the exception of those that Madame her stepmother enjoys for life, of all which the aforesaid noble husband will have the enjoyment during his life, excepting fifty *écus petits* which the aforesaid noble wife reserves to herself annually to dispose of as she shall see fit. And if Noble and Virtuous Jacques Françoise de la Tour dies without children, in that case the heritage of late Noble and Virtuous Louise de la Tour left to the aforesaid noble wife in accordance with the disposition made in her favour by the aforesaid Noble Louise de la Tour her aunt and godmother, the said noble wife shall then have the choice of giving annually the said fifty crowns to her said noble husband, or to allow him to enjoy in their place the said heritage of her aunt and godmother.

'Item.—The said noble husband has promised to clothe his said well-beloved wife and to give her jewels, the whole in a manner appropriate to her quality, or he shall give her instead

of the said jewels the sum of 2,500 florins, under the condition that they shall be reversible to the children with whom it may please God to bless them in this marriage. And if the aforesaid noble wife survives them, this sum shall belong to her alone, and she shall be enabled to dispose of it as her own property.

‘Item.—The aforesaid noble husband promises to his aforesaid noble wife instead of dower the sum of 20,000 florins, which shall be reversible to their aforesaid children; and if they should die before her the aforesaid 20,000 florins shall belong to her, with power to dispose of them as she may judge fitting and good.

‘Item.—The aforesaid noble husband has promised to make an inventory of all the effects of aforesaid Noble Demoiselle de la Tour his wife, in order that they may be properly acknowledged and recognised, as should be done.

‘Item.—If the aforesaid noble husband dies before the aforesaid noble wife, the relatives of the one and the other side shall regulate and agree upon the sum which shall be given annually from the property of the aforesaid husband to furnish a residence to the aforesaid noble wife.

‘And the aforesaid Noble and Powerful Seignior of Villardins, in order to mark his approbation of the present marriage, the friendship and the tenderness which he has as well for the aforesaid Noble Captain Sebastian Isaac de Loÿs his dear son as for the aforesaid Noble Demoiselle de la Tour the wife, gives and constitutes as *dot* to the aforesaid noble husband the sum of 20,000 francs, on account of which he gives and remits to him the domain and seignior of Warens, with all the rights and appurtenances which belong to it, the which he will remit upon the basis of what it cost him; and in case the price and the value of the aforesaid seignior of Warens does not amount sufficiently high to make the entire payment of the aforesaid sum of 20,000 francs, the said Noble and Generous Seignior of Villardins shall add the surplus of the aforesaid sum by paying it to the aforesaid Noble Seignior of Warens his son in the manner which shall seem to him proper.

‘Finally, the said Noble and Generous Seignior of Villardins has promised that, if in marrying some of the Messieurs

his other sons he should find it proper to portion them more advantageously than he has now done the said Noble Seigneur of Warens, he will augment the *dot* of the latter until it shall be entirely equal to that which it may please him to give to one of the others.

'And as to the other conditions which are not herein expressed, the parties submit themselves to the laws of the city of Lausanne, according to which the present treaty of marriage is made and passed in the aforesaid Lausanne, under the hand of the Notary and Secretary undersigned, in the presence of the aforesaid Nobles, Generous and Virtuous Seigniors relatives of the one and the other party, the eighteenth of April, one thousand seven hundred and thirteen.

(Signed)

'J. DE ILLENS.'

The contract was followed by the formal consent of Noble Jean Gamaliel de la Tour, uncle of the *fiancée*, which was added to the preceding document :

'The above-mentioned Noble and Virtuous Jean Gamaliel de la Tour, late Seigneur Castellan of Châtelard, has authorised the said Noble and Virtuous Demoiselle de la Tour, his niece and ward, in the promise of marriage which she hereinbefore contracted with Noble and Generous Sebastian Isaac de Loys, Seigneur of Warens, having also approved and ratified all the conditions contained in the contract of marriage hereinbefore written, received and signed by the subscriber, as witness the Act signed Resin, notary, dated the twenty-ninth of this month, inspected by the notary undersigned and placed in his hands the aforesaid day, the twenty-ninth of April, one thousand seven hundred and thirteen.

(Signed)

'J. DE ILLENS.'

This Act is engrossed on parchment, whose exterior has been yellowed by time, but whose interior remains white, while the writing is beautifully executed, neat, regular, and legible as print.

CHAPTER LXVII

THE entry of baptism of Françoise Louise de la Tour (Madame de Warens), found for me by M. Aymon de Crousaz, cantonal archivist, is dated April 5, 1699, the sponsors being her parents. As it was usual to christen a child about the tenth day, she was probably born March 25, so that she had only completed her fourteenth year at her betrothal. Certain manuscript notes of M. Baron, formerly archivist at Lausanne, in a copy of the spurious memoirs of Madame de Warens and Claude Anet in the library at Vevey, to which M. de Montet called my attention, show that Madame de Warens had a brother, Jean Etienne, born 1698, and a sister, born 1700, who both died in childhood. Shortly after, the mother (*née* Jeanne Louise Warnery, of Morges) also died, and in 1706 the widower married Marie Flavard, by whom, in that and the following year, he had two children—Jean Joseph, and Jacob; but neither survived, and their father died shortly afterwards. His wife, Madame de Warens' stepmother, survived until 1745.

The noble family of de la Tour, in Latin de Turre, held property in the village of Chailly, barony of Châtelard, in the fourteenth century. Nicole, wife of Jean de la Tour, of Chailly, in her testament (October 8, 1439), requested to be buried in St. Vincent's Church at Montreux, and instituted as heir her son Pierre (whose son Jean purchased a vineyard at Burier, and in 1451 became *bourgeois* of the Tour de Peilz).

Honnête Pierre Medici, *alias* de la Tour, acquired a house at Chailly in April 1534. One of the family, Pierre de la Tour, of Chailly, Notary and Curial of Châtelard, received a diploma from the powerful Baron of Châtelard, February 11, 1595, freeing him and his heirs for ever from all ground rents, corvies, military service, guards, and tribute of *furnace*, retaining only the fief and direct seignior. These favours were accorded in consideration of many agreeable services.

Noble Pierre de la Tour had two sons, Gamaliel and Gabriel. The latter was Châtelain of Châtelard in 1603, and

died in 1669 without issue. Noble and Spectable Gamaliel de la Tour espoused Barbille d'Asperling, daughter of George d'Asperling, Seigneur of Bavois, by Gingelle de Gingins. In two small volumes which he published, now of great rarity, he styles himself Sire Gamaliel de la Tour, of Vevey, Doctor of the two faculties of Medicine, and the Favoured of Mars.

His son George had eight children by his wife Demoiselle Suzanne Judith de Charrière, daughter of Noble Jean Jacques de Charrière, Seigneur of Mex and Bournens. Among them were Jean Gamaliel de la Tour, Châtelain of Châtelard, who married Marie, daughter of Noble Jean Baptiste Hugonin; Louise de la Tour, who espoused Jacques François de la Tour, her relative; and Jean Baptiste, father of Madame de Warens, who was Justicier and Councillor of the Tour de Pielz and married Jeanne Louise Warnery, of Morges.¹

Madame de Warens' grandmother, Judith de Charrière, was the sister of Abraham, Seigneur of Mex, Sebastian, Seigneur of Sévery, and Jean François, Seigneur of Bournens. These being dead, their sons figured in the marriage contract. Christophe was the son of Abraham, Seigneur of Mex; César, Seigneur of Bournens, was the son of Jean François; while Joseph Henri, Seigneur of Sévery (born 1676, died 1729), the great-grandfather of Gibbon's adopted son, and Rodolphe, Seigneur of Senarclens (born 1681, died 1746, his first wife a De Crousaz, the second a Bergier)—were the two sons of Sebastian, Seigneur of Sévery.

The position and relations of the various representatives of the De Loÿs family named in this contract have already been sufficiently ascertained. Nicholas Bergier, who is named among the De Loÿs connection, was Seigneur of Forel, which lay two leagues to the north of Moudon. It was given by Louis of Savoy, Seigneur of Vaud, in 1388, to Girard de Dizy, and at the end of the seventeenth century passed to the Bergier family of Lausanne. Benjamin de Loÿs, Seigneur of Correvon, who figures in the contract, was the son of a Bergier.

¹ *MS. Genealogy of the de Charrière Family.* According to Martignier, Judith de Charrière was Madame de Warens' great-grandmother; but it is evident, from the marriage-contract and the genealogy of the de Charrières, that she was her grandmother.

On August 17, 1713, M. Sebastian Isaac de Loÿs wrote the following letter (unpublished), whose address is wanting, but apparently directed to Jean Baptiste de la Tour, mentioned in the marriage contract as Madame de Warens' cousin, at Vevey :

'MONSIEUR,—Having surmounted the difficulties that we had with Monsieur d'Yvonand by the intervention of my uncle, De Willerens, I have received a note through this channel, which declares that he desists from his opposition; in accordance with which M. the Lieutenant-Substitute of the Consistory here has given me the enclosed Act, which I pray you to communicate to M. the Judge of the Consistory of Vevey, in order that my banns may be published on Sunday next at Vevey, as will happen here, God aiding. I will mark for you the articles of our agreement at the earliest moment, being obliged at this instant to go to the country, where I propose to await the result. I send you also our notices, which you will have the goodness to have published without fail on Sunday. I pray you to have the kindness to return the Act that I send you to the present bearers after you have made it known to M. the Judge of your Consistory, in order that I may make use of it here.

'Madame your cousin, &c.,

'Your very humble and very obedient servant,

'DE LOÿS DE WARENS.

'Lausanne, this 17th of August, 1713.'

It will be observed that the writer signs 'De Loÿs de Warens.' It is apparent, therefore, that immediately after the passage of the marriage contract his mother's seigniorship of Warens, which since her death had belonged to his father, had been conveyed to him.¹ The spelling of the name De Warens will also be remarked. The name was pronounced in Switzerland Warens, not Varens as in France. The observation at the end of the letter would seem to indicate that his intended wife

¹ *MS. Genealogy of the De Loÿs Family*, from the archives in the possession of the Marquis de Loÿs Chandieu. Martignier says the seigniorship belonged to his grandfather.

was then making a visit to her future father-in-law at the old house in the Palud.

The M. de Willerens mentioned was Noble Gabriel Henry de Mestral, Seigneur of Vullierens or Vuillerens, an important seigniorly lying to the north of Morges, the rebuilding of whose castle, begun in 1706, had been completed in 1712. He was the representative of a rich and powerful family in Switzerland, traceable by authentic documents to 1306, and possessing to-day a large number of castles and domains inherited from ancestors, such as Pampigny, Cousans, Etay, Vufflens-la-Ville, and St. Saphorin.

Gabriel Henry de Mestral took a deep interest in religious matters, and rebuilt the parochial church of Vullierens. He had married the paternal aunt of M. de Warens, who could not have possessed a better friend to arrange a technical or legal question.

M. Doppet, author of the fictitious 'Memoirs of Madame de Warens,' makes his heroine recount the experiences of her early years at a château he does not name, but which M. Baron says must have been that of the Tour de Peilz, where she passed her childhood. Doppet's work, which seems to be a rehash of the 'Memoirs of Rousseau' and gossip of the time, is full of errors; but the author, who conceals himself under the name of Madame de Warens, occasionally paints a trait approaching the truth. He represents, however, the father as devoted to the study of chemistry, and says the château was furnished only with furnaces and alembics. There is nothing to indicate that the château at that time was a habitable building. Madame de Warens' father certainly did not occupy it, for if there was a residence within its walls it would belong to their relative, Noble Jean Hugonin, its castellan.

In reality, she was educated at Vevey, and passed a portion of her time in the house of her cousin, Jean Baptiste de la Tour, and his wife (*née* de Rovéréa) at the Tour de Peilz, and was in constant communication with their relatives, the noble family of Hugonin. She also undoubtedly visited from time to time the family country seat at the Bassets, above Clarens, and the house at Chailly. Having lost her mother in her

infancy, says M. de Montet, she received from Marie Flavard, her stepmother, an education which was rendered easy by her natural gifts and love of study.

Doppet's 'Memoirs' and M. Baron's 'Notes' erroneously state that her marriage took place in 1723, and that her father died two years afterwards. M. de Montet also states that the marriage was celebrated in 1723; but the contract and the letters of M. de Warens to Jean Baptiste de la Tour in 1713, and to his brother in 1732, prove that ten years must be deducted, for, writing of his journey to Annecy in 1726, M. de Warens says he used this language in speaking to Madame de Warens: 'You must indeed have learned to know me very little in the twelve or thirteen years during which we lived together.'

From a memorandum of early date in the De Loÿs Archives (MS.) it appears that the marriage took place September 22, 1713. I have been unable, however, to ascertain whether it was celebrated at Vevey, Montreux, or Lausanne.

Although a child in years, Madame de Warens displayed precocious development and beauty, and there seemed to be little or no disparity between the girl of fourteen and the man of twenty-five.

CHAPTER LXVIII

Soon after marriage, the young couple removed to Vevey, where they took up their residence, probably in the house in which Madame de Warens was born. It is still standing, on the right-hand side of the Rue d'Italie, nearly opposite the Bazaar Oriental. It has been re-vamped, but retains its round arched doorways and general air of antiquity. It is a large mansion, three storeys in height, and is at present the Pension Maillard. I was informed by M. Cuenod that it belonged at one time to the De Hugonin family.

M. de Warens mentions it towards the end of June 1726, and says that an overflow of the lake created considerable damage at Vevey, the cellars, gardens, wine-presses, and all the lower parts being under water. He speaks of repairs made

by him at this time to this house and to their country seat. Ruchat, another eye-witness, says that this deluge submerged the shops and houses to the height of eight feet, but relates that in one of them an infant was saved as if by a miracle. 'The water gently raised the cradle and its contents, and carried it to a plank attached to the ceiling, on which it remained, and from whence it was rescued.' He adds that 'after this horrible overflow, the torrent having left its bed, they found in a spot near the town a spring of mineral water, of which many persons drank with profit.'¹

In 1714 M. and Madame de Loÿs de Warens took part in an interesting ceremony at Vevey. It came about in this wise. M. François Dangeau, Seigneur of La Beyle—perhaps a relative of the author of the 'Memoirs,' who had been a Protestant at one time, and whose whole family were Huguenots²—and his wife, Madame Elizabeth, *née* Grammont, had fled from France on account of their religious opinions, and taken refuge at Vevey. Their eldest son had been presented for baptism, August 12, 1705, by four members of the noble family of De Tavel; their second son, baptized on April 17, 1709, had as sponsors members of the De Joffrey, De Blonay, and De Tavel families. On September 3, 1714, their twin daughters were baptized, and M. and Madame de Warens were the sponsors of one, and M. de Frischung, Bailiff of Chillon,

¹ The story of the rescued babe reminds me of a tradition in the Norris family of Philadelphia. Their English ancestor, who in the seventeenth century resided in the West Indies, hearing that Mr. Penn was building a beautiful town on the Delaware, visited it, and was kindly received by the proprietor of Pennsylvania. He was so delighted with the new colony that he returned to transport his family to Philadelphia. But on arrival at the West Indian island he found that an earthquake had devastated the country, the site of the town and of his own house being represented by a black and angry sheet of water. While searching for some traces of his lost possessions he descried something glistening at a distance on the water, and on reaching it found it was the family kneading-trough, which contained his large silver soup-tureen, inside of which was a male negro baby. This relic was all that remained to him of home and country, besides his vessel. Returning to Philadelphia with this diminutive witness to his loss, he took an active part in developing the town, and rose to high office in the colonial government; and, having married again, became the father of a numerous family, which is to-day largely represented in the Quaker City. The soup-tureen, it is said, with the family arms upon it, is still in use; and the baby which it contained became the ancestor of a highly respectable black family, which for nearly two hundred years was attached to the service of the Norris family.

² *Vie de Dangeau: Journal de Dangeau*, i., p. xviii.

with M. Guillaume de Budé-Fernes and the Demoiselles de Mellet, sponsors of the other.¹

It will be seen that the family circle of the De Warens on both sides was composed of the most honourable personages in the Pays de Vaud, and the first year of married life must have been largely passed with friends in châteaux along the Leman.

The following letter, written by Madame de Warens at this epoch, which has not been published, gives us some glimpse of her surroundings and state of mind, though its close may have been somewhat adapted to the eminent Pietist, M. Magny, to whom it was written :

‘I have always attached so much importance to whatever may come from you, that I cannot but have the honour to reply to the letter you have given yourself the trouble to write me. I have read it with all the attention of which I am capable, and which it surely merits, since it embodies such a great number of passages of Scripture which we ought never to cease to meditate on and to study—for that alone can sustain us in ways that are slippery and of a kind to seduce us.

‘I admit that my life may appear mundane to a person completely absorbed in piety like yourself; but, my dear sir, I have always recognised in you such a good heart, and such an inclination to think well of persons whom you have scarcely had time to know perfectly, that I hope that you will exercise the same condescension towards me. That which flatters me the most are the kindnesses which you have extended to me, having been good enough to serve me in the place of a father during my youth, and having always shown me since a thousand marks of friendship, which have filled me with gratitude that will continue during my entire life.

‘Take into consideration, therefore, my dear sir, the situation in which I have been since my most tender years. My marriage having given me a quantity of relatives, friends, and acquaintances, who are persons distinguished by birth and by wealth, is it not just that I should make it my duty to do the

¹ Jules Chavannes, *Les Réfugiés Français*, pp. 264, 362. The eldest of these children, Henri Sigismond Rodolphe, was the architect of Westminster Bridge, and designed the plans for St. James's Palace, but, lacking economy, he retired to Paris, where he died poor and forgotten in 1781.

honours of my house, after having received and receiving every day in their house the most considerable attentions, which indispensably demand a return ?

‘I confess to you that my heart is such that I am charmed to pay these debts as far as it is possible. Moreover, if you knew intimately the character of these persons, and the manner in which we live together, I am persuaded that you would not find me so criminal.

‘If I had thought that my conscience was concerned in these hospitalities, I should certainly not have extended them, since nothing should be so dear to us, and since we ought to sacrifice everything rather than lose it. But I avow to you ingenuously that I do not think that religion condemns such innocent friendships.

‘I have never desired to shine nor to give myself airs on account of the worldly goods with which God has been pleased to endow me. I know, on the contrary, that the way to be agreeable to Him is to use with moderation the favours which He has accorded to us. I know, moreover, that He does not give us riches absolutely for ourselves, and that we ought to make it our pleasure to assist those who have need of our succour in making them partake of the favours we have received from His bounty.

‘But after all, I think that we may be permitted to use them with moderation and with gratitude, and to taste many pleasures which an easy situation ordinarily furnishes.

‘It may be that my youth serves to dazzle me, and to make me see the thing in a false light. I assure you, nevertheless, that I attach very little importance to that which I possess. I act with an indifference which sometimes surprises me. This is an entirely personal gift, for which I owe special thanks to God ; since, taking into consideration the ordinary course of life, we have, if I may speak thus, only a few moments to enjoy the objects which interest us and which flatter us. I shall esteem myself very happy if I can be always the same in this respect, in order that when it shall be necessary to quit them I can make up my mind to do so without pain, and break easily the ties which might still bind me so long as I shall dwell on this earth, which I only regard as a very thorny

passage, leading, if it please God, to a much happier and more permanent state, and enabling me to taste the veritable delights which I should uselessly seek here, since it is impossible to find them.

‘I thank you very humbly for the exhortations you have had the goodness to address to me, by which I shall endeavour to profit so far as it is possible for me to do so, and to retrench insensibly and little by little the superfluities of my life.

‘I pray earnestly for the preservation of your health, and am, with perfect sincerity and respect,

‘ Sir,

‘ Your very humble and very obedient servant,

‘ F. L. DE WARENS, *née* DE LA TOUR.’

This letter, which displays excellent qualities of head and heart, indicates the harmony at this time existing between husband and wife. M. Magny, of Vevey, to whom it is addressed, was a shining light among the sect of the Pietists, to which Madame de Warens’ father had always inclined; he had a large share in the supervision of Madame de Warens during her unmarried life, and afterwards exercised an influence which insensibly conducted her into the Roman Catholic Church.

M. de Warens, writing in 1782, many years after the divorce, says: ‘As for her indifference for the outer form in religious matters, she owes that in part to the principles of our Pietists. This was the sentiment of her deceased father, and it was also that of the late M. Magny, one of their principal doctors. For he told me himself on his return from the voyage which he made to Annecy to see my desertress, that he had never found the soul of the aforesaid so well turned towards God, nor in better disposition. These were his exact words, which greatly scandalised me.’

The correspondence with M. Magny continued for a long period, and was characterised by the general features of which this letter is an illustration.

François Magny, *bourgeois* of Vevey, was, says M. Jules Chavannes, Secretary of the Council for more than thirty years.

He resigned this charge, June 24, 1703, and was replaced by François de Palezieux, called Falconnet. He was elected Councillor of the Twelve, and succeeded in this quality to the Noble Seigneur de Tavel. To his initiative was owed the establishment of various official registers, among others that of the Little Bourgeoisie, dating from the year 1701.

Being accused of spreading refutations of the ministers' sermons against Pietism, he was obliged to justify himself before a commission named for this purpose by their Excellencies of Berne. According to him, Pietism was nothing more than a revival of piety, due to the spirit of God. At Geneva, whither he betook himself, his religious sentiments and his relations with the Pietists exposed him to the like attacks. He died at Vevey, unmarried, September 30, 1730, and the family died out with him.

The movement called Pietism, set on foot by Spener in Germany, of which much information is given by M. Jules Chavannes ('*Les Réfugiés Français*'), was an attempt to introduce into the Lutheran Church a more practical and fervid religious life. This movement, so respectable and so Christian in its principle, was without doubt allied in some minds with exaggerations. The name of Pietists was given by the Bernese Government indiscriminately to all sectarians. Various measures were taken to arrest the increase of the pretended sect by the Chamber of Religion established at Berne. This was composed of four senators, four councillors, the three first pastors, and the first professor of theology; it delivered sentences of confiscation and banishment, of scourging and branding, and attempts to escape from its decrees were punished by the galleys or death.

CHAPTER LXIX

M. DE WARENS had now entered into the full possession of the seignior of Warens, one league north of Echallens, on the Yverdon route. The village itself lay formerly in a forest extending as far as Essertines, and covering the territory comprised between the Santeruz and the Buron. It probably drew

its name from Warus, signifying an enclosure for the capture of wild beasts. Those who think M. de Warens caught a hornet may find something prophetic in this.

During the thirteenth century and afterwards the Church and Chapter of Lausanne possessed a great part of Warens—that is to say, the lands of Vernet, with a ground-rent and seigniorial rights, some serfs acquired from Willermé de Pont and others given by W. de Grandson, the half of the tithe given by the Canons Gui de Sassel and Girold Carbo, the avouerie of the church, and the great tithes. The right of presentation to this church belonged to the Bishop on account of the priory of St. Maire.

In April 1228 some people of Warens, not serfs of the Chapter, put to death in their village, Estavenier of Bercher and Hogonier of Cossonay. Thereupon the inhabitants of Bercher rose to avenge the victims. Calling to aid their neighbours of Belmont, they pillaged Warens, divided the plunder among them, and gave away what they could not carry off. On the day following, the men of Bercher returned to Warens and burned ten houses, four of which belonged to the Chapter of Lausanne. The Chapter sent two of its canons to demand the restitution of the plunder from the Dame of Belmont, who gave up a portion.

(This dame was Petronille, widow of Jordan de Grandson, who had died in the preceding year, leaving two sons, Richard and Berthold. Her sister, Colombe or Cécile, espoused Count Rodolphe III., of Gruyère.¹ From this family, according to M. de Gingins, George Deyverdun directly descended.)

The Chapter could not, however, obtain anything at Bercher. It took upon itself to address Jean de Cossonay, Sire of Bercher, and negotiations took place, followed by a treaty of peace, between the Seigniors of Belmont, of Bercher, and the Chapter of Lausanne.

The seigniorship of Warens was possessed in 1675 by Noble Jacques de Lavigny. It passed afterwards to Jean Louis de Loys, upon his marriage with the heiress of this house, Esther de Lavigny. Its estimated value at the time that M. de

¹ *Genealogy of the De Loys Family.* Martignier and De Crousaz say Jean Philippe de Loys; but this is a mistake.

Warens' father presented it to him was 20,000 francs, but it was sold in 1728 to Jean Pierre Bergier, of Lausanne, colonel in the service of Holland, for 30,000, equivalent to 45,000 francs in money of to-day.

I have already mentioned the De Warens mansion at Vevey. It presented a large façade to the street, and its beautiful grounds extended to the lake. The situation of the town itself was charming. 'Protected,' says Bridel, 'by the majestic Alps, seated at the foot of hillsides covered with vines, and on the borders of a laughing lake in the midst of a fertile and healthy country, it seemed to have been created as the abiding-place of happiness.'

The peculiar characteristics of Vevey, and the mediæval imprint it preserved, gave it an atmosphere of romance. It had been called Vibisco in the Itinerary of Antoninus, Vivisco in the Theodosian Table, Viviacum and Vivesium in the Middle Ages, and Vivis in German. M. de Warens' relative, De Loÿs de Bochat, thought he discovered its etymology in that of the Vivisci, a Gaulish people from the environs of Bordeaux; but Baron de Gingins found its origin in the Roman Biviæ, rural divinities protecting all cross-roads. As the two roads, one leading to Lausanne, the other to Minnodunum, crossed near Vevey, to the west of the great bridge over the Veveyse, it seems possible that this Bivium, or cross-road, gave the town its name.

In the earlier centuries of our era, according to M. de Gingins, Vevey was a much-frequented stopping-place upon the military route from Milan into Gaul, across the Alps and the Valais. The Roman city occupied the eastern part of the present town, and here have been found many ancient relics, for the first settlement was destroyed in the third century by the Allemanni. It was again ravaged in the early fifth century.

Martignier—drawing upon his own researches and his personal knowledge of the place, upon Baron de Gingins' remarkable account of the avouerie of Vevey, and, above all, upon the MS. memoir of M. de Joffrey written in 1660—paints a clear and admirable picture of the curious and often perplexing institutions which grew up at Vevey during the Middle Ages, and which produced castles and fortified houses

in the town and its vicinity, many of which continued in the time of M. de Warens.

In the second half of the tenth century, under the peaceful reign of Conrad, King of Burgundy, after he had purged the country of the Saracens, who had so long desolated it, Vevey began a new and prosperous career. His son and successor afterwards took up his abode there for a time, and it became a royal domain. He was accompanied thither by Queen Ermengarde, and by the Bishops of Lausanne, of Sion, and of Aoste, with a numerous suite.

In 1088 the Emperor Henry IV., on his return from Italy, also passed some time at Vevey, and the charter whereby he restored the Priory of Lutry to the Abbey of Savigny is dated from this place. Three or four years later, Lambert de Grandson, who occupied the episcopal seat of Lausanne, gave to Vaucher de Blonay, his nephew, the seigniorship of Corsier and that part of Vevey which he had recently received from the Emperor.

The same monarch had bestowed the properties of the Abbey of St. Maurice of Vevey upon the Bishops of Sion, several of whom were Abbots of this monastery, and profited by their position to despoil it for the benefit of the episcopal domain of Sion. It was in this way that the Bishop of Valais found himself the territorial and feudal possessor of the rich territory between the Bay of Montreux and the Veveyse, and between the lake and the valley of Frunce, including Montreux, Blonay, and Vevey, although, says M. Martignier, the spiritual jurisdiction belonged to the diocese of Lausanne.

The Bishops of Sion being separated from Vevey by the Chablais, which belonged to the House of Savoy, with whom they were frequently at war, judged it proper to place their lands at Vevey under the protection of two powerful seigniors capable of guarding them. These seigniors were the Count of Genevois and the Sire of Faucigny. The Bishops had given to the former the temporary exercise of royal rights for the districts of Montreux, Tour de Peilz, Vevey, Blonay, and Frunce, under designation of a viscountship. As Viscount the Count of Genevois received the homage of the noble vassals of the Bishop, and levied certain dues attached to his office.

Aymon de Faucigny, on the other hand, seems to have received, about 1220, the avouerie of Vevey, ceded to him by Landri, Bishop of Sion, for the sum of fifty livres; but as the avouerie implied homage to the Count of Genevois in his quality of Viscount, the Sire of Faucigny gave it up to Rodolphe III., Count of Gruyère, who in 1231 mortgaged it to his brother-in-law Aymon, Seignior of Blonay, for a hundred and seventy livres.

The various *avoués* of Vevey long declined to do homage to the Count of Genevois; and the difficulty was not terminated until 1257, when the Count of Gruyère gave way to Peter of Savoy, and sold him the avouerie of Vevey for six hundred and twenty livres. To this were attached the supreme jurisdiction, fines and penalties of sixty sols and upwards, two-thirds of the confiscations, two-thirds of the fees in criminal processes, and half the fines for infringement of the road regulations. (The Counts of Savoy were *avoués* not only of Vevey, but of the monastery of Payerne. The Sires of Blonay and Oron were *avoués* of the Abbey St. Maurice for its properties in the Pays de Vaud.)

Peter of Savoy now became the ruling seignior of Vevey, and was both Viscount and Mayor, the Count of Genevois being no longer named in public documents.¹

In 1267 Count Peter of Savoy gave to Aymon de Blonay in exchange for the Château of Font, on Lake Yverdon, and the Market of St. Paul above Evian, the right to have a port on his possessions at the Tour Ronde for the transportation of his provisions from one shore to the other, and the avouerie of Vevey, including the mayorie and the viscountship, and

¹ The feudal title of Mayor was applied to the officer who administered a seigniorial estate. He had the inspection of the rights and revenues of his seignior. Monasteries, as a rule, governed the estates belonging to them by Mayors, who enjoyed also the rights of inferior jurisdiction. Many mayories became hereditary offices, and were eventually transformed into seigniories. In the latter respect they were like the somewhat less important office of Mestral, which originally regulated the different measures, and inspected them in the hands of the merchants and in the market-place. This office was nothing less than the right of police accorded to villages and towns by the Seignior. This right received afterwards great extension by the concessions of different seigniors. Many received the privilege to judge small offences and to impose fines. The mestrals appointed by the lay princes or by bishops had in general more extended attributes, approaching in fact to those of castellans, by whom they were presently replaced.

the homage due from the fiefs which the Sires of Oron held at Vevey.¹

The Sires of Oron, however, refused for many years to do homage on account of domestic dissensions which had arisen after the death of Count Peter between his heirs. Nevertheless, at the close of the arbitrament in 1284 between the Sires of Blonay and those of Oron, Amadeus d'Oron did homage on the Place of Vieux-Mazel to the Seignior of Blonay as *avoué* of Vevey.

The House of Blonay kept this *avouerie* under the sovereignty of the House of Savoy, who, by treaty of the year 1306, reserved to itself the right to pronounce upon cases appealed from the Court of the *avoué* to that of the Count.

Count Peter had ceded, moreover, to Aymon de Blonay, the *avouerie* of St. Sulpice Monastery, near Lausanne, upon which depended the priory of Blonay, and many other rights and fiefs at Bex, in the territory of Evian, between the Bret and the Dranse. The latter was therefore Seignior of Blonay in Chablais, of St. Paul above Evian, Sire of Corsier, and co-Seignior of Vevey, with the supreme jurisdiction and with the right of capital punishment in the town and territory of Vevey from the lake as far as the valley of Fruence or of Chastel St. Denis.

The Bishop of Lausanne had once more become co-Seignior of Vevey towards the year 1221, by purchasing from Gaucher de Blonay for 290 livres the one-fourth part of the town previously given to the latter by Lambert de Grandson.

In 1348 the Count of Savoy recognised the Bishop as possessing the right to have a crier, the *chevauchée*, &c., in the bourgs of Vieux-Mazel and of Bothonens. These were held in fief by the House of Blonay.

The Chapter of Lausanne possessed the Church of St. Martin, with some vineyards, lands, and even men, at Vevey. At the beginning of the thirteenth century thirty-two houses belonged to them, and could not be occupied except by their liegemen, who were ruled by a mayor. The latter also administered justice in the name of the Chapter.

¹ *Avouerie de Vevey: Mém. et Doc.*, xviii. 35. (Baron de Gingins.)

CHAPTER LXX

As we have seen, the House of Oron possessed a co-seigniorship of Vevey from the early thirteenth century, doing homage for it to the Bishop of Sion, and afterwards to the De Blonays. It possessed to the west of Vieux-Mazel the bourgs of Oron-dessus and Oron-dessous, occupying in part the Rue du Simplon and the Rue du Lac. The seigniors of Oron also founded to the west the bourg of Villeneuve, between the Rue de la Croix Blanche and the ancient moat near the market-place. Towards the middle of the fourteenth century they founded the bourg of Bothonens at the eastern extremity of the town, in the faubourg occupied by the Lombards, or Italian money-changers.

In 1380, says Martignier, they ceded to the Count of Savoy the castle and mandement of Oron, with all its rights, from the Mont-sur-Vevey as far as the rivulet of Longe Aigue, in exchange for the fortified house which the Count of Savoy possessed below the church of Montreux, with all their rights between the torrent of the Baye at Montreux and that of the Veraye. I have been unable to find any trace of the aforesaid fortified house at Montreux.

On the site of the house known as the Cour au Chantre at the eastern extremity of the bourg of Oron-dessus, there was a great tower, of which in 1660 some foundations were traceable amid the more modern constructions. According to local tradition, this tower goes back to the last kings of Transjuran Burgundy, who had a royal residence at Vevey. However this may be, in the second half of the thirteenth century it belonged to Girard d'Oron, Chanter of the Chapter of Lausanne, Dean of Vevey, then Dean of Valeria at Sion, and brother of Pierre d'Oron, Bishop of the Valais, who constituted him his universal legatee.

This canon, magnificent as he was rich, who acquired in 1295 from the bishopric of Sion the vidomie of Montreux and the barony of Châtelard, built or enlarged his family manor-house, and by will (1310) bequeathed it to his nephew Girard, son of Amadeus d'Oron, Seignior of Bossonens, who succeeded his uncle in his ecclesiastical dignity.

Out of this arose the name of Cour au Chantre given to this seigniorial mansion. M. de Joffrey, in a manuscript of 1660, says that the name of this house was derived from the fact that the Canons of St. Martin dwelt there. But M. de Gingins justly remarks that he confounded the choristers singing at the desk with the chanter or canon of the dignitaries of the Chapter of Lausanne.

The Sires of Oron, co-Seigniors of Vevey, had, moreover, another manorial residence, situated below the Cour au Chantre, tending in a straight line towards the lake at the south-western angle of the bourg of Oron-dessus. This fortified house was called the Court of Oron. It was defended by a square tower, whose base was bathed by the waters of the Monneresse on its western side, and it dominated the Place of Boatel and the ancient landing-place of the Vevey market.

It is worthy of note in passing that the name of *curia*, or court, was generally given to those houses in towns which were the seats of seigniorial judges.

From the thirteenth to the fourteenth century, the Sires of Blonay had two seigniorial houses at Vevey. One was situated on the borders of the lake at the eastern angle of the Vue de Blonay-dessus adjoining the bourg of Bothonens. It was here that the seigniors resided and held their feudal court before they acquired the avouerie of Vevey. An inferior officer, called a seneschal or *dapifer*, rendered justice in their name.

This fortified manor occupied the site of the Cornilliat house, now the Rossier mansion, at the end of the Rue d'Italie towards the Place Orientale.

The office of seneschal or *dapifer*, which was reputed noble, became hereditary in the family of the nobles of the name of Séchaux, existing at Vevey until early in the fifteenth century.

When the Sires of Blonay were invested, in 1267, with the avouerie and viscountship of Vevey, they acquired the fortified house called later Belles-truches, from the name of a family of Chambéry allied to them. This manor, a veritable feudal château, with moats and drawbridges, its walls lapped by the waves of the lake, stood at the eastern angle of the lower street of Vieux-Mazel.¹ It occupied the site of the present Hôtel

¹ Note of M. de Mellet, *Bailliage de Chillon*, p. 17.

Monnet, situated between the Rue du Lac and the Rue d'Italie. It was crowned by a high square donjon, commanding a view of the greater part of the Leman. The thickness of the wall was such that the family dined in the embrasure of the windows. M. de Joffrey, in 1660, speaks as having seen this, which I readily believe, having remarked an embrasure of this kind in the Castle of Blonay at the Tour Ronde, on the other side of the lake.

Besides exercising inferior jurisdiction over the bourg of Vieux-Mazel, this stronghold was the seat of the feudal court of the *avoué* of Vevey, whose supreme jurisdiction embraced the whole town and its territory.

Many other noble families of the Pays Romand, who possessed fiefs at Vevey and in its environs, had in the town itself houses flanked by high towers and turrets, round or square, some of which still remained at the beginning of the eighteenth century. These lofty constructions dispersed throughout all the quarters must have given to the place a peculiarly picturesque aspect.

In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, before the foundation of the Quarter of the Saviour, the great market of Vevey occupied in part the site of this new quarter, between the street called the Ancient Port (the Boatel) to the east, and the ancient bed of the Veveyse, marked by the covered rivulet which cuts in two the present spacious Place of to-day. This old bed of the Veveyse formed the limit between the jurisdiction of Vevey and that of Corsier, otherwise Lavaux.

The site of the market, where fairs were held, had been determined by the impossibility which the boatmen found in landing at any other point, on account of the great depth of the lake.

The Chapel of the Saviour was built in the market-place. The market was held each Tuesday, and opened after morning Mass to the sound of the chapel bell. Any trafficker who began to sell before the bell had sounded was fined, and the faculty of imposing and collecting these fines constituted the right of *sonnerie*, as it was called, of which there is frequent mention in the charters of Vevey. There were, besides, two other markets each week: one on Friday, in the covered fish-

market on Place St. Claire, towards the west—for they consumed vast quantities of fish during the fast-days—and one on Saturday, before the slaughter-houses in Place Vieux-Mazel, where the burghers and foreigners provided themselves with fresh meat for the holidays. After the evangelical reform the covered market was demolished, and the Saturday market was united to that of Friday.

In the old town, comprehending the Vieux-Mazel and bourgs of Oron and Blonay, the inhabitants were divided into feudatory nobles, *bourgeois*, and tenants holding inalienable lands.

These sections of the old town took the name of the noble houses to which they respectively belonged under the feudal *régime*, names preserved until 1842, when the traditional designations were replaced by others having no relation with either the localities or the town's history. In comparing the new names with the old, it would seem impossible to devise a more brutally inane set of designations.¹ They are a disgrace to Vevey. In using this mild language I wish it to be distinctly understood that I should be glad to speak in still milder terms of many like instances in my own country.

Each section of Vevey had its mill and its common furnace. The parochial furnace of the *bourgeois* of the old town was at the Vieux-Mazel in 1332.

In 1352 the *avouerie*, viscounty, and mayorie were divided between the Count of Savoy and his immediate feudatories, Jean de Blonay and François de la Sarra; and in this year Jean Curnilliat, *bourgeois* of Vevey, presided over the court of the mayorie and viscounty of Vevey in the name and on account of François de la Sarra, knight, *avoué* of Vevey, who judged a suit pending between François Dupont, donzel, and the two daughters of the late Mestral de Vuippens, *bourgeois* of Vevey.

This curious process enables us to understand the composition of this kind of tribunal. The *avoué*, or his lieutenant, who presided over the court, was assisted by a certain number of *prud'hommes* of Vevey, sitting and deliberating with him as

¹ For instances of the insignificance of the new names see Verdail, ii. 442.

judges of the custom. Among these we find Pierre Preux, Michel Musard, Thomas Favre, Jacques de Lausanne, Mermet de Villarzel, and Roland de Tavel. The tribunal was held in the open air beyond the walls of the tower of Oron, before the house of Thomas Fabri, on the borders of the Monneresse in the bourg of Oron-dessous. (This house belonged in 1840 to the Pastor F. Chavannes.)

The town of Vevey was divided, as we have seen, into various boroughs, subject to different seigniors, and each possessed its peculiar constitution. There were to be found here 'free men,' so called, persons holding lands they could not alienate, and others subject to the payment of ground-rents. There survived, in fact, various conditions to which the populations in the Middle Ages were subjected.

The boroughs were furnished with formidable gates, and with fortified castles and walls strengthened by towers. The lake was on one side of the town, and moats and ditches defended the other approaches. There were eight gates at Vevey in the middle of the sixteenth century, five or six of which lasted to the end of the eighteenth, and of course were in use in M. de Warens' time, and during Gibbon's several residences in Switzerland.

Each borough or quarter of the town had its chapel—namely, St. Anthony on the Bridge of the Veveyse, the Madeleine at the Favre, St. Saviour at the Port, St. John at the Vieux-Mazel, the Chapter near the prisons, St. Paul in the Quarter of Bothonens, and St. Eloi at the Martheray outside the town.

There was also, says M. de Joffrey, in the middle of the Place, opposite the bridge over the Veveyse, a public chapel founded in honour of the Holy Ghost by the nobles of the town, in which there was a confraternity of the nobility of the country; and for reception into this order it was necessary to prove the nobility of both father and mother. This confraternity had an annual fête-day, to which all the brotherhood were obliged to go under penalty of a fine. On the morning of the fête they rode in parade, two by two, with lance and shield, to the chapel, where they heard Mass, after which they dined together at the house of the Grand Master of the order, who kept an account of their revenues. They did not separate with-

out examining the life of each brother, and if he had done anything unworthy of his quality, he was expelled from the order. Also, before separating, they received other brothers into their order if presented and found acceptable.

This chapel with its fraternity terminated at the Bernese conquest of the country, there being no longer need of Mass; and its revenue was added to that of the little hospital called the Madeleine, and later to that of the great hospital under care of their Excellencies.¹

M. de Joffrey mentions a document in the Vevey archives of the year 1060, which contains a donation to this abbey and confraternity. If this assertion be correct—it appears scarcely credible—this abbey antedates the one of similar character at Berne by nearly five centuries, and precedes even the birth of that town by more than a century and a quarter.

The brotherhood is likewise mentioned in a contract of the year 1472 between the Governor of Vevey, who was also rector of the body, and Jean Joffrey, ancestor of the distinguished family of that name.²

Towards the middle of the fourteenth century the Counts of Savoy succeeded in regaining for themselves the entire jurisdiction and the eminent domain. From this moment all parts of the town were submitted to a uniform rule, though still preserving individual seigniors.

The supreme jurisdiction, or *haute justice*, included the right to inflict capital punishment. The French language continues to apply the feudal term of *exécuteur des hautes œuvres* to the public executioner.

In 1370, Vevey, taking advantage of the presence of Count Amadeus VI. at Morges, sent to him a deputation soliciting the same franchises which the House of Savoy had accorded to other towns of the country. In consequence of this request and in consideration of the loyal services rendered to his house by Vevey, the Count accorded them a charter of franchises. It is dated Sunday, July 7, 1370. The concession was not, however, entirely gratuitous, as the town was obliged to pay the Count 1,200 florins in gold of good weight.

¹ *Bailliage de Chillon en 1660*, p. 18.

² *Vevey et ses Environs au Moyen Age*, par M. Martignier, p. 83; *Noblesse de Vevey et de ses Environs*.

These franchises, resembling those of other towns in the Pays de Vaud, brought a prosperity which was scarcely interrupted during the paternal domination of the House of Savoy.

Vevey always formed a part of the bailiwick of Chablais, separated by the Veveyse from the bailiwick of Vaud. It was not detached from the crown of Savoy until 1497, at the same time as the Tour de Peilz, Evian, and Montreux. Duke Philip at that time gave it as a dowry to his niece Louise, daughter of Janus of Savoy, when she espoused François de Luxembourg, Viscount de Martigues.

When the Bernese took the Pays de Vaud in 1536, Vevey and the other domains of François de Luxembourg were considered as included in their conquest. The Viscount, however, vigorously expostulated, and even went to Berne in 1544 to make good his demands, which had been urged in vain. Finally, the King of France recommended the Viscount to their Excellencies, and he obtained from Berne the restitution of these seigniories, subject to homage.

François de Luxembourg now farmed out these restored territories to various high personages in the Pays de Vaud. The nobles Jacques de Cerjat of Moudon and François Mayor of Lutry had the farming of Vevey and Belmont, near Yverdon, from which they derived considerable profits.

From documents in the archives of Vaud it appears that François de Luxembourg passed, in 1547, a mortgage for the sum of 4,950 *écus au soleil*, in favour of their Excellencies, on the security of the seigniories of Vevey and Belmont; and that in 1548 and 1550 the two parties were engaged in a suit concerning the restitution of Vevey and Tour de Peilz.

Five years afterwards the Viscount was dead, and their Excellencies took possession under their mortgage of half of the tolls of Vevey. In 1558 the treasurer, De Steiguer, allowed Sebastian de Luxembourg, Viscount of Martigues, to repurchase this half.

Later, the jurisdiction passed to Noble François de Seigneux, Burgomaster of Lausanne and Seigneur of Vuflens, from whom their Excellencies withdrew it at the request of the inhabitants of Vevey in 1565, at the price of 1,840 gold crowns.

Finally, in 1570, Madame Marie de Banquert, Duchess of

Penthièvre, widow of Sebastian de Martigues, and tutoress of her daughter, endeavoured to obtain from their Excellencies the restitution of the seigniorie of Vevey, which, however, was refused on October 24 in the same year.¹

CHAPTER LXXI

M. DE JOFFREY, writing in 1660, says there had always been a contest as to precedence between Vevey and the four good towns of the Pays de Vaud—Moudon, Yverdon, Morges, and Nyon. The latter asserted that the former ought not only to cede to the four good towns together, but also to each one in particular, because they had always been called ducal towns, whereas Vevey had always been subject to various seigniors.

The people of Vevey, however, claimed that their town was very ancient, and as large and populous as the four good towns put together; that, moreover, it had always been filled with more nobles than the latter collectively, there having been, before the Bernese conquest, more than thirty noble families therein of different names and arms; that, further, it was richer than all the four towns; that it possessed a college of five classes, each of two orders, whose students, after graduation, were received at that of Lausanne; that it was by an abuse that the four good towns took the name of ducal towns, since the Pays de Vaud was only a barony, whereas the town of Vevey had formed part of the duchy of Chablais, of which it was a dependency; and that the barony of Vaud, being dependent on and owing homage to the duchy of Chablais, it could never be considered just to raise the feet higher than the head; that, from the point of view of the Church, the town of Vevey had been chosen and established by the ancient councils to be the second deanery of the ancient bishopric of Avenches, which had afterwards been transported, in the year 501, to Lausanne, but as Avenches had remained a deanery, that of Vevey was reduced one degree, being since that time the third in rank of the eight deaneries of the bishopric of Lausanne.

¹ Martignier and de Crousaz, p. 914; *Avouerie de Vevey*, by the Baron de Gingins. *Mém. and Doc.* xviii.

It must be considered, also, as the richest in Church properties, taking into account the three temples and the eighteen chapels founded and endowed by the nobility of Vevey, with, moreover, the convent of the order of St. Claire, whose members were all of noble rank, and were obliged to prove the nobility of both parents in order to find entrance.¹

Finally, it was declared only necessary to examine the cartulary of Lausanne to see that the deanery and chapter of Vevey were composed of thirty-one priests, including the dean, and had the direction of forty-two parishes—without counting the affiliated churches; whereas not one of the four good towns ever had the right to a deanery. The town of Moudon, the first in rank of the said good towns, had always been a dependency on the deanery of Vevey, and in case of the decease of one of its priests or vicars it was obliged to address itself to the dean and the chapter of Vevey to establish another, which appointment was subject to the confirmation of the Bishop of Lausanne.

‘The town of Vevey recognises’—says M. de Joffrey in 1660—‘no other seigniors than their Excellencies, our Sovereign Seigniors; whereas Moudon is in part subject to a co-seignior, or vice-dominus, who is M. de Loÿs de Villardin, and it is not long since the Baron of La Coudray was co-Seignior of Yverdon, with the same rights that the Noble de la Baulme had in Yverdon, and which now M. de Crans has in the town of Nyon.’

In the library at Berne I found a manuscript by an unknown author, which entirely corroborates the statements of M. de Joffrey, Baron de Gingins, and M. Martignier, and adds some interesting details. It says that from the time of the conquest by the Vandals and the Burgundians until the year 1373, a part of the town was subject to some noble houses, who were burghers of the said locality, and there were then only seven streets enfranchised and free from subjection, which had always perfectly maintained their rights, privileges, and liberties against the aforesaid seigniors, and these were the Rue de la Dina, the Rue de la Ville Neuve, the Rue du Bourg-ès-Favres, the Rue du Vieux-Mazel, in the middle of the city, where the Hôtel de Ville and the hospital are, and the Rue de Bortonens

¹ *Bailliage de Chillon en 1660.*

(sic), and as to the other streets they were subject to the noble houses of Oron, of Belles-truches, and of Blonay, and they still bear the names of their aforesaid seigniors.¹

These quarters of the town were closed by great gates. Each seignior lived in his quarter, and had a fortified house surrounded by good ditches, which fortified houses still exist, but without any jurisdiction or domination; as also the aforesaid fortified and privileged house of the Cour au Chantre, belonging anciently to the family of De Joffrey, and the house of Vuippens, belonging anciently to the family of De Tavel, which have the same privileges.

Vevey possesses some fine privileges, liberties, and franchises, usages and customs, written and unwritten, which were confirmed from time to time by the Dukes of Zaehringen and of Savoy; and still later, in 1536, by the Seignior and Sovereignty of Berne, in an instrument which passed between them and Pierre Blanc, Vidom of St. Denis, Banneret and Chief of the town of Vevey, deputed for this work, as attested by letters and seals.

One of this family, Pierre Blanc, says M. de Mellet, in his notes to the 'Bailliage de Chillon en 1660,' assisted at the siege and taking of Rome, as aide-de-camp of the Duke of Bourbon, in 1527. He bore such a strong resemblance in figure and face to the Duke, that when the latter fell, mortally wounded, fearing that the courage of his soldiers might be enfeebled, he ordered himself to be immediately taken into his tent, and directed Pierre Blanc to clothe himself in his armour and show himself with his visor up at the head of the troops. The army thought that he was the Duke, and carried the town by assault. Pierre Blanc received as recompense four thousand francs, with the right to bear the Duke's arms, and was thenceforth known under the name of Blanc-Bourbon.

I have already referred to the strengthening of the walls of Lausanne against the Ecorcheurs. In 1446 these brigands found means to introduce themselves into Vevey from the lake. The town was taken by surprise and pillaged. Also, in 1475, towards the end of October, a troop of moun-

¹ *Annotations du Bailliage de Vevey en Chablais et à présent terre de Berne*; *MS. Hist. Helv.* xi. 16, N° xii. p. 83.

taineers from Gessenay and Simmenthal passed the Col de Jaman, and surprised and plundered the town, seized its flag, and exacted a ransom in money, under the pretext of avenging themselves for some pasquinades of the people of Vevey against the Germans. Freiburg, on this occasion, interposed, and obtained from the mountaineers return of the flag and exemption from contribution.

In June, 1476, before the battle of Morat, the bands of Zurkinden invaded the Chablais in order to create a diversion against the Burgundian army encamped about Lausanne. They seized the Tour de Peilz, and put all its gallant defenders to the sword, then advanced upon Vevey, a portion of whose soldiers had fallen at La Tour. On the approach of the invaders the inhabitants fled, with the exception of a few unfortunates who were overtaken at the Veveyse Bridge, and fell under the blows of the enemy. The deserted town was now sacked and partially burned by the soldiery, who then betook themselves to the country and neighbouring castles, where for three days they gave themselves up to every kind of excess. Their leader, moreover, imposed on all the manors which escaped the flames a contribution of five thousand livres, which he distributed to his men at the rate of six livres per man.

The impression left by the mountaineers was so vivid that the unhappy inhabitants who had taken refuge in Savoy and elsewhere long hesitated to return and rebuild their family altars. Many never came back, but abandoned their beautiful country altogether.

When, in 1536, the Bernese army, after delivering Geneva, returned to the Pays de Vaud to complete the conquest, it met at Morges a deputation from Vevey bearing the submission of their town, while seeking to obtain the best conditions. This deputation was received with coldness by the Bernese generals, who, however, accepted the surrender.

The Freiburgeois had meanwhile asked Berne to allow them to add Vevey and La Tour to the conquest they had made in the Pays de Vaud. This was granted them, while the former government was still uncertain of the submission of these two towns. Freiburg even sent a commissioner to Vevey

to arrange the terms of surrender; but on seeing the flag of Berne floating over the city gate, he did not attempt to execute his orders.

Vevey, having become a Bernese town, soon found herself deprived of the hopes founded on her alacrity in submitting. Their Excellencies commenced by violating the promise made by their generals not to force the Veveysans to embrace the Reformation; and instead of establishing their bailiff—who was invested with great administrative and judicial authority—at Vevey, they placed him in the Castle of Chillon, which became the centre of the bailiwick; and it was not until 1733 that the seat of the bailiff was transferred to the house of De Tavel, in Vevey, which became the castle.

In the beginning of the sixteenth century the commune had a population of four thousand five hundred. There were three Councils—that of the Twelve, that of the Sixty, and that of the One Hundred and Twenty—but their jurisdiction was very restricted.

In 1685, after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the bailiwick of Vevey contained two hundred and twenty-four French refugee families; in 1764 one hundred and thirty-three remained. These brought with them the same happy influences which their brethren were already exercising at Lausanne; arts and industries hitherto unknown found a footing. Tanning, watch-making, jewel-setting, cloth-manufacturing, and glove-making speedily flourished; while the morality, love of labour, and orderly habits which distinguished the refugees reacted in a happy manner on the inhabitants.

The author of the previously cited manuscript in the library at Berne, writing early in the last century, praises Vevey at that time in the following strong terms:

‘ Besides the noble families there were a number of honest burghers, who lived upon their rents. These did not include the merchants who found themselves also in prosperous circumstances, this being an excellent place for traffic, on account of the great port on the lake, and because the Freibourgeois, the Valaisans, the French, the Savoyards, the Burgundians, and the Genevans, owing to their proximity, rarely failed to be present at the ordinary markets. As for the country round about the

town, it is nearly all laid out in agreeable vineyards. The soil is very fertile, but extremely dear.

‘The aforesaid town gives way in nothing to any of the other towns of the barony of the Pays de Vaud, except Lausanne, whether we consider its antiquity or its having formed part of the duchy of Chablais, or whether we note its privileges and its franchises, the number of ministers and churches wherein preaching is held every day except Tuesday, the market-day, or in the size of the town, the sumptuousness of its buildings, the number of noble and well-titled houses, the number of people and of honourable burghers and merchants, the wealth both public and private, or the facilities for education afforded to youth, or for the ordinary exercise of arms, which they study in a marvellous and praiseworthy manner.’

CHAPTER LXXII

THE population of the Pays de Vaud and of Chablais under the House of Savoy was divided into four classes. First, the high nobility, composed of seigniors endowed with the most extended attributes in judicial seigniorial matters; second, the smaller nobility, among whom figured the vassals and knights holding fiefs from the former; third, the *bourgeoisie* of the towns, enjoying extended liberties; and, fourth, the mass of the people, who scarcely counted as a public factor.

The country contained a number of really historic nobles, who were possessors of great feudal territories. In the Middle Ages they were almost sovereigns. They exercised the higher functions in State and Church. They distinguished themselves in the Crusades, in more recent foreign wars, at foreign courts, and in all the higher stations of life, by their chivalric sentiments and noble actions. One cannot fail to perceive that their names are still cherished by the people of Vaud, who remember that, although they were endowed with unlimited power, they governed their vassals in a paternal manner, and transmitted to their descendants an honourable example, which these have followed in such a manner as still to secure for themselves the respect and affection of the people.

That this esteem for the ancient nobility was not misplaced appears in the fact that they were always found at the front in movements for the improvement of the country, and for the amelioration of the condition of the people. There is, perhaps, no other country with a republican form of government which retains so many deeply-rooted houses, whose names and histories go back with honour to the Middle Ages.

These greater nobles had about them many noble followers, possessors of fiefs and holders of ministerial offices, who composed in each seigniorial locality a veritable court. At Vevey, the numerous smaller nobles who were the dependents of the De Blonays, of the D'Orons, and of the Bishop of Lausanne, under the name of Knights, followed their seigniors to battle, or accompanied them to regal courts in the guise of pages or esquires. In warlike expeditions they bore the banner, commanded the lower vassals, and fought well for their masters.

This knightly class—ever ready to follow in war, in love, or in the chase—were found in every château, seated at its generous table, and partaking of all the pastimes or hardships which distinguished the habits of the time. If illness or poverty fell on them, the hand of the master was ever ready to extend a generous and delicately veiled aid.

After the Bernese conquest, however, the higher nobility, cherishing the remembrance and traditions of their own nationality, generally remained within their own territories with modest revenues, but exercising a generous hospitality which had its influence upon the manners of the country. The offices of the State being no longer within their reach, their revenues decreased, and their influence was undermined. The smaller nobles especially suffered by the change. They no longer found employment under the seigniors, and consequently threw themselves into the towns, and sought to please the bailiff by forming around him a little court in imitation of former grandeurs, each hoping to obtain some place that should enable him to live in comfort. But while many accommodated themselves to this state of things, a large number were less tractable, and nobility entered various foreign services to escape foreign domination.¹

¹ Martignier, *Vevey et ses Environs au Moyen Age*, pp. 52-56.

As time wore on, a *rapprochement* took place between the Bernese authorities and the nobility of both classes; we find the foremost names—with exception, perhaps, of the De Blonays—holding offices in the country and associating themselves with official circles. Many of the higher nobility—such as the De Loys, the De Seigneux, the De Cerjats, the De Charrières—were fêted and consulted by their Excellencies.

At the time of M. de Warens' residence at Vevey, the bailiff lived in the Castle of Chillon, and we learn from his letters that he frequented that court, and was in constant communication with the highest Bernese officers.

M. Vulliemin gives a poetic, yet faithful, sketch of the attractive manners of the country at this period. The mass of the people gave themselves up to agricultural pursuits, which were occasionally interrupted by fêtes, whereof dancing, songs, and target-firing formed part. Each year, on the parade ground at Montreux, a pine fortress was erected, called the 'Castle of Love,' which was besieged and defended by the youth of the village, whose caps were adorned with roses of different colours. This fête even penetrated into the towns, where the French refugees transformed it into a solemnity something like that called in their own country the 'Court of Love.' Every year each society elected a queen, whose amiability, wit, and beauty graced the throne surrounded by her courtiers.

In the springtime the May Singers, clothed in white, went from door to door chanting the return of the month whose name they bore; while cowherds accompanied them masked, the head surmounted by a high paper cap, with ribbons and bells, a great sabre jangling at their heels, and a leather purse in their hand, which they stretched out towards the wayfarers and the windows.

When the vines threw out their first leaves a national dance began on the banks of the lake, and mounted from terrace to terrace until it reached the mountain crest.

On Sunday the young men and maidens assembled on the village green, and in the intervals of the dance interchanged naïve and merry refrains.

The lake also had its fêtes. The grand bark of Chillon

then showed itself covered with flags and foliage, and surrounded with a perfect fleet of vessels of every kind and size, which intermingled their music and songs.

In the middle of August occurred the *mitçauten* or Fête of the Mountaineers. Then the inhabitants of the plain, laden with the best products of the lakeside, visited the Alpine shepherds, who did not neglect in return to supply their guests with abundance of cream and cheese. The poor not less than the rich received their gifts. Soon the sound of a rustic violin would be heard and dancing begin, sometimes under the roof of a *châlet*, sometimes on the grass—dances which, unlike those of the lower country, were full of the gravity and calm which distinguish the tranquil Alpine population.

When autumn came, the shepherds, the labourers, the harvesters, the threshers, and the gardeners came together to glorify the union of agricultural labourers, and to celebrate mutually what was called 'The Abbey of the Vignerons.' Their banner was inscribed with the device, 'Pray and Work'—'*Ora et Labora*'—and under its folds marched a long procession, somewhat like that of the mediæval Mysteries, but in which Ceres, Pallas, and Bacchus, each at the head of their groups, figured in company with Biblical personages. Thus they moved on through the streets of Vevey, amid a concourse of people from all parts of Switzerland and from foreign countries.

Such were the habits and fêtes of this happy country when the bailiff of their Excellencies resided at Chillon in an age of *insouciance* and simplicity. It was not rare even for the bailiff himself to leave his castle to mingle in the public rejoicings. When public calamities, however, interrupted the course of these fêtes, this dignitary showed himself a benefactor of the country in misfortune.

This was the case at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Incessant rains had retarded the harvest and ruined the grain, and the poor people fell a prey to all the evils of a year of famine. Then the noble bailiff, Vincent de Frisching, not content, says M. Vulliemin, with distributing among the indigent the wheat stored in the granaries of their Excellencies,

went out each day to visit the poor and prove to them his cordial sympathy. War having broken out in the course of the same year between the Protestants and the Catholics of Switzerland, De Frisching garrisoned Chillon with the militia of the parish of Montreux, in order to prevent troops being sent into his bailiwick, whose keep would increase the price of food.

The winter of 1713-14 having passed without snow, the earth became in spring dry and powdery. The stream of the Veraye disappeared, the rivulet of Répremi no longer flowed above Chillon nor turned the mill of Grandchamp, the lake fell more than a fathom, and the heats of an exceptional summer added sufferings to the situation. But De Frisching only brought himself more and more into relation with the people he loved, whose troubles he made his own, and with them he divided even his bread.

There had been a period, as we have mentioned, when the Government of Berne had sought to overcome the foreign ideas, influences, and fashions which had begun to invade the country. After prescribing in the most minute manner rules for dress, they even named the hour at which a wedding party must sit down at table, and the hour when they must rise from it—which was ten to three. Holy anger inflamed them on learning that there was actually in their town of Vevey a Catholic dancing-master, whose presence was the cause of such great scandals as evening balls for both sexes. Orders were immediately issued to their Bailiff of Chillon to expel the dancing-master, and censure the town-folk for their criminal tolerance.

The Senate, says M. Vulliemin, had compiled a *résumé* of all the edicts concerning morals. It had ordered that each year it should be read in public. It must be confessed, however, that these efforts only produced laughter. They pried in vain even into the most mysterious parts of the toilet; the ingenuity of the fashionable outwitted the law, and the magistrate who published the ordinance was sometimes the first to break it. The Bailiff of Chillon, after having interdicted the use of coffee, tea, chocolate, and above all of tobacco, summoned before him a citizen, and while he was lecturing him upon his iniquity in

using the filthy weed, unconsciously rapped his snuff-box, and used its contents twenty times.¹

The impossibility of restraining men and women in this rigorous manner gradually impressed itself on the authorities of Berne, and such laws, though not repealed, fell into disuse and disrepute, the representatives of authority being among the foremost in propagating a love of social festivities and amenities.

At this time the nobles of Vevey and its environs frequently resorted to Lausanne and to the court of the bailiff, while the nobility of Lausanne mingled in the gaieties of Vevey and in the official festivities of Chillon.

There is an amusing contrast offered to the manners and habits of the bailiffs of Lausanne and Chillon at that time, in the conduct of a bailiff in another locality, which is described in the letter of a lady residing at his court cited by Martignier:

'I am here in the bosom of the family of the seignior bailiff. He is an old fox who has wasted his fortune and his health at Paris in the service of the King. As he belongs to a great family, they obtained for him a good bailiwick in order that he might recoup his fortunes; and they also procured for him a charming but poor wife, who has been sacrificed to this brutal creature. . . . We are too often disturbed by the petty seigniors, who are rather numerous, and who make it their duty to come regularly to present their respects at the château. Some of these are old fops, who arrive adorned as it was the fashion fifty years ago at court. Their manners are ridiculous and always pretentious. . . . Frequently we have these people at dinner. It is the only part of the day when our bailiff shows any appearance of gaiety. The dinner is often prolonged through many hours, and we do not always remain to the end. As soon as the dessert arrives, and the face of Monseigneur commences to become scarlet, and especially when we hear his significant phrase, "Now then, gentlemen, tell us some *goguenettes*!" we take refuge with the ladies in the salon, to the great disgust of Madame X—, who would be glad to hear what is about to be related.'

¹ Human nature is the same the world over. I remember, in my own youth, a college president who, having summoned before him a student convicted of a similar practice, constantly indulged in snuff while zealously reprimanding his pupil

Colonel de la Rottaz says, in an unpublished manuscript, that at this time there was no carriage road between Vevey and Chillon—in fact, one was not constructed until 1750, three years before Gibbon's arrival at Lausanne—and communication between the places was either on horseback, or by water, or by sedan-chairs. When festivities were held at the Castle of Chillon, a party of friends would sometimes go together in a vessel called a brigantine, accompanying the joyous transit with music and laughter.

CHAPTER LXXIII

MADAME DE WARENS possessed a charming country resort midway between Vevey and Chillon, just above the beautiful village of Clarens. It was situated at the Bassets, amid scenery whose exquisite features inspired some of the fine imagery of Rousseau. It is now called the Bassets de Pury.

Early in my historical investigations at Montreux, I became convinced of the association of the Bassets with M. and Mme. de Warens, and I was confirmed in this view by the opinion of Mr. Jules Piccard, Commissary-General, after minute investigation on his part. I accordingly determined to pay it a visit.

Much to my astonishment, it had been raining for several days. In this locality it is usually so clear, the weather so fine, the skies so beautiful, the temperature so enticing, that this sudden change of humour seemed unaccountable, and my memory was obliged to make a journey of nearly six centuries before reaching a like phenomenon. That has already been mentioned (p. 49); but it is fair to add that while the sun hid his face at that time from this favoured spot for two days, he failed to smile on the rest of Europe for eight months.¹

¹ On May Day, 1815, the flood-gates of heaven were opened, and until the end of December a second deluge seemed at hand. A terrible famine set in. The misery became so intense, especially in Germany, that history reports some as eating corpses. This is, perhaps, an exaggeration. Towards the close of the siege of Paris we were regaled with similar accounts of the sufferings of Parisians during former sieges, and one journal actually published

Trusting to the normal beneficence of the clouds, I started for the Bassets in a drizzle, but confidence was soon rewarded by brilliant sunshine, and the drive along the shady avenue from Clarens was amid fields refreshed, and rich with promise of an abundant harvest. As I ascended the hillside the picturesque château of Châtelard crowned its pyramidal mount to the right, while on the left the château of the Crêtes formed a memorial of the bosquets of Julie. In the valley below the walls of Châtelard nestled the ancient village of Tavel, where the noble de Tavel originated, while Baugy beyond, with its Roman remains, justified the phrase *Pays Romand*. Crossing the now brawling stream of the Baie de Clarens, my goal was reached amid enchanting prospects.

The exterior of the house has a somewhat telescopic look, being built in three portions of ascending heights, successively added as occasion demanded, the largest section being the newest. The middle portion appeared to be of the de Warens' time.

While wondering how I could enter, hasty steps were audible coming through the shrubbery from the adjoining farmhouse, and a vigorous open-faced peasant made his appearance and asked if he could be of any service to Monsieur. I explained the object of my visit, but he had never heard of Madame de Warens. When, however, I mentioned Rousseau, and said she had been his friend, he awoke with evident interest. He had never heard either name in connection with the spot, but begged me to write down the fact for him, as it was very interesting to him, and would be so to the proprietor.

I found him an excellent specimen of the peasantry of the neighbourhood. He spoke with feeling of the beauties of his country, and added: 'Monsieur, I once went as far as Lyons and Marseilles, but I could not find another Pays de Vaud. I became so entirely home-sick, that when I got to Geneva on

in ghastly fun a recipe for soup made of dead men's bones. Certain it is, however, that the starvation which followed the wet season in 1815 was succeeded by a plague that swept off thousands. But Montreux, which almost escaped the heavy rains, was also free from the plague. The story told of an ancient curé of Palézieux could never arise in this vicinity. One day he led a procession to the church to pray that rain might cease. The showers stopped, but a violent hailstorm began; whereupon, 'Chien!' cried the curé, 'nos ein prehi tro rudo!' ('Brethren, we have prayed too hard!')

my return, it seemed to me as though I must fly, and when I came in sight of these mountains and valleys, the lake and the vineyards and the trees, I determined never to quit them again.' His stalwart figure gave no indications of sensibility, yet when he spoke of his home and its surroundings his eyes glowed, and his sturdy frame shook with emotion.

There was some difficulty in identifying the place, for there are at least three Bassets: first, the Pension Ketterer; second, the Bassets Ausset; third, the Bassets de Pury. This last was unquestionably the residence of M. and Mme. de Warens.

The exterior of the older parts has not been changed, but the interior of the middle building has been somewhat altered, although the chamber on the first floor looking south seems not to have been much modified. The room in the rear has been made into a kitchen, and the old kitchen constitutes the present corridor, in which are some curious carved cabinets, while the south chamber contains several family portraits and retains its ancient pine floor. A stone staircase leads to the second floor. Formerly these stairs were on the outside, where the covered gallery on the north now is. When the ancient steps were taken down they were extremely worn. The stairway leads to a large *salon*, whose windows command a view of Meillerie, St. Gingolph, and Bouveret beyond the lake. Communicating with this *salon* is a large dining-room.

These two rooms open to the east upon a broad terrace, this storey being here on a level with the ground. At a corner of the terrace is a large summer-house, and through the chestnut trees one sees as far as Les Crêtes the hillocks and bosquets described by Rousseau. Near by is a dovecot filled with cooing doves.

This quaint building of two storeys had, in Madame de Warens' time, two long drooping roofs. The farmer's apartment was then on the lower floor, while the family occupied the apartment above, now filled with venerable portraits. The windows are narrow, and an air of antiquity prevails. All these rooms have a southern outlook. Opposite them is a long window which opens on a glazed gallery commanding fine views of Mount Pleiade, Mount Cubly, and the hillsides of Lavaux.

A narrow corridor leads from the main corridor to the study of M. de Pury. Here are many family portraits, one of a lady one hundred and three years of age. Another represents the youthful Samuel de Bonstetten in 1692, with scarlet plumes and a laced costume, one hand holding a cane, while the other points to a bird on a neighbouring bench. Rodolphe de Bonstetten is portrayed at twenty-five (1622). He is clad in a red velvet slashed doublet, with a high ruff, and a dark mantle thrown over his shoulder, and his hand rests on the hilt of his sword. His eyes, hair, and eyebrows are black, with a small moustache and short curling beard of the same colour. In the next portrait his wife, *née* Madeleine d'Erlach, aged nineteen, wears a high velvet hat perched on the top of her head, around her neck a ruff with four large chains descending to the waist, and still another holding an emerald, ruby, and pearl brooch.

Beneath is an ancient black carved wooden chest, with the arms of de Bonstetten quartering those of d'Erlach. There is a fine old mirror framed in dark wood above a cabinet with spiral columns and sixteenth-century medallions.

On the third floor is the library, from whence one sees the rock of Nay with its misty robe. In sight are two mansions, Pré Choisi and l'Empereur, both belonging to M. Couvren, the descendant of one of M. de Warens' friends.

The neighbouring farmhouse is quite modern, but behind it is an ancient building called Beauregard, owned by M. Chessex, of Montreux.

The farmer was eager to gratify my curiosity and answer my questions. To my question whether there was good water on the premises he said, 'We get our water from Les Avants, and Monsieur knows how good that source is. My name also is François Lafontaine, so again Monsieur will see that there can be no lack of water.'

Pointing to a hillock whereon was a fine tree, I asked whether that was on the property of the Château des Crêtes. 'No, Monsieur,' he replied, 'it is not, although it adjoins it. It belongs to a peasant like myself, who has bought one little piece of ground after another, until he has accumulated a handsome property, and is now a rich man. He is only a peasant,

but he is an excellent proprietor, who works hard, and is extremely kind.'

Since my visit to the Bassets de Pury, and my statement of its association with Madame de Warens, I am told that the room she occupied is pointed out, and that it is said to be haunted, as strange noises are heard there at night.

A lady who was her contemporary, neighbour, and friend, says that Madame de Warens, when at the Bassets, delighted her friends by her wit, gaiety, and charming *fêtes*. 'Her house, situated at half a league from Clarens, was on all fine Sundays the rendezvous of the best and most agreeable society. Musical performances, dances, games, promenades and repasts, wherein were offered fruit, cream, cakes, and other delicacies, were of constant occurrence. At that time, the considerable number of little eminences which surrounded her habitation were so many bosquets planted by the hand of Nature, where the chestnut, the oak, and the cherry-tree, spread their delicious shade, and where numerous footpaths offered agreeable walks adorned with shrubs and flowers, through which one discovered at each step some new and enchanting view.'¹

CHAPTER LXXIV

IN returning from the Bassets I visited Château Les Crêtes, and wandered among the beautiful shrubberies which have replaced the original bosquets. In the last century this site was covered with pleasure gardens, and some parts are even pointed out as associated with Rousseau and Madame de Warens. While there is no doubt that Rousseau often visited this spot, which adjoined her property, it is probable that his minute knowledge of the place was derived from conversations with Madame de Warens in after years.

This delightful domain is now the abode of beauty, culture, and patriotism, and its historic character is in harmony with the Paris residence of its owner (M. Guichard), formerly the hôtel of Lafayette.

¹ MS. Notes of M. Baron. Extract from the *Statistique du District de Vevey*, written in 1804, and published in *Notices d'Utilité Publique*, 1806.

The château was built by the late millionaire, Monsieur Dubochet, originator of the system for illuminating Paris, who found time in his busy life to interest himself in the associations of the neighbourhood, and to collect the precious manuscripts of Rousseau now in the library. The first portion of these consists of twenty-six original letters of the '*Nouvelle Héloïse*,' in Rousseau's handwriting. On an unnumbered page, at the beginning of this manuscript volume, is the following title in Rousseau's hand: '*Lettres de deux amans habitans une petite ville au pied des Alpes*.' There are one hundred and ten numbered pages and eighteen unnumbered. Rousseau wrote only on every other page, as though for the press. On the blank pages are frequent corrections and additions relating to the written pages. The latter are also filled with interlineations, and these again overlined sometimes twice or thrice. It was Rousseau's habit to write first in pencil while walking to and fro, and afterwards copy carefully in ink on other sheets. Yet even in this apparently perfected copy he could not resist the instinct to seek an ideal perfection. In this he was like Voltaire, who was always retouching his manuscripts. They also both erred in orthography.

There is here also an autograph volume of Rousseau's music, with the initials 'J. J. R.' and the year 1774 on the first page; and at the end of the volume is this, in another hand: '*De la Bibliothèque de Madame de Pompadour, donnés par Jean-Jacques Rousseau, deux volumes manuscrits, écrits de sa main en entier, sur la cause des Êtres, livre en grande partie inédit*.' This seems to allude to another manuscript, which had been offered to M. Dubochet but not purchased.

The collection concludes with the manuscript of the third and fourth parts of the '*Nouvelle Héloïse*,' accompanied by a letter to an unknown lady, in which he gives her permission to read a letter addressed to Monsieur de Voltaire, or to show it to whomsoever she pleases, provided it does not leave her hands. He says:

'I am, Madam, so overwhelmed with an excess of visits, of letters, of packets, that it is for the present impossible for me to reply to you. Here are the third and fourth parts. The
 1 to Monsieur de Voltaire you may read yourself or to

whomsoever you please, but it is essential that it should not leave your hands.'

The apartments on the first floor of the château are extremely fine, and command a glorious view of the head of the lake. Under the windows is the spot assigned by tradition to the bosquets of Julie. In the grand *salon* is an effective painting by Gleyre.

The châtelaine of this abode seems especially suited to her surroundings. She is a tall, majestic beauty, whose striking face, crowned by magnificent masses of waving hair, is illumined by large dark brown eyes of depth and expression. She possesses a voice of singular sweetness, and is distinguished by the utmost charm and refinement of manner. She is the daughter of Monsieur Guichard, the Nestor of the French House of Commons (1879), who carries his eighty years with more ease than many men carry forty, and varies the labours of parliamentary life by the successful pleasures of the chase. No one who has seen him at Les Crêtes, or in his princely hôtel at Paris, and listened to his discourse concerning the days passed in his youth at La Grange with Lafayette, has failed to be inspired with respect for this vigorous personality.

To these sylvan shades often strays (accompanied by his private secretary, the son of the house) one who has been called the robust champion of liberty, whose eloquent tongue was a flame of patriotic fire in the darkest days that ever fell upon France. Hither Monsieur Gambetta resorts to rest from the conflicts of parties, and to regain his strength for the struggle of the morrow.

It would be difficult to find a more delightful companion in the relations of private life. Here is a man, devoted to his friends, who shows the joyousness of a child in the zest with which he enters into every amusement of country life. In the freedom of private conversation his hand plays a striking part; the eloquence of his gesture equals the magnetism of his voice, and its accentuation of a political theory or a brilliant *mot* adds point and interest to his utterances.

One finds also that he wields an oar upon the lake with as much vigour as he displays in handling great questions, and that he enjoys the varying splendours of a summer sunset with a relish that proves him a lover of nature. But a perpetual residence in the country would hardly suit his fiery energy,

which requires action and not repose. He is the man for a great emergency, to electrify the people in a crisis, to help a nation in moments of agony or despair.

On the day after my visit to the Bassets I found myself at Chailly, another rustic home—though only during the vintage season—of M. and Mme. de Warens.

If utter ignorance prevailed at the Bassets with regard to Madame de Warens, there was full knowledge concerning her at Chailly; and I had little difficulty in finding her dwelling, now (1879) owned by the widow of Louis Dupertuit.¹

The house is more remarkable for historical associations than for its appearance, although certain characteristics, especially some round arches, indicate that it may at one time have been a convent, or, perhaps, a seigniorial residence. In Madame de Warens' time much of it was given up to the farmer. In the narrow staircase there are still traces of frescoes, and in a dark corner the remains of a coat of arms. Many years ago there were some articles of furniture here, said to have belonged to Rousseau, but without reason; Rousseau never resided at Chailly, and Madame de Warens never revisited it after she had made his acquaintance.

The most striking room is the kitchen, with its enormous and peculiar chimney. In fact, where a ceiling would naturally be there exists only the mouth of this conical chimney the whole size of the room, running up nearly thirty feet, and adorned at the top by a window, closed in bad weather and opened in fair to allow the smoke to escape. In this eccentric chimney were visible rows of hams and tongues, while a kettle swung by a huge chain over a fire built on the stone floor.

Antiquity lasted a long time in this region in other ways. The good man who acted as my guide told me that in his youth

¹ Claude Anet, so intimately connected with the de Warens-Rousseau romance, was a relative of this family. Anet himself left no children. The family of Anet was for two hundred years attached to the La Tour family and connection. In 1835 there still lived here a man of eighty-eight years, whose grandfather was the brother of Claude Anet. His name was Jean Louis, and his father, Jean Pierre, was the son of Claude's brother François. Jean Louis was born September 7, 1745, his wife eight years later in the same month and day. She lived to be ninety-five. He could crack a nut with his teeth, of which at the time of his death he had a complete set, and one that grew when he was eighty! Fifteen of the Anet family successively bequeathed small sums to the village of Chailly.

they never spoke French in this neighbourhood. They always used a *patois*, generally made up of Latin words, with here and there a Greek one. French was finally taught in the schools, and the local language of their ancestors fell into disuse.

A traveller who visited this spot half a century ago declares that he was shown the bedroom of Madame de Warens, which resembled a wretched garret; and he was told that it was here her intrigues were carried on. A hole in the wall was seriously pointed out to him as the usual entrance of the greater part of her admirers.¹ This is an example of the slanders heaped on the memory of this unfortunate woman, and which owe their existence to the publication of Rousseau's *Memoirs*, twenty years after her death and three years after his own. No one ever associated such stories with her while she was resident in the Pays de Vaud.

Such an exception to the generality of her sex could hardly have escaped remark at the time, for the character of the women of Vaud at this period was what it was when Boufflers wrote to his mother in 1764: 'We see more honest people in this town of Vevey, of three thousand inhabitants, than one can find in all the provincial towns of France. Among thirty or forty young girls and women it would be impossible to find four ugly ones or a single loose one.' To which he adds the then characteristic French expression: 'O le bon et le mauvais pays!'

CHAPTER LXXV

THE three principal houses within easy reach of the de Warens' residences, at the Bassets and Chailly, were the châteaux of Châtelard, Blonay, St. Légioir, and Chiésaz.

The de Joffrey family were the seigniors of Chiésaz until 1733, when they sold the property for fifty-five thousand livres to Jacques Philippe d'Herwart. The latter united to it the seigniori of Hauteville, acquired by purchase in 1738 from M. Jacquemart, whose father had bought it in 1703 from M. César de la Motte. St. Légioir, Chiésaz, and Hauteville had once been dependencies of the de Blonays.

¹ Bailly de la Londe, *Voyage dans la Suisse Française*, i. 378.

The present Château d'Hauteville was rebuilt, about 1760, by M. Pierre Philippe Cannac, who, on payment of one hundred and forty-one thousand livres, became possessor of this domain and St. Légioir, with the title of baron. He was created Baron Cannac of the Holy Empire, March 25, 1768, by the Emperor Joseph II. His second son, General Cannac d'Hauteville, who in the French service gained the Cross of Military Merit, espoused the daughter of the Chevalier George Grand, seignior of Esanon. The daughter of Baron Cannac's eldest son, M. Cannac de St. Légioir, married another M. Grand, of a different branch of the same family, and brought him the castle and its domains as dowry. Their descendants continue to occupy this fine property.¹

There is in the manual of the Council of Vevey an entry of October 18, 1714, which speaks of the Seignior of St. Légioir as banneret. It also mentions the admission to the *bourgeoisie* of M. Matte, a distinguished French refugee, who married the daughter of M. David Couvreu :

'Monsieur the banneret of this place, Jacques François de Joffrey, seignior of St. Légioir, having made known to this noble body that M. Matte, formerly banker and consul of the Estates of Holland at Leghorn, desires to be numbered among our *bourgeois* of the grand *bourgeoisie*, it is resolved that, in consideration and view of the fact that the aforesaid M. Matte has no posterity, and in order to testify to him the consideration in which he is held, there shall be given to him letters of *bourgeoisie*, which shall be examined here, and, being found in proper order, shall be presented to him by Monsieur the commander and myself.—MICHEL, secrétaire substitué.'²

I have already cited the remarks of a member of the de Joffrey family, concerning Vevey in the seventeenth century. They were owners of the historic Cour au Chantre mansion in that town. Hubert de Joffrey, a distinguished general officer, was possessor of this building in M. de Warens' time, and abjured the Protestant religion. He died at Arras in 1748, leaving behind him interesting memoirs.

The family of de Joffrey amassed great riches, by commerce

¹ *Genealogical Tree of the Grand Family.* (MS.)

² Jules Chavannes, *Les Réfugiés français dans le Pays de Vaud*, p. 243.

and intermarriages, and allied themselves to the noblest families of the country—whence arose the family attribute 'Parenté.' They were styled noble as early as 1520. They formed several intermarriages with the de Loÿs; and one of them, who had espoused the widow of M. de Warens' maternal grandfather (Sebastian de Lavigny), became seignior of Warens on that account. After his wife's death, the seigniorship came to the de Loÿs. This house, towards 1602, was among the first in the Pays de Vaud to place before its name the particle *de*, which is wrongly considered a mark of nobility.

Their seigniorship of Chiésaz (derived from an Italian word for a church) refers to the parochial church of Blonay, chapel of the priory of Blonay, a dependency of that of St. Sulpice—built in 1223, as appears by the inscription on one of the bells cast (1227) by order of Jean de Blonay, seignior. St. Légio drew its name from the patron saint of Chiésaz church, once within the seigniorship of Blonay.

The d'Herwarts, one of whom became seignior of St. Légio, were among the de Warens' friends. They resided at Vevey, in a seigniorial mansion, with wings and a court of honour, entered by a stately gate. This building is still standing on the line of the château of the Aile. It was purchased from the heirs, through the patriotism of M. Perdonnet, and in 1817 became the Custom House. The once fine garden is now a commercial dépôt. This handsome mansion of the Grande Place, no doubt, attracted the attention of Rousseau while he was at the Clef Hostelry, and suggested the historic name of Herwart for his imaginary personages.

M. Jules Chavannes gives an interesting account of the occupants of this house. It appears that Barthélémy d'Herwart was a rich banker, who played under Louis XIII. an important rôle. Named by Mazarin intendant of the finances, and then comptroller-general, he did everything in his power to protect his Protestant co-religionists.

One of his sons (Anne) was counsellor of the Parliament of Paris and master of the Requests. He abjured in 1685, and in the following year married Mademoiselle de Bretonvilliers, a most beautiful person, according to Marais. He inhabited in the Rue Plâtrière a magnificent hôtel bearing his name, and

celebrated for the frescoes of Mignard. La Fontaine was here welcomed in 1693, on the death of Madame de la Sablière. On hearing of the death of that friend and protectress of the poet, M. d'Herwart said to him, 'Come home to me.' It is well known, says M. Chavannes, with what *bonhomie* the fabulist replied, 'I was going there!' and with what tenderness Madame d'Herwart cared for his comfort and renewed his wardrobe. This amiable lady, as well as her sister-in-law (Madame de Gouvernet), and the latter's daughter, Lady Savile of Eland, were for a long time a precious society for the poet, as his writings attest. La Fontaine praises the graces of Madame d'Herwart; and, in alluding to the parliamentary red robes, calls M. d'Herwart the ornament of the 'wearers of the scarlet robe.'

Two other sons were faithful to their paternal Protestant convictions, and figure in the list of the victims of the persecution drawn up by Benoist. Of the three daughters, one married Nicholas Frémont, counsellor secretary of the king; another espoused M. Baudon de Vestric, and took refuge in Holland with her husband, where her brother, Herwart du Fort, was already established; and the third, Madame de Gouvernet, just mentioned, had married Charles de la Tour du Pin, Marquess of Gouvernet. Upon the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the latter lady obtained permission to retire with her mother into England, to be near her daughter Esther, who had married Henry, Lord Savile of Eland, eldest son and heir-apparent of George Savile, Marquess of Halifax.

The youngest son of Barthélémy, Philibert d'Herwart, owing to his family connections in England, was appointed British Resident at Geneva in 1690; but the Genevese being afraid to receive him lest they should incur the displeasure of Louis XIV., d'Herwart was accredited to Berne. As the object of the English Government in sending him was to watch the proceedings of the French Minister at Geneva, and counterbalance French influence, as well as to protect the Protestant refugees, Vevey was selected as the best point for his general residence.

The history of the war of the Camisards mentions a long correspondence between M. d'Herwart and Lord Galway concerning the means of sending money to the Cevenols, and

d'Herwart was actively employed and personally interested in the well-being of the foreign Protestants in Switzerland. He figured also in the affairs of Neuchâtel, and in the name of the King of England, on occasion of the pretensions set forth by the Prince of Conti, recalled the rights of his master to the eventual succession of the Duchess of Nemours.

D'Herwart, who had gained the gratitude and esteem of the people and the authorities by his liberality and the interest he manifested in the prosperity of Vevey, also strengthened his position with the Bernese Government by his marriage with Mademoiselle de Graffenried, of Berne. He was made *bourgeois* by the grateful citizens of Vevey in 1706, but finally retired to London, where he died while governor of the Hospital of Refugees in 1721.

His only daughter married Sigismond de Cerjat, seignior of Bressonaz, and lieutenant bailiff of Moudon, afterwards *bourgeois* of Lausanne, who purchased the house in the Rue de Bourg, which had belonged to the de Praroman family. The descendants of Sigismond de Cerjat and Sabine Françoise d'Herwart were among Gibbon's friends, and their posterity still hold a distinguished position in the Pays de Vaud and in England.¹

Of the two sons of Baron d'Herwart, Maximilian retired to England, while Philibert remained in the paternal mansion at Vevey, eventually becoming seignior and baron of St. Légioir. Philibert had one daughter, who married Gabriel May, seignior of Hunningen, her second husband being Sir Rowland Winn, Bart., of the family of the present Lord Headley.

CHAPTER LXXVI

THE castle and seigniori of Châtelard, near the Bassets, had been purchased in 1708 by the patrician family of Bondely, of Berne, which was on friendliest terms with the de Loÿs family, and afterwards connected with it by marriage.² This ancient dependency of the house of de Blonay is a striking feature in

¹ *Genealogy of the de Cerjat Family.* (MS.)

² M. de Warens' half-sister, Madame Gabriel Constant de Rebecque, had a daughter who married the seignior of Châtelard.


this part of Vaud. Approaching Châtelard from Montreux, I skirted the shores of the lake, whose waters, dozing calmly in the hot summer sunshine, imaged on their bosom the snow-clad mountains. Switzerland shows her teeth in a playful way in the Roman country; behind us rose the enamelled points of Dent du Midi, and on our right the darker outlines of Dent du Jaman.

At Clarens we tarried a moment to inquire for the works of Doyen Bridel, the friend of Deyverdun and Gibbon. Strange to say, the bookseller knew little or nothing about the writings of the earliest author of mark in this locality, and he doubted whether the only volume of which he had heard could be obtained short of Lausanne. The genius who was gathered to his fathers less than forty years before had not yet become a prophet in his own country. The fourteen volumes of his 'Conservateur Suisse' should be dear to his compatriots. Bridel's animated and piquant style, his varied souvenirs, his mixture of truth and fiction, prose and poetry, of lively anecdote and graver narrative, his wit, imagination, and heart, were all consecrated to the development of patriotism in the population among whom were passed his maturer years. All hail then to this Swiss Plutarch!

Ascending the narrow street of ancient Tavel, at whose fountain half a dozen buxom lasses were washing linen, and winding our way about the wooded heights, we soon reached the stone gateway. The amiable châtelaine, who was sitting beneath a wide-spreading tree, welcomed us to her charming domain.

The castle stands on a summit commanding the lake and mountains, with a partial view of the Rhonic plain. The Dent du Jaman is revealed in larger proportions, and seems like the huge tusk of some antediluvian monster upreared among the green hills. Beyond this lofty peak is the home of an echo which repeats a word of six syllables five times, until the parting sounds die on the ear, and yet some would have us believe that mountain, wood, and field are no longer haunted! In that direction lay, in M. de Warens' time, the commercial road, before the route along the lake was made.

The sun pursued us with his hot rays until we took refuge



beneath the friendly chestnuts, and listened to the cool play of a fountain whose living waters bubbled up with unceasing generosity.

The family of Marquis, which has (1879) possessed Châtelard for the last sixty years, is closely allied to the family of Dubochet, whose representatives own the castle of Les Crêtes, which stands below on the right above the village of Clarens, a little this side of the Bassets.

Gambetta, when staying at Les Crêtes, often in the course of his rambles bent his steps to friendly Châtelard. Hither, also, came Vinet, in intervals of repose from his labours at Lausanne, where in the last generation he unfolded the riches of literature, and taught the precious truths of Christianity with a magnetism as sweet as it was powerful.

From 1830 to 1845, the names of de Candolle, F. de Gingins, D. A. Chavannes, Matthias, Lardy, and Mayor, marked the progress of the natural sciences in this region; while the lovable and brilliant Agassiz, Vaudois by birth and American by adoption, advanced to well-earned celebrity. The Academy of Lausanne counted Monnard, Juste Olivier, Porchat, Mićkiewicz, Melagari and Gauthey, Vulliemin, Monnard, and Secretan among its professors. But the central figure was Alexander Vinet—pre-eminent by humility and by the grandeur of his soul.

Vinet's influence was even felt by Sainte-Beuve, when he was delivering his famous lectures on Port Royal before the Lausanne Academy.

In Vinet an enthusiastic love of duty, a delicate and scrupulous conscience, a goodness and charity which knew no limits, were joined to a propriety, precision, sagacity, movement and warmth in writing, rivalled only by the sometimes irresistible charm of his impassioned eloquence.

The superiority of Vinet, says M. St. René Tallandier, consisted in the fact that while arousing enthusiasm for the beautiful he always awakened the conscience and touched its most delicate chords.

He consecrated his brilliant gifts to the service of his Maker, and gave the best years of his life to two controlling ideas of very different values—the separation of the Church from the

State, and the reconciliation of philosophy with Christianity. To the latter—one of the greatest themes of modern times—Vinet proved himself entirely competent. He has been epitomised as an eminent Christian, a thinker of the first order, a moralist and religious philosopher comparable to Pascal. Not only have his own countrymen hastened to do him honour, but the finest minds of France have crowned him with enduring fame.

Who that has stood reverently before his tomb in yonder beautiful cemetery of Châtelard has failed to remember his magnificent lines?—

'Ah ! pourquoi des Chrétiens gémissaient-ils encore
Sur ceux qui, dans l'exil comme nous dispersés,
D'un jour consolateur ont vu briller l'aurore,
Et que vers Canaan Dieu lui-même a poussés ?
Affranchis avant nous du mal qui nous dévore,
Ils ne sont pas perdus, ils nous ont devancés ?'¹

Born at Ouchy in 1797, often ill, dying at Clarens in 1847, in the apartment which Byron had occupied, and where his friend Monnard also dwelt, Vinet's brief life was filled with astounding labours. The long list of his published works compels admiration, when we remember that they were only a portion of his self-appointed tasks. Even in his last moments he did not relax his efforts, although in agony. He seemed ever to set before him the thought so beautifully expressed in the lines :

'Qui fait peu t'aime peu ; qui se borne à te croire
Ne te croit pas encore, ô Sauveur des croyants.'

Vinet was himself a living prayer. His example and his lips cried continually :

'Seigneur, ma foi t'embrasse,
Mon cœur a soif de toi,
Viens y verser ta grâce,
Viens y graver ta loi.'

The poetic pen of Professor Eugène Rambert² has embalmed his memory in two excellent volumes, and M. Rodolphe Rey and M. Vulliet have consecrated to him some interesting pages. A collection of his letters, recently published, furnishes us with still further views of this admirable man.

¹ A. Vulliet : *Les Poètes Vaudois*.

² E. Rambert : *Alexandre Vinet d'après ses Poésies*.

Châtelard and Blonay are celebrated in the 'Châteaux Suisses' of the Baroness Isabella de Montolieu. When I first read those attractive pages I viewed them through the prismatic colours of youth. I did not stop to analyse the style, nor find these conventional pictures of the Middle Ages, as Rambert calls them, monotonous or false. All in them was real to me. The characters lived, moved, and had their being. I wept over their griefs and rejoiced in their triumphs, applauded the good, pitied the bad. I have discovered that the ferocious Archibald, the sweet Eléonore, the sensible Arthur, the repentant Grimwald, owned the names and spoke the language of one hundred years ago, and not five hundred. But on the terrace of Châtelard present experience takes wings, memories of youth revive the entrancing hours passed in the company of the chivalrous knights and fair dames of the good baroness—the friend of Madame de Genlis, to whose daughter the book was dedicated. Nor can I forget an earlier favourite, the 'Swiss Family Robinson,' which the Baroness first translated into French (1813).

The ancient Châtelard—*Castellum Arduum*—was a large square tower built around a winding staircase, which remains, and by which, passing through a triangular stone hall, we ascended, under the guidance of Madame Marquis, to the *salon* of the principal floor. This room is of noble proportions, with two deep alcoves at either end, whose windows command on the one hand the offices, and on the other laughing hills and dales that roll merrily one over the other, till they disappear in the blue waters far below.

The doors which open from the hall into the grand drawing-room and into the other apartments of this floor are of a solid wood so darkened by age that it is impossible to say whether it be oak or chestnut. The upper panels contain male and female busts, sculptured and in full relief. The bas-reliefs of the lower panels are equally good. The immense thickness of the wall generates an atmosphere that almost chills one coming from the summer air without.

The heavy machicoulis adorning the upper part of the castle recalled to me, just returned from the East, some characteristics of oriental architecture. The crown of brickwork suggested to M. Martignier the similarity of this ornament to the machicoulis

of the château at Lausanne, and he found a still further resemblance between the two buildings in the woodwork and its details, which led him to suggest that the same workman completed the two edifices. It appears that in M. de Warens' day the doors and windows were garnished with iron bars, which must have given it a rather prison-like appearance.

From the exterior one compares with amazement the extent and massiveness of the château's foundations with the proportions of the upper part. Although the building is doubtless as large as it was at its origin, it is smaller from east to west than it was after its restoration in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The Milanese ambassador, Aplano, who then saw it, speaks of it as a palace embosomed in a fortress. On the other hand, more recent constructions have extended its rear lines. Seen from the lake, it crowns a colossal pyramid of vineyards.

I have made the intimate acquaintance of many feudal residences in different parts of Europe, and they have classified themselves in my memory like the works of various schools in a gallery of paintings. There is a stern simplicity about the Swiss castles which is closely allied to the somewhat cold and primitive atmosphere of certain monasteries. This effect wears away, however, when the living-rooms are reached, and evidences of modern comfort mingle with the charms of hospitality.

CHAPTER LXXVII

BARON DE GINGINS has told us ('*Baronie de Châtelard et de Montreux* ') that the bishops of Sion were anciently the possessors of Montreux and Châtelard. One of them, Pierre d'Oron, having, in his wars against the Emperor Rodolphe of Hapsbourg, contracted debts, his successor, Boniface de Challont, sold (1295) for 500 livres all his possessions, from the Ecluse of Chillon to the Veveyse, to Girard d'Oron the Magnificent, of Vevey, cantor of Lausanne Cathedral. In 1310 the purchaser died, and his nephew (another Girard, son of the co-seignior, and afterwards himself co-seignior of Vevey), to

secure his possessions, ceded to Count Amadeus of Savoy all that part of Montreux parish situated beyond the Baie as far as Chillon, reserving to himself a portion, which thus became the seigniory and barony of Châtelard, the other being called the castellany of Chillon.

The d'Oron family, founders of Châtelard, was very ancient. The Baron de Gingins and the Count Amadeus de Foras, high historical authorities, believe that the first de Blonay and the first d'Oron had a common origin in the sovereign house of Faucigny. They both came into notice as *avoués* of the abbey of St. Maurice d'Angone, the one at Oron, the other at Blonay. The fact expressed by Count de Foras, that the family of de Blonay, of legendary nobility, can march boldly as the equal of the highest aristocracy of Europe, applies equally to the family of d'Oron; but an immense difference existed between the vitality of the two houses. To-day, after nine or ten centuries, the virile de Blonays include a numerous male descent, who possess their ancient castles in Chablais and the Canton of Vaud. The head of the family lives in his château of Blonay, above Châtelard, but his ancient relatives and neighbours, the d'Orons of Châtelard, disappeared five centuries ago.

Besides the barony of Châtelard, the d'Orons possessed the seigniories of Oron, Attallens, Illens, Arconciel, Bossonens, Treytorrens, together with the important co-seigniory of Vevey, and the co-seigniories of Corsier and of Pont en Ogo, while many of its members occupied high positions in the Church and the State. Pierre d'Oron was bishop of Sion from 1273 to 1287; Rodolphe d'Oron was bailiff of Vaud from 1335 to 1340, and the Chevalier Aymon d'Oron in 1358 and 1359; a later Pierre d'Oron was elected bishop of Lausanne in 1333.

The branch of the seigniors of Oron resident at Oron became extinct in the person of Sire François, whose will (1388) constituted as his heirs Rodolphe IV., count of Gruyère, and his two sons. The seigniory of Oron passed thus into the sovereign house of Gruyère.

The male line of d'Orons of Châtelard commenced and finished with the Girard d'Oron last named, who left an only child, Marie, who, in 1338, espoused Baron François de la Sarra, knight and bailiff of Vaud and Chablais. The de la

Sarra family, which thus became seigniors of Châtelard, and for a century continued such, goes back to Adalbert de Grandson (1049), probably the founder of the Château la Sarra, now restored, and the residence of the family of de Gingins la Sarra.

A historic gleam reveals this rude and imposing mediæval figure across the abyss of time—his power and his pride.

Léon IX., a native of Alsace (cousin of the Emperor Conrad the Salic)—who was elected Pope in 1048, who had exchanged excommunications with the patriarch of Constantinople, fallen into the hands of Robert Guiscard and his Normans, and died a year after—visited in the moment of his greatest influence the monastery of Romainmôtier, accompanied by a suite of prelates. There he was waited upon with a long list of complaints against Adalbert, primate of the Château Grandson, who, according to the monks, had conspired against their monastery. Among other things, he was accused of having seized a rocky eminence surrounded by a thick forest, near Ferrière, and built there a fortified castle—on the spot, in fact, where now stands the château la Sarra, or Sarraz.

In reply to the papal summons, Adalbert de Grandson betook himself leisurely to Romainmôtier, where he found the sovereign pontiff surrounded by his ecclesiastics and ready to condemn his acts. But the display of his nominal superior did not inspire Adalbert with respect or submission, for he himself was escorted by forty lusty knights, his immediate vassals, richly caparisoned and armed, and followed by a crowd which eclipsed the retinue of his judge. Indifferent and disdainful, he listened with impatience to the fulminations of the chief of the Church, and departed abruptly to pursue his usurpations and plans.

The house of Grandson divided itself (*cir.* 1234) into several branches, the principal ones adopting the names of the castles that fell to their share, such as La Sarraz, Champvent, Montricher, Belmont. The château of La Sarraz was assigned to the eldest branch, better known under this name than under that of Grandson.

Everyone who visits Châtelard should betake himself to the castle of La Sarraz, near Cossonay, four leagues north-west of Lausanne. This was the paternal residence of the ancient

seigniors of Châtelard of that name. Its lofty position rendered it almost impregnable before the invention of artillery. The steep rocky sides presented a strong line of defence. The primitive fortress, formed by thick walls, enclosed a square court. An arched gate, protected by two high towers, gave access to this enclosure. The summits of these towers, constructed of great blocks of *tuffe*, acquired in time the solidity of marble. The donjon, which formerly dominated the mass of buildings, is now surpassed by the neighbouring tower. From its summit one could correspond by signals with all other castles of the Grandsons except Belmont.

Serving as a refuge for its vassals in time of war, the interior was furnished with a vast granary, cellars, storehouses, and large ovens. A cistern chiselled out of the rock supplied water. The simplicity which characterises these structures attests their antiquity. An immense fireplace, where an entire ox might be roasted, recalls a legend related by Jean d'Ypres, and completed by Baron Frederick de Gingins, with some details of which the chronicler of St. Bertin was ignorant.

When Ebal IV., seignior of La Sarraz, was born, his father sent for astrologers, or *meiges* as they were called (*Magi*), who revealed that if this his only son lived he would become great, and a vanquisher of his enemies. One of the *meiges* took from the hearth in the great hall of the castle a flaming brand, and, holding it aloft, prophesied that the life of the child would equal the duration of that brand. At the same time he thrust it into the wall, so that it might not be consumed. The child grew up and lived to a great age; but finally, fatigued with life, he ordered the brand to be plucked from the wall and thrown into the fire. When it was consumed, the flame of Ebal's life also expired. In this manner, says his legend, the Sire de la Sarraz committed suicide at the age of a hundred years.

Ebal IV., according to the chroniclers, took part during many years in the Crusades. After the arrival of Edward Longshanks (son of Henry III. of England by Eleanor of Castile), who later became King Edward I., Ebal attached himself to his person. The prince having been wounded (1271) at St. Jean d'Acre by the poisoned poignard of an assassin, Ebal, trusting in his destiny attached to the brand, sucked the

poisoned wound, and the prince recovered. Ever since that time the seigniors of the family of Grandson were honoured by the kings of England, and in memory of Ebal the de la Sarraz crest was the head of an extremely aged man with long beard.¹

The archives of the château La Sarraz, which contain many interesting facts concerning Châtelard, are very rich, despite the *brûle-papiers*, who in 1802 threw into the Venoge the documents they could not burn. These were fished out and restored by the inhabitants of La Sarraz, who were by no means hostile to their seigniors.

François I., seignior of La Sarraz, who was seignior of Châtelard and co-seignior of Vevey through his wife Marie d'Oron, owned in Burgundy properties inherited from the second wife of his father. François was a valiant knight, and in his time played an important rôle. In 1346 Richard de Dompierre is mentioned as his esquire; and, as François made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land some years later, Dompierre probably accompanied him. On his return, in 1351, the *bourgeois* of La Sarraz offered him a gift of fifty florins. He was one of the parties to the Treaty of Belloy, concluded July 9, 1359, between William, Count of Namur, and Catherine of Savoy, his wife, on the one side, and Count Amadeus VI. on the other. The same year his uncle, Count Louis of Neuchâtel, named him one of the guardians of his children in their minority. On May 3, 1360, François, with Frederick Duke of Teck, bailiff of Alsace, made a treaty of confederation between Count Amadeus of Savoy and the Duke of Austria. He was several times bailiff of Chablais and of Vaud.²

¹ Jean d'Ypres says that he obtained these details from a nobleman of Savoy. Unfortunately this tradition offers certain contradictions. The learned Baron de Charrière has shown that Ebal attained without doubt a very advanced age, but that it is not probable that he became a centenarian. This seignior may have crusaded, but nothing is positively known in this respect; whereas it is certain that his father, Ebal III., had made the voyage of the Holy Land. At any rate, the account of the chronicler in all that concerns the act of devotion in 1271 to Prince Edward of England can in no case be applied to him. If this act really occurred, it should rather be attributed to his great-grandson, the Chevalier Guillaume de Grandson, in his youth; for we find him fixed in England, and among the barons of that kingdom who accompanied King Edward I. in his war against Scotland (1300). The English historians, however, destroy this supposition by ascribing the heroic deed to the prince's wife.

² *Les Dynastes*, &c., pp. 381-6; and *Solothurner Wochenblatt* (1825), p. 457.

The seigniory of Châtelard was situated in a country fertile as it was beautiful, and contained eighteen villages. Châtelard did not yet exist, although on the site, according to some, were ruins of a fortress of unknown antiquity. In time of war, the vassals of the seignior of Châtelard were forced to take refuge in Chillon and other châteaux of the Count of Savoy. In consequence of this, difficulties arose concerning contributions for the fortification of these castles; and, to put an end to them, the seignior of Châtelard contracted with the Count of Savoy, in 1352, to construct a fortified castle in the parish of Montrenux, Amadeus agreeing to pay him six hundred Lausanne livres. The Count kept his part of the agreement; but the château was not commenced for nearly a century.

François de la Sarraz made his will in 1360, and died two years later. His family erected to his memory a beautiful monument in the Chapel of St. Anthony, which he founded. It is now in the Chapel of the Château La Sarraz. A design of this interesting relic is given in the 'Dynastes de la Sarraz,' by Baron Louis de Charrière.

The son of François I., another François, won his spurs at an early age, was made prisoner in Lombardy in wars of the house of Savoy, and the town of La Sarraz gave one hundred florins for his ransom. This seignior of Châtelard became seignior of La Sarraz in 1370, after the death of his eldest brother. He himself died two years later, having made his will at the Tower of Chailly, in the seigniory of Châtelard, the fortified house which his mother, Marie d'Oron, had occupied up to 1364. When the seigniors of Châtelard were not at La Sarraz, or in one of their other seigniories, they occupied this house, which was the seat of justice before the erection of Châtelard.

The sons of François, junior, ceded to the house of Savoy the co-seigniory of Vevey, reserving their right to hold a court of patrimonial justice in their fortified house in the Tower of Oron, at Vevey, subject to appeal to the court of the bailiff of Chablais.

The male line having died out, Marguerite de la Sarraz, in 1435, espoused Jean de Gingins, seignior of Divonne, and brought him Châtelard as her dowry.

CHAPTER LXXVIII

THE historic house of de Gingins has been known since the middle of the twelfth century. It owes its name to the large village of Gingins at the foot of the Jura, in the district of Nyon. The seignior of Gingins, comprising the parish of that name, formed its primitive patrimony.

Jean de Gingins was seignior of Gingins, Belmont, and Divonne. Divonne, a seignior inherited from his mother, was also at the foot of the Jura, in the Pays de Gex. Jean did homage in 1419 to Count Amadeus VIII. of Savoy for this seignior, and served under Duke Philip of Burgundy as a Knight Banneret in the wars of that prince against the Armagnacs. He fought under King Charles VII. of France against the English. From 1432 to 1439 he was châtelain of Rivoli in Piedmont on behalf of the Duke of Savoy; and two years afterwards the Duke Louis gave him the *mere empire*, or right of capital punishment, in the seignior of Gingins, formerly ceded to the house of Savoy by the abbot of Bonmont and the noble de Gingins. About this same time (*cir.* 1441) he began to construct the castles of Gingins and Châtelard.

We have remarked the intimate relations between the châteaux of Oron and La Sarraz and the seignior of Châtelard. We may now note the connection between Châtelard and Gingins. The seigniors of Châtelard lived on excellent terms with their vassals, as was proved by the aid these gave Jean de Gingins in building the castle—a palace surrounded by a fortress, large enough to contain the entire population in time of danger. After its completion, says Rambert, the baron rewarded the labours of his vassals with various privileges, and invited the nobility to a series of fêtes.

But a sad disaster fell on this domain. In April 1476, during the Burgundian war, Pierre de Gingins, son and heir of the founder of the castle, being a devoted adherent of the monarchical cause, assembled the men-at-arms of Montreux and marched against the Bas-Valais to join a corps of Italian

mercenaries, who were crossing the St. Bernard to form a junction with the army of Charles the Bold near Lausanne. During his absence, the militia of Gessenay and the Pays d'en-Haut, under Captain Krebbs of Freiburg, passed the Col du Jaman, and finding the country without defence seized and sacked Montreux and the château of Châtelard. The flames first acquainted the Duke with the invasion, and he quickly sent four hundred men to Vevey, and forty archers to Chillon, who succeeded in arresting the progress of the mountaineers.

In June of the same year, Pierre de Gingins, who was holding Chillon, heard that Zurkinden, the Bernese castellan of the Haut Siebenthal, had descended on Châtelard at the head of his mountaineers, also by the Col du Jaman. The arrival of fugitives and the sounding of the tocsin in all the villages led him to retreat upon the Tour de Peilz, in order to arrest the march of the invaders. The little town of La Tour, whose castle was built by the Little Charlemagne, was defended with vigour by devoted men; but, the sire of Châtelard having fallen, disorder fell on the besieged, and the donjon and town were carried by assault. The Germans gave no quarter, and tradition says that only eight men escaped (by the lake) to tell the tale. A recent legend, 'Bertha of Châtelard,' commemorates these events. The name, even, is apocryphal, for the sire of Châtelard had only one daughter, Antoinette, who married the seignior of Asnières, of the house of Mont-vagnard; while Bertha is represented as having died unmarried, and inconsolable for the death of her father.¹

After the death of Pierre, his brother Amadeus began a restoration of the castle, which was finished by Pierre's eldest son, François, who married Bonne de Gruyère. She brought him as a dowry that part of Montreux called Sales, which had been separated from the seignior in the fourteenth century by the house of Oron. Under this new seignior the emigrants from Montreux returned to their homes, and rebuilt their dwellings.

About this time there was written a narrative of festivities at Châtelard and elsewhere in honour of the Duke of Savoy, which is of much interest.

¹ *Traditions et Légendes de la Suisse Romande.*

It was on Monday, June 3, 1532, says this ancient manuscript, that Monseigneur the Duke of Savoy, having departed from his castle of Thonon, went to sleep at Evian, from whence, having crossed the lake, he went to pass the night in his good castle of Chillon, where he had never been until that day, and was consequently received with a great sounding of *falconnets*. On the following Wednesday he came to Vevey, where also he had never before been. All the bells were rung, and the city dignitaries met him in grand procession, in which marched a hundred soldiers in vestments of divers colours, three hundred others in white, and two hundred boys in white bearing white crosses and crying joyfully, *Vive Savoie!* The *bourgeois* brought ten cannon from the castle of Gleyrolles belonging to Monseigneur Sebastian de Montfaucon, Bishop of Lausanne, and fired them in welcome of their said Prince. The *bourgeois* of Vevey and the Tour de Peilz made him a present of one hundred beautiful golden crowns, and of an ample and rich mantle of white damask of twelve ells width, from which hung twelve ells and a half of silver fringe. They gave, moreover, six golden crowns to his pages and ten to his other servitors; the whole for the joyous entry of the Duke their benignant seignior.

From thence he entered into his Pays de Vaud, and instead of going to Moudon, as they thought he would, he proceeded straight to Morges, and there established the estates of the said country, over which he presided in person, having with him the Archbishop of Tarentaise, the Bishops of Lausanne and Bellay, Michel Count of Gruyère, and many noblemen from beyond as well as below the mounts.

At the said estates, held on June 6, the feast of St. Claude, were to be found a goodly number of the nobles of the Pays de Vaud and the *bourgeois* of the good towns. There was mention made of refurnishing the places of war and the good towns for the preservation and maintenance of the said country. Great complaints were there made against Monseigneur the Bishop and the Chapter of Lausanne, because the aforesaid churchmen refused to appear before the civil justices of the country, the judicial authorities of 'my said prince of Savoy,' although from ancient times that had been the custom; and, moreover, that on

the other hand they had not refused to appear before the tribunals of the seigniors of Freiburg and of Berne, which action tended notoriously to injure the authority of the said Monseigneur the Duke.

Upon this the Bishop of Lausanne, rising, replied that it was well known that churchmen had the privilege of not being dependent upon the civil justices, and that if sometimes they had appeared before the justices of Messieurs the allies of the Cantons, it was because they found there a better and speedier justice than in the others. The Duke postponed this affair to another time, in order to be more fully informed and to decide properly.

From Morges the Duke returned to Vevey, and the Sunday following he attended a banquet at Châtelard, in the castle of the Sire of Gingins, baron of the said locality. At his coming there advanced to meet him three hundred companions, well armed and with excellent cannon, who were all from Montreux (or Mustruz, as they pronounced it then). The Duke, being well satisfied with all these honours, returned in the evening to Vevey.

Then, on Thursday, the 13th, he came to dine at the castle of Oron with the Count of Gruyère, who was then its seignior, and when he departed he was met by three hundred companions, in excellent order, from the district of Ruaz, who gave him honour and pleasure. Near Romont there came to him 450 companions of the mandement of Romont, whose *monstre* (martial bearing), according to his words, he found very beautiful. And being entered into Romont, he rested there until the following Sunday, when he went to the abbey of Payerne.

Now there were great difficulties and discords in this place, for the greater part of the town had become Lutherans, and had a shoemaker as preacher, who, instead of preaching our Catholic law, as was his duty, preached horribly against the holy church. When Monseigneur the Duke was entered into Payerne the said preacher went out beyond the town with another good man, who was also a shoemaker of Lausanne. The men of Payerne rendered great honour to the Duke after their manner; and on the 18th he visited Cudrefin, where

the delighted peasants offered to him every honour in their power.

The following day he came to Estavayer, on the lake, where he was received with marvellous jubilation. As the evil plague was in the town of Yverdon, the Duke did not deem it proper to go there; but he came to the castle of Lucens, belonging to Monseigneur the Bishop of Lausanne, who received him with the sound of cannon, and regaled him with a magnificent collation. But he would not lie there, and came late to his lodgings in the good town of Moudon.

And although the *bourgeoisie* were wounded in that the said Duke had held the estates at Morges and not in their city, according to ancient usage, still the city made him a present of ten great candles of white wax and of eight good pots of hippocras to refresh himself and his following, for which expense their syndic, George de Mierre, borrowed thirty florins in the name of the town. The Duke remained scarcely at all in this town, although he had announced that he wished to stay there some days. He suddenly sent forward his couriers to Lausanne to mark out his lodgings there, which was done by the council of the said city in great haste, and the Duke went thither and slept there on June 21.

It is not out of place to note that, although on the Wednesday preceding the noble council of the Sixty had passed a resolution not to give him any welcome on account of certain complaints they had against him and his judicial officers, at the urgent request of Monseigneur the Bishop Sebastian de Montfaucon all honour possible was finally done to him, and, in spite of a heavy rain, 250 arquebusiers went out to meet him.

The following day not only Messieurs the companions or soldiers of the town, but those who had been summoned in haste from the four parishes of Vaud, made a beautiful *monstre* before Monseigneur the Duke. They even accompanied him as far as Vidy, and in such great numbers that it was impossible to count them. In certain ranks there were nineteen companions, in others twelve, in the smallest rank eight; and the said Duke was very joyous to see the said company, which was in such good order and with such good cannon. The Bishop and many nobles of the Council came out of town to accompany

him in the direction of Morges, where the said Duke went to sleep; and, having departed the next day from Morges, he proceeded to Geneva, and rode on horseback all day.

And since this year, which was that of grace 1532, he has never set his foot in his good Pays de Vaud, and, indeed, he scarcely preserved it four years longer. For a quarrel having arisen, and then a war having broken out between my said Duke of Savoy and the Cantons, those of Freiburg and Berne conquered the whole of the said country, and they have so well kept it that its ancient master has not been able to return to it up to the present time. Being a loyal servitor of Monseigneur of Savoy, and having faithfully accompanied him in this tour, I have judged it profitable to put the whole thing in writing, in order to preserve the memory of it among all good people.¹

This Duke is an old friend of ours, for he is the same that I have mentioned as having received the keys of the city of Lausanne from the burgomaster de Seigneux.

CHAPTER LXXIX

IN 1547 the then Jean de Gingins rebuilt the castle of Châtelard. But a strange fatality followed this second restoration, for within two years (1549) the barony of Châtelard passed for ever from the family of de Gingins, who were compelled to part with it for 7,500 gold crowns. This sale comprised all the properties and rights belonging to the seigniory of Châtelard in the parishes of Montreux, Vevey, Tour de Peilz, Blonay, St. Saphorin, Corsier, and other neighbouring places. The Court of Oron at Vevey, and the properties which belong to it, were also included, with the furniture in Châtelard and in the house of Chailly, not including the leathern coffers, the plate, and two wooden coffers. The purchaser cleared off the mortgages specified in the act of sale, and, as this exceeded the price of the said territory by 2,000 crowns, he received a mortgage for this amount on other property.

Unlike the neighbouring château of Blonay, which has

¹ *Conservateur Suisse*, vi. 256-261. (Condensed.)

always remained in the family of that name—except for a brief period in the last century—Châtelard has fallen into many different hands. At one time it was owned by the town of Vevey, which detached and sold the greater part of its lands, and of the eighteen villages formerly under its sovereignty. The manor belonged afterwards to Jean Baptiste de la Rottaz, a religious refugee at Geneva (born in the Grisons, and of common origin with Colonel de la Rottaz, now resident at Veytaux, 1879).

Forty-seven years after its sale by the de Gingins, Châtelard was acquired by Gabriel de Blonay for 18,000 crowns. This does not show the entire increase in value during less than fifty years, for many dependencies had been separated from it.

In 1597 a curious scene occurred at Châtelard, when Gabriel de Blonay finally acquired the barony. It was the custom at that time, on the accession of a new lord, for the latter to exchange solemn oaths with his subjects. The seignior swore to observe and maintain all the rights previously accorded, while his vassals swore obedience and fidelity to him.

On the day fixed for this ceremony the representatives of the corporation of Châtelard—syndics and simple *bourgeois*—assembled in the courtyard of the castle and declared themselves in readiness to exchange the usual pledges with the new master. But, to their great astonishment, Gabriel de Blonay declined to fulfil his part, alleging as his reason that the form of the oath attacked the sovereign rights of their Excellencies of Berne, to whom supreme allegiance was due. To this refusal the syndics opposed their own, and notwithstanding the presence of the bailiff of Chillon, a tumult ensued, and violent words were bandied about. In the height of the quarrel the Sieur Moratel, commissioner-general of their Excellencies, in speaking of the peasants, exclaimed: 'These are all beasts and animals, and they deserve to have their heads struck from their shoulders.' One may imagine the excitement and the bad blood generated. The syndics demanded immediate reparation for the insult, but the bailiff delayed the matter on various pretexts, until finally Moratel died.

The peasants, however, continued none the less to demand justice, and to this end addressed themselves directly to the

authorities at Berne, who examined the case and granted them redress by letters patent, dated December 9, 1597. Three months later (says Rambert), Gabriel de Blonay, at the instance of the government of Berne, desisted from his opposition, and, taking the oaths in due form, received those of the corporation.

Towards the middle of the seventeenth century (says M. Vulliemin) there flourished in this lofty dwelling Barbillle Nicolaïde de Blonay, daughter of the baron of Châtelard, renowned for her beauty. After years of perseverance, an officer in the service of France, de Tavel de Villars, obtained a promise of her hand, which many young seigniors had sought in vain. The affection of the betrothed couple seemed mutual; the letters that passed were frequent and warm. But while de Tavel was detained by military duties far from his lady, Jean François de Blonay, Sire of Bernex (of the Savoyan and Catholic branch of the house), profiting by his rights of relationship to visit Châtelard frequently, gained the girl's heart. He was so bold as to demand her hand, but the de Blonays, faithful to their word, rejected his petition. So strong was his love that he was not discouraged, but renewed his demand, which was supported by the Duchess of Savoy. This time, also, he was unsuccessful. Listening only to his passion, and resolved to conquer by violence what he had not obtained by prayers, he secreted himself with some friends near Châtelard, and, waiting till he knew that the young châtelaine was alone, carried her off. On January 9, 1642, he repassed the lake and wedded the woman he adored.

This event caused on both sides of the lake violent agitation. The Baron of Châtelard did not, indeed, show any great desire to break the knot his daughter had tied. He went to Savoy and took some steps, but whether he did not desire success, or thought it useless to pursue the young couple before foreign tribunals, did not go so far as to institute a judicial complaint.

De Tavel felt all the more keenly the affront he had received, and the cause of the two families was carried to Berne. Both had powerful friends there, and both sought the intervention of diplomacy. France and Savoy having pronounced for the de Blonays, it was for a moment thought that they had

carried the day. They seemed to have lulled to sleep the convictions of the Council, when de Tavel obtained the assistance of a relative whose voice was all-powerful in the Republic.

This was General d'Erlach, of Castellen. After having twice covered the Swiss frontier (says the eminent Vaudois historian), menaced by Richelieu, and having made France recognise the right of Berne over the Pays de Vaud, d'Erlach delivered his own country from a new peril. Having been the lieutenant of Prince Bernard of Saxe-Weimar, and after the death of that prince become the chief of an army of adventurers—which although in the pay of France he commanded almost as an independent general—d'Erlach had just advanced with his band, and saved the Republic menaced by the peasants' insurrection.

The intervention of such a man in the issue between the de Tavels and the de Blonays had immediate effect. He began by removing the support of France from the de Blonays. Then he showed that the Republic was offended by the violation of its territory and the injury to its subject. This vigorous language changed the face of everything. Berne sent its orders to the bailiff of Chillon, Jean de Sinner, to resume with activity the slumbering trial, and to cite before his tribunal Jean François de Blonay, as well as his two principal accomplices, Philippe de la Place and Claude de Mongenet.

The accused, taking good care not to obey, were proceeded against by default, and were declared—their bodies, and their property—forfeit to Berne as to the sovereign whom they had offended. They were summoned to return the damsel de Blonay to the paternal manor, and condemned to pay to the Sire de Tavel an indemnity of three hundred and fifty double louis. The baron of Châtelard, moreover, was severely reprimanded for the negligence he had shown in his paternal duties.

The Senate of Berne confirmed this sentence July 21, 1643, and gave order to the bailiffs, principally the one at Chillon, to execute its tenor and arrest the culprits, if possible; and, having by these measures satisfied its honour and the exigencies of d'Erlach, Berne left to time the duty of healing the dispute.

In view of the above romantic difference between the

de Blonays and the de Tavel, it is a curious fact, stated by Martignier, that within fifty years Châtelard passed into the possession of the de Tavel by intermarriage with another heiress of the de Blonays.

CHAPTER LXXX

TAKING into consideration its position, its associations, and the achievements and antiquity of the race to which it still belongs, the castle of Blonay is the most conspicuous and interesting château in the Pays de Vaud.

Standing on a higher elevation than Châtelard, and a league further back from the lake, its proud walls and lofty towers seem to rule imperiously the surrounding country, once almost entirely subject to its sway. As one turns from the venerable chapel, and comes beneath its massive donjon, and penetrates its somewhat narrow and severe court, the simplicity of its lines and the almost prison-like aspect of its interior façade, carry the mind back to the Middle Ages and the days when it was necessary to guard against attack. Like every well-regulated mediæval structure, it had its dungeons and oubliettes, and every part of the enclosure retains the character of a feudal fortress.

In wandering in its gardens, one looks up from verdant lawns, smiling flower-beds, leafy trees, through climbing vines and the quiet summer air, to the massive terrace on which it stands; and the eye, following the line of the buttresses, takes in each ancient detail, nor omits to note the curious exterior of the time-worn chapel, appropriately decorated with outer beams of blackened wood.

Passing the strong gateways and ascending to the summit of the main tower, a view of unexampled beauty stretches on all sides. Hill and valley, mountain and river, lake and hillside, are lighted by the brilliant colours of the setting sun. From the darkening shadows of the Savoyan side swoop out great birds of prey, which, when they strike the line of light, turn to Savoyan boats, their peculiar double sails spreading wing-like on either side.

Taking another flight over the intervening country and the lake, the eye rests upon the first home of the de Blonays at the Tour Ronde, and, ascending the mountain side, surveys the peaks of their castle Maxilly, and higher still their castle St. Paul. Ranging to the town of Evian on the water's edge, it embraces the castle and tower of Blonay, now the Casino. Beyond, above the pebbly waters of the Dranse, appear outlines of still another de Blonay château. The castles of St. Paul and Maxilly have fallen into ruin, but the castle of Blonay, near the Tour Ronde, is the magnificent seat of Baron William de Blonay; and the castle of La Chapelle Marin, on the Dranse, is the renovated and beautiful residence of the Baron François de Blonay, representative of the younger branch of the family. All these—except the last, not then built—were in the de Warens' and Gibbon's day in thrifty condition and occupancy.

There was another famous castle at Bex, a portion of whose seigniorly the de Blonays held as early as 1288, but which passed away by marriage in 1431. It is now called the Tower of Duin, from the seignior who obtained it through marriage with Margaret de Blonay. It crowns the most gracious of the hillsides of the entire Rhone valley, and there is not to be found anywhere more seductive shades or more picturesque landscape, dominated by an old round tower enveloped in verdure, and remains of a gateway, from whose crumbling sides hangs rich foliage.¹

In the time of Pierre de Duin, 1464, five hundred men, headed by Nicholas de Scharnachthal, former advoyer of Berne, suddenly appeared before the village of Bex, announcing that they had come to seize the person of Rodolphe d'Asperlin, who owed six thousand Rhenish florins to the Republic of Berne. Some surrounded his house, and others invaded the church in search of him; one even whirled his lance within the sacred edifice. Rodolphe happened to be at the Abbey of St. Maurice, and his wife, Jaquemet de Bonivard, was at the church with her servant. The canon, Rodolphe, his son, alone remained at home, where he was arrested, and immediately a scene of pillage and devastation commenced. The entrance gate was removed in order to render the circulation of the invaders more easy.

¹ Eugène Rambert, *Bex et ses Environs*, p. 114.

After examining all the apartments and sounding the most secret places, they broke in the fastened doors and came to a remote room, where they found a portal with three locks. This they demolished, and came to the treasury of Rodolphe d'Asperlin—a great sum in gold. Everybody took as much as he could seize or carry away; and a witness declared that he saw a huge sack filled with money borne out by eight of the assailants.

The rich properties and furniture, enclosed in coffers, according to the custom of the time, were broken open by the soldiery jumping on the covers. In many of these chests were discovered titles upon parchment. After examination, if they were considered to be useful, they were put aside to be carried away; in the contrary case, they were torn to pieces and thrown into the street. Among the spoil was a magnificent book of hours, which was forgotten later at Ollon, at the house of the innkeeper Michael, and this was restored to its owner. The cellars were invaded in all directions, and the wine drunk to such an extent that the soldiery vomited upon one another.

Pierre de Duin, seignior of the château of Bex, did everything in his power to stop the affair, but in vain. Finally, he asked de Scharnachthal if he understood the Roman language. The latter replied, 'Yes.'

'Are you noble?'

'I am both noble and a knight.'

'What is your intention in invading the territories of His Highness of Savoy?'

'I have come by order of Messieurs of Berne, and with the authority of the Duke, your master, to seize Rodolphe d'Asperlin, and hold him as a hostage until the payment of the sum of six thousand Rhenish florins.'

This assertion induced de Duin to cease his efforts, and the party carried away the almost fabulous sum for that epoch of twenty thousand Rhenish florins.¹

Nearly everyone who has written concerning the family of de Blonay has made an erroneous distinction at the outset between the de Blonays of Chablais and those of the Pays de Vaud. Count de Foras declares that an imperfect acquaintance with the ancient limits of Chablais and of Vaud is the cause of

¹ Martignier and de Crousaz, pp. 90-92.

this mistake. During the whole reign of the House of Savoy on the two shores of the lake, and until the conquest of the northern bank by the Swiss, the limit of Chablais was always the Veveyse; and Vevey, situated at the mouth of that torrent, defended the entrance on this side. This tower, as well as the château and seigniory of Blonay above it, did not properly form a part of the Pays de Vaud. The de Blonays who dwelt there were as pure Chablaisans as those of the Pays de Gavot across the lake. It is wrong, therefore, to represent the de Blonays of Vevey and of Bex as having left their province to establish themselves in another. Whether at St. Paul or at Vevey, at Blonay near Evian, or at Bex near St. Maurice, they were always in Chablais.¹

It was not until the Bernese conquest in 1536 that this state of things ceased. The de Blonays of all branches remained Savoyards until that event, which placed one of their branches with that part of Chablais where it dwelt under the Bernese rule, and forced them to submit to the law of the strongest. The descendants of the eldest branch of this family—with one notable exception, Baron William de Blonay, of Château de Blonay, Lugrin—are now established in the Pays de Vaud, one in the château of Blonay above Vevey, and the other in the château of Grandson near Yverdon; while those of the youngest branch are in Chablais, and continue to maintain a distinguished position. The separation of the two branches took place in the thirteenth century, in the persons of Jean I., vidame of Vevey in 1288, and bailiff of the Pays de Vaud in 1292, and Pierre II., both sons of Aymon I. of Blonay.

Whoever has consulted the magnificent 'Armory and Peerage' of the ancient duchy of Savoy cannot fail to conclude that its learned and accurate author, Count Amadeus de Foras, has so strengthened the original suggestions of Baron de Gingins and Baron Louis de Charrière as to leave no reasonable doubt that the royal house of de Faucigny were the progenitors of the de Blonays. It is thus apparent that the latter family, 'of legendary nobility,' whose proverbial attribute among the people is 'antiquity,' was possibly associated with La Grotte from the moment of its supposed foundation (according to Baron de

¹ Count Amédée de Foras, *Armorial de Savoie : Les Barons de Blonay*, p. 23.

Gingins in 1168), through their kinsman, the alleged founder, Arducius de Faucigny.

As the house of de Blonay has maintained an uninterrupted male descent to the present day, for nearly a thousand years, and has played a leading part in Savoy, Vaud, and many other countries, and, with royal origin and alliances, has vindicated its sympathy with modern ideas of a sensible character, it is essential to glance at some of the romantic and chivalric incidents of its history and to review its earlier record.

Guichenon says that the most ancient original document which makes mention of the name of de Blonay as a family surname is the charter of liberties given to the abbey of Abondance in Chablais in 1108. In this authentic document, remarks M. de Gingins, Amadeus de Blonay and Girard d'Allinges are styled by the Count of Savoy principal seigniors of the province of Chablais. This indicates that the cradle of the race of de Blonay and its most ancient possessions were situated on the southern side of Lake Lemman and not on its northern shores, as is generally supposed.

Like the d'Allinges and the de Rovéréaz (originally de Alpi-bus, later Roverea in Latin, and in French de Rovée), the sires of Blonay followed the growing fortunes of the Counts of Savoy, their relatives by marriage, who ruled over Chablais long before the extension of their dominion to the Pays de Vaud.

At the end of the eleventh and beginning of the twelfth century, the domains of the de Blonays in Chablais extended from the lake to the valley of Abondance; while on the Vaudoisan side they were still confined to some fiefs of the church of Lausanne derived from the liberality of Bishop Lambert de Grandson. These were bestowed upon his nephew, Vaucher de Blonay, upon whose death they passed to his brother Amadeus, who thus in his turn became seignior of Corsier and of Vevey.

Count de Foras cites a document of the Abbey of Hauterive proving that it was only about the year 1175 that Pierre I. of Blonay began to build the castle of Blonay above Vevey, in the borough then called Laya, to which he gave his name. It is, on the contrary, certain that the name of de Blonay mentioned in

the charter of 1108 was derived from the lordship of Blonay near Evian, where Amadeus de Blonay resided. The origin of this domain is lost in the mists of time. Its castle is called the Château de Blonay. Like Chillon, it was originally a huge donjon, still forming the centre of the château. This donjon was intended for the defence of the shore, and was the place where in feudal times the seigniors collected customs duties from travellers and merchants, in pursuance of the privilege granted by the Dukes of Savoy.

CHAPTER LXXXI

IN coming from Evian towards La Tour Ronde, after a walk of less than half an hour one passes under the château of Blonay, whose foundations were bathed by the lake before the Simplon route was created. From the stone balcony, a fragment of which remains on its antique façade, the seignior could throw his line into the waters of the Lemman, and bring up varieties of all its finny tribe.

This is the cradle of the de Blonays, and the most important of their still inhabited castles in Savoy. According to some authorities the oldest part is of the eleventh century, and took the place of a more ancient fortress.

In a magnificent copy of the '*Théâtre des Etats du Duc de Savoie*,' by Blaeuw, printed at the Hague in 1700, in the collections of Count de Foras at Thuyset, his château near Thonon, I examined with lively interest a fine print of Evian and its vicinity. I noticed especially, to the north-east of the town, at the Tour Ronde, château Blonay and its little chapel on the borders of the lake. The castle is here represented as composed of an imposing donjon, its two wings forming the sides of a square facing the lake; the other sides being high walls, with a tower at each corner, enclosing a spacious court. In the south-east wall there is a grand gateway. A moat surrounds the château on three sides, that towards the lake being without defence. There is a high wall also enclosing a larger oblong still further in the rear, and the pleasure-grounds therein are

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Castle of Blonay, La Tour Ronde

artistically laid out with trees, flowers, and fountains. The trees, however, are few in number, probably in order not to obstruct the view, and to give a more artistic effect. The great chestnuts in the park are more than two centuries old.

When the donjon—the most ancient part—was built, the lake, as I have said, was beneath its walls. A tradition prevails among the peasantry that the de Blonays could then pass from their château directly to their boats. Indeed, the remains of the iron rings for mooring boats were traceable in the walls thirty years ago, though the chapel, which belonged to the château, was always, and still is, in advance of the line of the castle wall.

Out of the rock on which this sacred building stands, there wells up a ferruginous spring of legendary origin. A seignior of Blonay, who was one of the garrison of Chillon when the Bernese attacked that castle, seeing the place surrounded and on the point of surrender, leaped into the lake on horseback and, swimming the three leagues separating him from Tour Ronde, gained the bank; and as his horse's ironclad hoofs struck the rock, an iron stream gushed forth. The spring so miraculously discovered became renowned throughout the country, and is still believed to possess mysterious potency.

The chapel was built in 1536, in fulfilment of de Blonay's vow on that occasion, and dedicated to the patron saint of fishermen, as may be seen from the inscription over the entrance—*Sub Invocatione Sancti Andreæ Apostoli*—above which is a marble bas-relief of the Holy Family. On the altar is recorded, in Latin, the restoration of the oratory in 1893 by William de Blonay and Anna his wife. The chapel stands upon an erratic boulder brought by the glaciers. Its exterior still preserves remains of ancient frescoes.

During a visit to the castle in 1879 I found over a window, which seemed to have been blocked up, on the more modern wing the date 1539 engraved on a block of molasse. This proved to be a former entrance, and is now a doorway leading from the dining-hall to the offices.

One approaches Blonay from Evian through an avenue of luxuriant walnut-trees, and winding amid verdant lawns reaches the entrance-gate in the rear of the château. The moat is filled with rich beds of colour. One of the towers depicted by Blaeuw

still adorns the courtyard. Its tall, spiral roof is covered with ivy and the brilliant Virginia creeper—a compliment to the charming American châtelaine, whose character is shown in deeds of sympathetic charity. The second tower has been enveloped in the ample stables. One of the old main entrances next the donjon opened towards the lake, and guests passed by a wide arch beneath the castle. An ancient outer door was there with its 'Judas' and a barbican on either side. Here strangers were surveyed with jealous eye, and if their appearance did not please, they were soon confronted by unfriendly muzzles.

The pinnacles of the donjon support the lion of Blonay, who tells the way of the wind as faithfully as any humbler weather-cock. (Arms thus displayed in Savoy denoted of old the residence of a noble seignior.) The grand hall in the donjon, embracing the entire width of the castle, is two storeys in height, and displays the great shields of the allied historic families; while a minstrels' gallery, octagonal and with sculptured balustrade, is bathed in varied rays of warm hues from the deep windows. The rarest Gobelin tapestries adorn the walls, representing the siege of Constantinople by the Venetians. A monumental chimney is crowned with the arms of Blonay. The most ancient shield of the sovereign house of Faucigny, from which the de Blonays descend, carried a gold lion on a black field; the de Blonays added a *braissure*, i.e. crosslets, argent—the sign of a younger branch. Later this mark of cadency was dropped by some of the family, who reverted to the original royal arms of Faucigny. But the de Blonays of the elder line inhabiting this château retain the *braissure*, with the coronet of a feudal baron, and two black eagles as supporters.

Through an arched doorway of the grand hall we descend to a large billiard-room whose table is of oak elaborately carved; the walls are tapestried in green velvet; antique busts of white marble look out from heavy oak frames above the doors. The ceiling is in black wood with huge beams exposed in the Savoyan style. This wing is variously ascribed to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The decorations are of the time of Louis XIV.

On the east side of the grand hall is the *salon* of St. Francis de Sales, of great size, extending from the court to the lake, and tapestried with scenes of the chase wherein the figures are gigantic. Here is the original portrait of the saint (presented by him to the Savoyan de Blonay of his day) which hung until a few years ago in the de Blonay château at Evian, now the Casino. Beyond is the library, leading into a capacious dining-room with green and gold tapestry, the lion of Blonay being over each door beneath the raftered ceiling. The great circular table invites to good cheer, and speaks of many bygone feasts. Here is a famous Wedgwood tureen of the last century, in white and brown, which belonged to the de Polier family, from which the present Baron descends through his mother. From this great dish Gibbon was no doubt often regaled at Lausanne, and must have noted thereon the arms—a black cock boldly planted with fiery crest and spurs on a silver shield, surrounded by the collar of the Order of the Cock, with its pendant star, and supported by two lively unicorns argent.

Returning to the grand hall of the donjon we enter a smaller tower whose staircase ascends to the roof, opening at each storey into suites of delightful apartments. On the first floor is the Yellow Chamber of Savoy; on the second that called the Swallows, from the tapestry and decorations of the ancient furniture. Here are three windows grouped in one. The deep alcove is part of a window which existed in the donjon before this wing was built. In the upper storeys of the donjon there are also two suites. From the deep embrasures of the windowed walls we gaze on the blue lake, with the white swans of Blonay floating proudly on its bosom.

The south-east wing contains the apartments of the Baron and the Châtelaine. In the latter the tapestry is a delicate blue with empanelled rose garlands. The great beams of the ceiling are crossed by smaller ones. The venerable Dutch bed has an attractive landscape with youths and maidens playing Blind Man's Buff. A great window commands the lake, while another invites us to a balcony from which we view a range of increasing heights rising to the Rochers de Memise, the foundation of the Dent d'Oche. On the hillside lie the villages of Lugrin and La Tour Ronde, with the spire of a church lifting its slender

outlines above the foliage. The mountains advancing towards the lake make a profile like an elephant's head with trunk plunged in the waters, and cut off the view including Chillon; but the eye seizes on Montreux and the approaches to the ancient castle of the Dukes of Savoy. The towers of the château of Blonay in Vaud are clearly apparent above Vevey.

In the Baron's room I examined with interest several aquarelles representing the 'Seigniorial Mansion of Fauxblanc belonging to His Excellency M. Polier de Vernand, Lieutenant-General, and Colonel of the Regiment of Swiss Guards in the service of Their High Mightinesses in Holland.'

General de Polier left this property to his cousin, Henri de Polier, Prefect of the Leman, brother of Madame de Montolieu, and grandfather of the Baron de Blonay.

One of these pictures contains M. Henri de Polier and his wife, née de Loÿs, and their three children—Count Godefroi de Polier, his elder sister, later Madame Constant de Rebecque, and the younger, afterwards Madame de Blonay—who are treating the children of the farmer to a feast of cakes.

The grounds of the castle contain a characteristic Savoyan feature, i.e. the Tonnelle, a long arching alley-way of grape vines, in this case with its beautiful marble guardian angel at the end.

The approach to the château de Blonay from Bouveret is wilder, but not less interesting than the route from Evian. I remember on one occasion, before setting out to visit it from Montreux, consulting the natural barometer which the people of Montreux have observed and used for centuries. When the vapoury mist, which they term *la Plumache d'Oche*, rises to the summits and rests on the peaks of Mount Grammont, on the Savoyan side of the lake, they say: 'It is a sign of bad weather, and we shall have rain.'

Unable to find a private conveyance, we took the post-office omnibus to St. Gingolph, the frontier town between France and Switzerland, half Swiss and half French, with a Catholic church used by both faiths. The difference between this side of the lake and the other at this point is striking. Here, the high mountains make it difficult to produce or transport any products

excepting trees, or stones from the ample quarries. The inhabitants are more primitive and less thriving than on the opposite side, and it is apparent that few strangers come here.¹

At Bouveret we passed an extraordinary figure—a dirty-looking man dressed like a woman, with long dragged petticoats, and carrying in his hand a huge knotted staff. In earlier times his uncanny bearing would have caused his arrest as a wizard. I also met there at the post an elderly man, whose head was surmounted by a shock of strong white hair, and who, before taking his place in the omnibus, invited me to *boire un petit verre*. This custom prevails as much on this side as in Vaud. He spoke in terms of warm respect of the Baron de Blonay who resides at the château of Marin. 'He is as easy to talk to as a child,' said the old man with vinous warmth.

At St. Gingolph, the torrent of the Morge rushing down to the lake forms the frontier line between France and Switzerland, turning on its boisterous way the wheels of several factories in the Canton of the Valais.

Turning to take leave of Blonay our eyes follow the undulating outlines of the beautifully kept park, the smooth lawns, brilliant, peaceful flowers, groups of venerable trees on the slopes, and, far away, towering savage rocks. The road is skirted by laurels with an inner hedge, next the water, of fuchsias, nasturtiums, lilacs and red roses, upon a glowing strip of emerald turf. The shadows fly from the rippling waters, and the sunshine driving away the storm returns to illumine the walls of this home of an antique and chivalric race.

CHAPTER LXXXII

On the hillside, a short distance above Blonay, to the west, rise the graceful proportions of the château of Allaman, reached by a magnificent avenue of wide-spreading trees, in one of which a small shrine is established. I have already referred to this

¹ Written in 1879. A great change has taken place since the railway was built on the Savoyan bank.

castle in a previous chapter, and, although it was formerly an appanage of the de Blonays, shall here say but little concerning it.

It originally belonged to the de Lugin (seated at a later epoch at Cérissier), and afterwards in succession to the de Chatillons of Lugin, the de Blonays, the de Russins, the Dunants de Russin, the de Lucinges d'Arrenthon, the de Marchands, the de Compeys of Féternes, the Bouviers d'Yvoire, the de Blonays a second time, the Folliets de la Chenal, the de Constants de Rebecque, and finally to the de Montravels of Besançon.

When Allaman came into the possession of M. Adrien de Constant de Rebecque, he restored it with a taste which retained its ancient beauties and strengthened their hold upon the soil. While residing here he discovered in that part of his property called St. Offange—where were formerly a convent and cemetery—the sepulchre of a Christian Burgundian prince. This tomb contained a curious inscription, which he presented to the Museum at Lausanne. M. Adrien de Constant was the nephew of Madame de Montolieu, the friend of Deyverdun and Gibbon; he himself died in La Grotte in June 1876.

In a Bible which was in the possession of the late Marquis of Lucinges of Féternes was the following note: 'This Bible belongs to the Count de Compeys of Gerbaix, Baron of Féternes, seignior of Vinzy-Mézéry, Marquis of Lucinges, Baron of the Chastelard, seignior of Allaman and Marlias, and gentleman in ordinary of the bedchamber to the King of Sicily.'¹

The village of Hons, now Véron, was also the title of a seigniory belonging in the early seventeenth century to the family of de Marchand, seigniors of Allaman, Hons, and Thollon.² The meadow of Véron adjoins the finest chestnut grove in the parish of Lugin, and perhaps in Chablais. It extends its graceful foliage on an esplanade above the road, to the east of the Tour Ronde, and the route runs between its gigantic shades and the willows planted on the shore. Here all is fresh, reposeful, and charming as the alleys of a park.

There is a second famous wood, wrongly named the Bois de Bedford, which leads to another delightful de Blonay

¹ *Evian et ses Environs*, p. 110.

² From a note of Mms. de Poinctes to the author.

domain—Maxilly. One may say the mountain sides are terraced by ancient castles: while Allaman stands above Blonay, Maxilly keeps guard beyond, and this other height is again reached by a road embowered in chestnuts.

At the entrance to the manor there is a superb holly associated with a nebulous folktale of Féternes and Raoul de Blonay, and called the Holly of the Talking Cats. This monstrous bush, more than six feet in circumference and above forty in height, has thornless leaves.

One first arrives at the new château, for which the family abandoned the old in 1838. It was here that the late Baron Ennemond de Blonay was found dead in his bed, at the age of forty-two. Although his extravagant habits had encumbered his estates, his generous impulses endeared him to the neighbouring people, and his death caused profound regret.

Passing between a double row of plantains, we came to the iron gate of what was once a pleasure, but is now a large kitchen garden surrounded with ancient ivied walls. A second iron gate admits us to the foot of the ruined castle. The roof fell more than a generation ago, and the château has since gone rapidly to decay. It stands on a natural platform above a turbulent stream which, after heavy rains, makes itself felt and heard on its violent way to the lake. From this point one could formerly distinguish the castle of Blonay on the other side of the lake above Vevey. A huge tree, however, now mercifully shields these sad ruins from the sight of their happier neighbour across the water.

Above the door of the ruined tower are the arms of the Blonays: sable, a lion or, armed and lampasséd gules. The ancient escutcheon is again sculptured on the huge stone chimney above the immense fireplace in what was once the kitchen. This chimney-place occupies the whole width of the château, and there is even a door through it at one end, leading into an adjoining apartment. The building is open to the sky, the floors having disappeared; on the wall of the principal storey remains a marble mantel with elaborate ornaments, framing the portrait of a nearly obliterated individual crowned with laurels.

Returning towards the farmhouse we could just distinguish the tower of St. Paul's peeping over the height above, and

seeming to beckon us to explore this further de Blonay seigniory. Entering the ancient farm kitchen of Maxilly we found a decent old woman, who gave us respectful welcome, and placed before us fresh milk and brown home-made bread. She deplored with tears the death of her old master the Baron, who won his way into the hearts of all his dependents. In this room was an enormous fireplace, with a roof nine feet square at the bottom, running up in the form of a pyramid to a great height. Within its comfortable enclosure several persons could sit about the hospitable fire.

In Blaeuw's work the château of Allaman is not figured, but the château of Maxilly appears above in all its original beauty. It must have been much finer than Blonay on the lake side. The abbey of Maraîche is also depicted; and further up is shown the château of St. Paul, with seven pavilions, a round tower in the centre, and a double enceinte.

In the 'Album de la Haute-Savoie,' by Francis Wey, there is a beautiful view of the château of Maxilly taken from the opposite side of the ravine. Maxilly probably came into the family by the marriage of Raoul de Blonay, towards the end of the thirteenth century, with its then heiress, although the name of his wife is unknown. He at least was the first de Blonay who was seignior of Maxilly.¹ It was to Maxilly that the sire de Corsant first came to perform penance after his defeat in the battle between the married men and the bachelors at the court of Savoy; and with it are associated the principal scenes of the beautiful romance of Victor Cherbuliez—'L'Aventure de Ladislas Bolski.'

One does not easily forget the Russian song of the Countess de Lievitz, which recalled to Bolski the scenery of Maxilly and the happy shores where he had known all the follies of hope.

Là-bas, où la vague inquiète
Souspire et la nuit et le jour,
Là-bas, quand chantait l'alouette,
Tu n'as pas rencontré l'amour,
Là-bas, quand chantait l'alouette ?
Il était là,
Il te parla.

¹ Count de Foras, *Les Barons de Blonay*, p. 12. De Raverat says he married Dame Alix, heiress of Maxilly, p. 642.

Là-bas, où croît l'aillet sauvage,
Quand les treilles étaient en fleur,
Là-bas, errant sur le rivage,
Tu n'as pas su voir le bonheur,
Là-bas, errant sur le rivage ?
Il était là,
Et t'appela.

Là-bas, où dort une ruine
Debout, à la garde de Dieu,
Là-bas,—ce n'était pas en Chine,—
Tu n'as pas su voir l'oiseau bleu,
Là-bas,—ce n'était pas en Chine,—
Il était là
Il s'envola.¹

Returning towards Evian through various villages I noticed many old houses with long, narrow, grated windows on either side of the door. These were convenient in troublous times for cross-examining importunate strangers with an interrogative blunderbuss.

CHAPTER LXXXIII

ONE day in early summer I set out to visit St. Paul, but turned aside for a moment at Neuvecelle. The Russins, seigniors of Allaman, probably took their name from a property in this locality, now owned by M. Plajnax, president of the Civil Tribunal of Annecy, although of Neuvecelle itself the de Varax were seigniors.

Wending my way up through the green lanes leading from Evian, I passed the renovated château where Montalembert dwelt several times, the greater portion of which is ancient only in name; and, leaving the church to the right, I turned

¹ It is rare for a novelist's life to present a romantic story in itself. M. Cherbuliez's ancestors came from the Cevennes; they fled from religious persecution and settled at Geneva. The father of M. Cherbuliez was a professor of distinction, and the son, by means of a handsome fortune bequeathed by a generous uncle, entered on an examination of the world by travelling. The results of his wanderings are embodied in brilliant volumes, which offer interesting studies of the curious types of men and women of various nationalities. Returning to France, he knocked at the ancestral door, which was opened to him with a hospitality only accorded to a returning son. The outer door was hardly closed upon his incoming steps when the inner door of the French Academy admitted him to the highest place to which a Frenchman can aspire. He sits there to-day, the pride of two countries, and illustrates the genius of both.

aside into a park, where, amid the rich grass and trees, cattle were browsing. Before me rose an immense natural terrace, whose line was guarded by stalwart kings of the forest. Towering above all with gigantic proportions stood the famous chestnut, whose huge branches perhaps shook in the breeze above the head of Little Charlemagne. Within the trunk, hollowed by age, several persons can easily sit. It is sustained by four vast and vigorous offshoots.

The glistening grass of the terrace had but just fallen beneath the scythe of the mower; from the expanse arises the perfume of new-mown hay as it is turned up by the laughing maidens of the village. One of them stopped to point out the château and speak of the great age of the chestnut, which she attributed to the thirteenth century. This cheerful lassie was not above seventeen years of age. Her bright, rosy face shone out from beneath an immense straw hat, whose voluminous border was coquettishly tied by a broad ribbon under her dimpled chin. Her dark eyes sparkled with healthy animation and gaiety, and I listened with pleasure to her innocent prattle, which had all the pertness of youth and rustic wholesomeness. The surrounding chestnuts suffered grievously during the severe winter of 1708-9, but their vigorous monarch resisted all attack; and although this gigantic tree has been several times struck by lightning, and has lost some of its former magnificence, its recuperative powers still struggle successfully against the elements. The pretty haymaker meant no exaggeration about the tree's age. The prevailing, though recent, tradition of the neighbourhood is that it was already a monstrous plant four hundred years ago, and was then the home of a saintly hermit, of whom the following legend is told.

It was under the reign of Duke Charles I. of Savoy, surnamed the Warrior, that the seigniors of Allinges and of Coudrée demanded in marriage Beatrice, daughter of the Baron of La Rochette. If the perplexity of the father between these two powerful nobles was great, the anxiety of his daughter was still greater; for she cherished a secret attachment for a handsome young squire, whose courage had often defended the castle, and who had placed his heart at her disposal. Arnold's lowly condition had, however, prevented him from making

known his love to the Baron and demanding the hand of his daughter. The Baron, while revolving in his mind the difficult problem, was attacked by a terrible malady for which he could find no remedy. In the midst of his sufferings he announced a determination that he would give his daughter to the one who would deliver him from his sufferings. He, moreover, promised to endow his daughter with half of his fortune.

This bizarre idea plunged Arnold the Squire in despair, and he sought distraction in the chase. While wandering in a lonely spot he encountered a venerable hermit, whose long white locks and beard surrounded like a halo his benignant countenance. As they were exchanging salutations a storm broke upon the two, and the holy man invited the youth into his cell beneath the great chestnut, where a lamp burned before the image of the Virgin, and pieces of rock served as seats. Here, amid the howling blast, the two began to recount their personal history. The young man made known the cause of his devouring grief, while the hermit related that he had been an old soldier of Charles the Bold, and after the duke's fall at the battle of Nancy had taken refuge on the soil where his mother was born, and consecrated his remaining days to prayer. 'Thank God, my son,' he added, 'that He has conducted thee into these parts, for I myself was struck down by the evil which consumes the Baron de la Rochette, but I found near by a spring whose beneficent waters have restored the health I had lost.'

The gale having ceased, the holy father led the squire to an isolated mound whence issued water pure as crystal, and, filling his pitcher, gave it to Arnold to take to the Baron, and give him a daily draught. Arnold often returned to renew the supply from this spring, and gradually the Sire of La Rochette regained his health. This marvellous result was followed by the happy betrothal of Beatrice and Arnold and their marriage at Ripaille.¹

The ruins of La Rochette castle lie near Fessey, on the road from Brenthon to Thonon. They crown the summit of a rock at whose feet a noisy rivulet turns a mill. Formerly the rock was surrounded by a strong rampart, through which one

¹ Dessaix, *Evian-les-Bains*.

entered a narrow court bordered by buildings now decayed. Two towers of different sizes stood at the angles on the southern side of the château to protect the outer entrance, approached by a narrow and tortuous road. The donjon's walls and a moat cut in the rock protected the northern part. The castle was distinguished by two different architectural styles, indicating its enlargement from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century, when it was destroyed by the Protestant confederates. The domain was in the possession of the family of d'Allinges-Coudrée as late as 1840.

I next reached the chapel of Maraîche, the farm about which is owned by M. Jacquier. Here in former days the monks of Abondance Priory had their wine-presses. The interior of this eleventh or twelfth century edifice is quaint, and the view from the terrace must have rejoiced the friars' hearts in the good old times. The road up the mountain side returns upon itself from time to time, and opens new views of the lake and opposite shores. The village of St. Paul is far removed from the din and bustle of the world, and the district so peaceful that it must have an effect on the inhabitants.

The seignior of St. Paul is supposed to be third in antiquity of the de Blonay possessions. The castle is now only a mass of *détris* perched on the summit of an eminence fringed by thick woods. Traces of the enceinte remain. As I picked my way across the trembling masses of stone and looked into the green depths below, and across the shining waters of Lemán, there seemed to be some danger that the uncertain materials would give way and precipitate me into what would not be a smiling retreat.

In the time when these proud towers reared their heads the seignior could see from their summits seven castles belonging to him. The castle of St. Paul was suffered to go to ruin in the last century through the prolonged absence of the Baron in attendance on his sovereign. His wife, disgusted with solitude and the want of society, allowed the roof to get out of repair, and finally, declaring the château to be uninhabitable, removed to Evian. From that dates the beginning of its downfall. It appears from an instrument of 1665, that it was then in admirable order, having just been completely restored.

There seem to have been occasional interchanges of prisoners between St. Paul and Evian. I found in the de Blonay archives at Evian a paper dated January 23, 1477, entitled, 'Remission of two prisoners by the castellan of Evian to that of St. Paul at the suggestion of the seignior of St. Paul.'

Vaucher de Blonay, son of Amadeus II., had inherited the avouerie of St. Maurice from his father, and the charge of the château of Chillon, which had probably been pledged to his father by the Count of Savoy when departing for the Crusades.¹ Vaucher himself made the pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1161. He figures in an act of 1175, executed at Corsier-sur-Vevey, where this powerful seignior seems to have died a few years later at a very advanced age. The day of his death was celebrated, under the Catholic rule, at Notre Dame of Lausanne, on September 12 of each year.

His eldest son, Guillaume, seignior of Blonay in Chablais and co-seignior of Corsier, wedded Bellone de St. Paul, dame of St. Paul. He died about 1209. Their son, Aymon de Blonay, knight, seignior of Blonay in Chablais, seignior of Blonay above Vevey and of St. Paul, and vidame of Vevey, becoming the heir of his brother Henry, of his cousin Vaucher de Blonay—who died in Palestine, and was the son of Peter, builder of the castle above Vevey—and of Aymon de St. Paul, his maternal uncle, reunited all the possessions of his house.

The first de Blonay, possessor of the seigniory of St. Paul, married Beatrice de Gruyère, daughter of Count Rodolphe; and built towards 1216 the château of St. Paul. On April 26 of that year he received from his relative, Aymon de Faucigny, a document of much historical interest in connection with the de Blonays. The terms of this Latin instrument led the Baron de Gingins, the Baron de Charrière, and Count de Foras, to the conviction that the house of de Blonay are descendants of the royal house of Faucigny. By this act Aymon de Faucigny ceded to Aymon de Blonay all of his rights over St. Paul in such terms that it is apparent that those rights were merely such as the head of a sovereign house would exercise over the

¹ Baron de Gingins, *Note sur l'Origine de la Maison de Blonay: Mém. et Doc. xx.* 253-256.

fiefs of his relatives. Aymon de Blonay afterwards ceded to Peter of Savoy his rights over the market of St. Paul, over the château of Fons in the Canton of Freiburg, and over the one thousand livres which he had lent to the Count, and received in exchange the avouerie of Vevey, and all that belonged to the Count of Savoy between the Dranse and the Bret.¹

From an ancient family inventory it is evident that in former times the St. Paul seigniory yielded excellent crops of wheat, hay, and chestnuts. Walnuts were produced in large quantities even until 1742; but the cold in January of that year became so intense that all these trees were frozen in a single night, and that source of revenue disappeared. The forest of Trayet, included in this domain, was one of the finest parts of the property, and gave the best income.²

The cluster of buildings which originally formed the farmhouse and residence of the steward of the manor, still standing, is some distance farther up than the castle. As we approached the grey mass from the village we stopped for a moment under a magnificent elm, said to be five or six hundred years old, near which stands an ancient cross. Under these branches St. Francis de Sales was accustomed to preach when staying at the château, where he was a frequent guest. The narrowness of time is illustrated by the thought that between this descendant of Charlemagne and his progenitor there were only twenty-six generations. It is an impressive fact that fifty-seven men of thirty-three years each carry us back to the time of our Saviour's birth. It is difficult to realise that so small a number represents so great a flight of time.

Passing through the courtyard, we examined with interest the old stone tower of the intendant's house, and its low arched doorway and windows. We were welcomed by two old servants of the de Blonay family, who had been here in the time of the chevalier Louis de Blonay. This chevalier had spent most of his life in the Italian army, and retired hither in old age to die. He repaired this part of the building, and fitted up a few rooms,

¹ Count de Foras, *Armorial de Savoie : Les Barons de Blonay*, pp. 6, 7, 22, 23.

² *Etat des Biens de la Maison de Blonay dressé en 1818 par le Baron Henry de Blonay.* (MS.)

in which he passed his last days. His books and furniture remained in the hands of these, his old servitors, Mathilde and Mariette, who seemed delighted to meet one interested in the history of the family to which they had been so long attached. They showed us with pride the various relics they had preserved, and after regaling us with fresh milk and sweet bread and butter, escorted us to the different points of interest.

CHAPTER LXXXIV

THE village of St. Paul and the picturesque church standing upon a mamelon are near at hand. Beside this church is a low stone building where the tithes were received. In the external wall of the church is a hermetically sealed archway, the entrance to the de Blonay tomb. Under its solid vault have been carried to their last resting-place the bodies of many noted members of the family; among them, Rodolphe I., knight, seignior of St. Paul, of Bernex, and of Maxilly, and co-seignior of Bex, who was buried there about the middle of the fourteenth century.

A touching story is told concerning a young wife buried in this vault. In the evening, after the sad ceremonies, the baron had retired to his château, and had given himself up to profound grief. Suddenly, in the silence of night, a knock was heard at his door. He sprang back greatly troubled at the sound, and cried: 'My God, it was in that way that she always tapped! Is it her ghost?' As he was speaking the door opened and the wife appeared in her funeral shroud; staggering forward, she fell into the arms of her astounded husband, who, as soon as he could gather his wits together, lavished upon her every form of endearment, and after having comforted her with generous wine and good food drew from her the details of her frightful adventure. She had been in a trance, and, although aware of what was going on, could stir neither hand nor foot. The horrors of her situation seemed to freeze her blood; her tongue clung to the roof of her mouth and would not obey her will. The workmen, having failed to complete the walling-up of the archway, had left a means of entrance into the house of the dead. A ri-

left on her finger had aroused the cupidity of a servant, who, when night fell, glided into the chapel and penetrated into the sepulchre. In order to obtain the ring he found it necessary to cut off the finger. The pain of this outrage restored her lethargic forces, and she suddenly rose up to her full height and glared on her assailant. This apparition so overwhelmed the culprit that he took flight, and thus the châtelaine lost her finger but saved her life.

This baroness of Blonay has been identified by Count de Foras, and it appears that after this tragic event she became the mother of several children, who grew to be distinguished men. Among them were Jacques, Baron d'Avisé, author of 'Memoirs and Alphabet of Erudition,' published at Chambéry in 1708; also His Excellency Baron Louis de Blonay, grand cross of Saints Maurice and Lazare, first equerry and gentleman of the bedchamber to His Majesty, knight of honour to the Queen, captain of the company of noble Archers of the Guard, captain-general of the galleys, governor of the valleys of Pignerol, grand master of artillery, knight of the Annonciade, and viceroy of Sardinia, who was afterwards interred in the vault which had been the scene of his mother's terrible experience.

The village of St. Paul has among its traditions a very old one, related by Dessaix, which says that Claude Fleury, the richest farmer in the neighbourhood, was the only one who did not divide his produce with the proprietor, who, living abroad, had sold Claude a lease. The lessor came occasionally to St. Paul at the time of payment, and showed himself so harsh that Claude was careful never to be in arrears. Claude's house was in a charming valley, and kept in admirable order by his wife Jacquette. The benediction of heaven seemed to be on the place: the sheaves bowed down under weight of the harvest, and fine pasturages nourished numerous cows, from whose milk came cheeses much sought after in the markets of Evian. His distillation of cherries was the best in the country, and the curé delighted to point Claude out as a living testimony of what a man might become by good conduct and work. Never had sickness or death crossed the threshold of this dwelling. The robust wife nourished her children, whose

growth was vigorous. There were two young ones, and two other hardy lads who aided their father in the fields, besides a fine lass waiting for love to knock at the door of her heart. In fact, Claude Fleury was happy, and his happiness created envy.

He was very good, and, above all, very charitable. Often the young men and women of the village assembled at his house to pass the evening. It was the signal for a *fête* when they said 'Let's go to Father Joy's.' Thus they had baptized him, for in these village *soirées* he knew how to amuse his guests, and related stories to which all ears were attentive. The women spun or picked hemp, and the men made various objects and utensils in wood. When the weather was fine and the moon shone brilliantly in the heavens, they assembled before the house, and the breeze covered them with the soft perfume of balsamic plants. If it was cold, and the snow covered the earth, they took refuge in the kitchen. The vast roof of the chimney-place sheltered the chilly, the festivities were prolonged very late, and accompanied by a plentiful repast.

Very near to this happy dwelling was a small, mysterious lake, about which many strange things were told.

One night a great tempest raged. The thunder and lightning were frightful, and one heard the cracking of the trees which bent under the storm, and the strident cry of the night-birds.

'Father,' said the eldest boy, 'do you hear that voice?'

Then all listened.

'It is perhaps the genius of the lake,' said another.

'Silence, my children,' said the farmer. 'God guards us, but it is a long time since the genius of the lake——'

At these words a terrible thunder-clap interrupted the phrase. When the first movement of stupor had passed, and calm had returned to the group, the eldest again cried:

'Father, tell us the story of the genius.'

'But, children, what do you wish that I should tell you? I know no more than what the elders of the country have heard from their great-grandparents, who received it from their ancestors. It is believed that the de Blonays, our neighbours, have a good genius, who watches over them and inspires those

chivalric actions by which they have been always distinguished. This genius, who is of the race of dwarfs—he is not, they say, more than two feet in height—inhabits the lake of Gottetta. He never appears except under grave circumstances, and when some danger menaces some member of the family of which he is the protector. One day the devil, in the form of a cat——’

A new roll of thunder, more frightful than the last, interrupted the speaker, and a voice was heard, crying: ‘Hold your tongue, or evil will befall you.’

The fear now became general, and each one drew close to his neighbour about the roaring fire.

‘My friends,’ said the farmer, ‘let us neither tempt heaven nor hell. Let us confide in Providence, and not occupy ourselves with things of the other world. It is late. The storm has ceased. Let us retire, and, above all things, never speak of the dwarf of the lake.’

After this strange evening the years flowed on peaceably, and the good Fleury continued to enjoy the fruits of his labours, living in abundance, and beloved by all.

But happiness cannot always last: it is necessary that God should prove His children. There came a day when the harvest was bad, and Claude had difficulty in paying his taxes. The following season was pitiable. The wheat decayed in the stalk; a dry wind blew over the soil; not a drop of water fell; a burning sun scorched the land; the dying grass could not nourish the cattle; sorrow began to take its place at the fire-side. Next year it was worse. The rain fell in torrents, the water stood in stagnant pools, and fever was abroad. First the father, then the mother fell ill; then two children died, and misery entered Claude Fleury’s dwelling. Then the pitiless landlord gave notice to the poor farmer that he must leave his holding.

One day the unfortunate man, crazed with sorrow, was sitting beside the lake, and seemed to be about to ask the waters to close over him. Happiness had so long caressed him that he found himself powerless to struggle against adversity. He began even to doubt Providence. ‘Oh! what am I to do?’ cried he. ‘Everything abandons me, and if I die what is to become of my wife and my poor children? Is there no justice

on high? Have I not lived as an honest man?' And the wretched being leaned over the water, which seemed to invite him to its embrace.

But as he was about to take the fatal plunge he heard a single word: 'Stop!'

The voice appeared to come up from the depths of the lake; and as bubbles of air agitated the liquid mirror, the voice could be distinctly heard, crying: 'Claude Fleury!'

'Who calls me?'

'It is I, the dwarf of the lake.'

'Oh, it is thou! Dost thou come to announce to me greater afflictions?'

'No,' replied the voice, 'I wish to save you from despair.'

'It is impossible.'

'Listen. Go seek at St. Paul, Aymon de Blonay, the benevolent seignior of the country. Ask of him permission to cultivate some one of his numerous properties. He knows thy good conduct and thy probity. Go! Believe always in the justice of the Most High, and I will watch over thee.'

The farmer wished to reply, but all was once more tranquil, and the voice was no longer to be heard.

Rising with a heart less bowed down with grief, he followed the counsels of the genius of the lake; and being come to the castle, met from Aymon de Blonay a gracious reception, and was soon installed on a farm.

The days of suffering were past, and prosperity once more returned like enchantment. An invisible hand directed all and anticipated all. Claude Fleury became richer than he had ever been before; and one night, when the family circle was formed, he said: 'Wife, we owe our prosperity to the good genius of the lake, and we ought to be grateful. What shall we do for him?'

'I really do not know,' replied Jacquette.

'Think it over, wife, for Christmas Day is near at hand, and then we must prove to him that we are not forgetful of his favours.'

After worrying her brain, the wife concluded that she would make a miniature costume for the dwarf. The whole family set themselves to work, and soon a little coat, with breeches of

corresponding size, knitted stockings and morocco shoes, were ready.

Christmas Eve arrived. A great fire flamed on the hearth, and some neighbours, in returning from the Midnight Mass, came in to visit Père Fleury. This Christmas watch was a souvenir of the earlier and happy days of the farmer, and the wine of Fétérnes circled merrily. Claude recounted his misfortunes, and, revealing the intervention of the protecting genius, begged them to drink to the dwarf of the lake.

The wife now brought forth and spread out upon the table the charming costume destined for him, and the father, having thrust a handful of gold into its pockets, said to his son, 'Go and place our gift on the bench in the stable. The genius will know how to discover it.'

He had scarcely returned when cries were heard, and a sound like thunder.

'This noise seems to come from the stable,' said Claude.

Everyone ran thither. What was their surprise to see the costume made for the dwarf torn into shreds, and the gold scattered on the floor.

'It is I,' said a voice—'I, the genius of the lake. You wish to pay me, and I abandon you. I was happy in protecting you; you oblige me to fly. Farewell, but remember this : Do good for good's sake, never with a view to a recompense.'

Immediately after the serene sky was filled with black vapours, the lightning flashed, torrents of rain fell, and the trembling earth was inundated.

The next day it was found that the house of the usurious landlord had disappeared, and nothing remained on the site but a puddle of black water. Claude Fleury continued to live in prosperity, but without being happy; he returned often to sit on the border of the lake, but in vain, the genius never again revealed himself.

CHAPTER LXXXV

THE convent now attached to the church of St. Paul was formerly a priory, which at several periods had de Blonays at its head. Among these was Claude de Blonay, seignior of St. Paul, who towards the close of the sixteenth century had married Denise de Livron, by whom he had nine children.

We have seen that Claude's château was the resort of the Apostle of Chablais, St. Francis de Sales, whose elm is still standing. Hither came poor converts who had need of being strengthened in their faith. One day that the missionary was preaching from these words of St. Paul—'Husbands, love your wives, as Jesus Christ loved His church'—the seignior of St. Paul and his pious wife promised between themselves that whichever survived should consecrate himself or herself entirely to God; and on the morrow, after partaking of the Holy Communion, this promise was written and signed by their hands. The wife having died, the seignior of St. Paul hastened to fulfil his engagement. After travelling into Piedmont to discharge himself from various official positions, he took holy orders at the hands of St. Francis de Sales, who always called him 'my brother.' Having become prior of St. Paul and of Peillonex, he was afterwards named canon of St. Peter of Geneva, curé of Sciez, and prefect of the holy house of Thonon.

Among his children was the saintly Marie Aymée de Blonay, whose life was written by Charles Augustus de Sales, the successor of his uncle, St. Francis de Sales, as Bishop of Geneva. She was born December 13, 1590, in her father's castle, and was named in honour of Amadeus, third Duke of Savoy. St. Francis de Sales took pleasure in teaching the child and instructing her in the truths of religion and ceremonies of the church; and the two were inseparable companions. The seignior of St. Paul having been sent to Turin on clerical business, the Protestants, we are told, took occasion to avenge themselves for his attachment to the Catholic faith, and in his absence invaded his domain, and, carrying off the most preci

objects of his castle, proposed to burn them in the court ; but we are assured with all due solemnity by her biographer that little Aymée put the brigands to flight by energetic speech, and by throwing holy water over them.

At this early period of her life she was constantly possessed by the desire to die, in order to behold the Eternal Father ; and the violent headaches to which she was subject caused her great joy, because she could show her resignation by supporting the severe pain with equanimity. She manifested the utmost kindness towards the poor and sick. Her charity was in fact so great that she gave them everything she could find in the house of her father. She imagined that suffering must be appeased as long as anything remained, and it was with some difficulty that she was led to see that this excess rendered her charity defective. She consequently moderated her offerings, but redoubled her intercession with her father in behalf of the needy.

She received her First Communion in the church of St. Paul, where she had been baptized on Easter Day 1602, and was then placed in charge of her father's household. Three years later her brother, who had become prior of St. Paul, conducted her to the convent of St. Catherine, near Annecy, where she remained until she was eighteen, and had many remarkable visions. She was now presented to Madame de Chantal—that extraordinary woman, who, after the premature death of her husband, had devoted herself to religious meditation, and carried her mystical ardour so far as to print on her bosom with a red-hot iron the name of Jesus. She afterwards founded at Annecy (1610) the Order of the Visitation, which was so impregnated with the same exaltation, that, sixty years later, one member had her contract of marriage with our Saviour drawn up, and signed it with her blood.

Aymée de Blonay now returned to the parental house and resumed its government. It was at this time that her father, unable to support the thought of her loss, expressed to her the grief that he felt in the idea that she was about to become a nun, and his conversations so touched her that it required all her courage to maintain her resolution. She was again sorely tried by her father's hope that she might accept one of her many offers of marriage. There was one so advantageous that

her father could not refrain from renewing his tender efforts, and even resorting to his authority. In reply to his earnest entreaties she threw herself at his feet and said, 'I renounce marriage for ever, and I sacrifice myself anew to God in your presence, praying you by the power which both nature and the paternal character give you to offer me to Him now.' Whereupon the father answered, 'I see clearly, my dear child, that you are destined to be devoted to God. I would not and ought not to resist your wish. I should be committing a sacrilege if I tore you away from His altar. I desire to conduct you thither myself, and offer you to Him as priest and as father. Pray that He will accept my sacrifice with your own.'

As soon as her resolution was known a Protestant cousin came from the Pays de Vaud and spent six weeks at St. Paul in order to induce her to give up her pious design, but in vain.

The seignior of Blonay now left his daughter full liberty to prepare for her religious life, and was informed by St. Francis de Sales that he would be ready to conduct her to Annecy immediately after Easter (1610); but this announcement, which gave her inexpressible joy, was not carried out until eighteen months later. The delay was caused by the assassination of her brother, Gabriel de Blonay, whose body, covered with poignard wounds, was suddenly brought to St. Paul in the absence of the father. This terrible calamity produced such violent grief that she with difficulty preserved her reason. Throwing herself upon her knees in a corner, she prayed fervently, and endeavoured to pardon the murderers.¹

It appears from the manuscript decrees of the Duke of Savoy and of the Senate, under date of March 26, 1611—which I found in the de Blonay archives at Evian—that a quarrel had arisen out of some lawsuits between the de Blonays and a neighbouring seignior, and the decrees were rendered at the instance of Reverend Messire Claude de Blonay. These instruments set forth that, inasmuch as the seignior Dunant, together with Charron, pedagogue of his children, and Claude Requet, had attacked Gabriel de Blonay while he was in the cemetery with Messire Claude Orcet, curé of Bernex, and had slain him

¹ *La Vie de la Mère Marie Aymée de Blonay*, par Messire Charles Auguste de Sales. Paris, 1655. Ed. Princeps.

treacherously, on the 18th day of the month of November 1610, at three o'clock in the afternoon, therefore, in reparation thereof, the three aforesaid persons should be placed in the hands of the executioner, who should conduct them through the principal streets of Chambéry to the Place of the Castle, and there seignior Dunant should be led to the scaffold and have his head cut from his body, while Charron and Claude Requet should be pinioned and broken on the wheel until death should ensue. The three heads, being separated from the bodies, should then be taken to the spot where the murder was committed, and placed upon stakes in front of the right-hand bank of the cemetery. But as the culprits had made their escape, it was ordered that the three should be executed in effigy, as the Senate was convinced that they had decoyed Noble Gabriel de Blonay into an ambush, and killed him with malice aforethought. Seignior Dunant was, moreover, condemned to the payment of two thousand livres to Messire Claude de Blonay, five hundred livres to His Highness the Duke, one hundred for prayers to be said for the repose of the soul of the deceased, and one hundred for repairs to the palace. His two accomplices were each to pay two hundred and fifty livres to the seignior of Blonay, one hundred to the Duke, fifty for prayers, and fifty for repairs to the palace.

It seems, from a sentence pronounced by a commission of arbitration on June 11 following, that an arrangement had been brought about between seignior Dunant who was condemned to death and Claude de Blonay who had prosecuted him; and that, at the request of the friends of both parties, a committee had been formed to take into consideration the grievances of de Blonay. This sentence was rendered in the palace of the Most Reverend Bishop of Geneva, Francis de Sales, and was signed by him, and also by Messieurs de Menthon, de Charmois, de Laudes, Jaquerod de Loys, seignior of Bonnevaux, de Blonay, de Grillie, and de Laurent.

Seignior Dunant was thereby assigned to pay to the seignior of Blonay four thousand florins, and to acquit him of the payment of eight measures of corn annually, estimated at eight hundred florins, and the seignior of Blonay was exempted for the future from all payment of taxes, whether of capons, of hay,

or other kinds. For the payment of part of this sum seignior Dunant mortgaged a piece of land at Faverges called the *Pré au Seigneur*, the grange of Prambes, and the vineyard at the *Thouvière* of Evian. He was also prohibited from harbouring in his castles and mansions Claude Requet and Charron, his accomplices; and, on the other hand, the seignior of Blonay gave up his rights against the domestics of the aforesaid seignior.

Touching the acknowledgment of fief claimed by the seignior of Blonay, that was to be regulated in accordance with the conditions of an act of sale of 1495, and his claim to the woods and forests dependent upon St. Paul was to be referred to the judge of Chablais, who was to hear also the seignior of Bernex. With regard to the properties possessed by seignior Dunant depending upon the fief of the prior of St. Paul, he must prove that they were free from taxes. Touching the sum of two hundred and thirty golden crowns paid by the seignior of Blonay to the Count of Leni for seignior Dunant, the latter was ordered to pay thirteen hundred florins to the former. Concerning the reintegration urged by the seignior of Blonay of the château and houses of Blonay and Le Pas, it was ordered that if the Baron of La Sarraz paid to the dame of Colombier two thousand eight hundred golden crowns, she would be permitted to re-enter into possession of those castles and houses. Seignior Dunant was moreover to pay to the seignior of Blonay ninety florins for the crops of Prambert. As for the tomb in the church, it was decided in accordance with the views of the seignior of Blonay, that it was only in common between him and the seignior of Bernex; but that the aforesaid seignior Dunant should be accorded permission to make another there.

This act was followed on August 20 by a promise of the parties to carry out the preceding sentence.

An additional decision of the arbiters decreeing further arrangements was issued the same day. The seignior of Blonay was to set free, by means of the seignior prior of St. Paul, his son, the lands he held which depend on the châteaux of Blonay and of Le Pas belonging to the seignior Baron of La Sarraz, father-in-law of seignior Dunant. The seignior was ordered to pay to the Archbishop of Vienne or to the seignior of Blonay thirteen hundred florins, and to purge himself by oath before

the Most Reverend Bishop of Geneva touching the arquebuse taken from the late Noble Gabriel de Blonay, as to whether he has it or not, or if he can have it, or if he has disposed of it by fraud.

This is signed by St. Francis de Sales and by Messieurs de Buttet and de Quoex.

Eight years afterwards another act was issued, putting the Reverend Messire Claude de Blonay into possession of the jurisdiction of Blonay, in the parish of St. Paul.

It was preceded by the request of Claude de Blonay to the Chamber of Accounts of Savoy to depute some one to perform this service. This request was referred to the procureur-patrimonial, who directed that such duty should fall on the first of the Chamber of Accounts found on the spot, and the decree of the Duke of Savoy to the same effect was next cited.¹

The *procès-verbal* is of a very peculiar character. It was drawn up by Messire Bruno Vibert, doctor of laws, counsellor of His Highness, master and auditor in the Chamber of Accounts of Savoy, who, being at Thonon, was requisitioned by Monsieur Claude de Blonay on March 4, 1619, to put him in possession.

'On the day above mentioned,' says Vibert, 'we mounted on horseback, accompanied by Noble Claude Marin, advocate, Master Garin Mugnier, commissaire d'Extentes, and followed by our scribe. About midday the seignior of Blonay, with Master André Cristin, his attorney, appeared before us. The latter, having produced the necessary title, demanded to be put in possession. Thereupon the sieur Grept, ordinary judge of the seignior of St. Paul, required that the placing in possession should be put off, so as to enable the widow of the late condemned seignior to be heard, which was done until three o'clock. At this later hour, being seated in the middle of the street before the great gate of the house of Blonay, the said dame being come, and shortly after Noble Claude and Jacques de Blonay, assisted by their counsel, having arrived, and the latter having claimed to be put in possession, the Dame de St. Paul objected in her own name, on account of her rights under

¹ These acts are signed in the above order—Burnet, procureur; Benoît, July 11, 1618; Milliet and Benoît, July 16; Benoît, July 18.

her marriage settlement, and on account of those of her brother-in-law. The question having been debated on the spot, the drawer of the *procès-verbal*, setting aside the widow's objections, proceeded to put Claude and Jacques de Blonay into possession. And as a real and vital mark of putting in possession we gave (he says) letters patent of infeudation to the aforesaid seigniors of Blonay, father and son, and made them sit upon the seat whereon we had remained during the whole proceedings in presence of the entire assembly. And as each was about to retire the Dame de St. Paul, unable to contain herself, said, addressing herself to the seignior of Blonay, that if evil had struck his house the end was not yet reached, and that far greater would ensue. On account of which words we were obliged to impose silence first on the one and then on the other. On the following day, as we were upon the point of mounting our horses to return to Chambéry, the seignior of Blonay came to announce to us that, in accordance with our ordinance, he had planted a pillory on his seigniory, which had been pulled down during the night, and he desired that we should proceed to take information with regard to the act. But as the seignior Marquis of Lullin, governor of the duchy of Aoste, had sent us for the purpose of extinguishing the fires of dissension between the houses of the late seignior Dunant and the de Blonays, we waited two days; at the end of which time Claude and Jacques de Blonay and the seignior of Allaman appeared before us in the house of the Marquis of Lullin at Thoron, where were also Messieurs Ayazza, abbot of Abondance, and the seignior of Vallon. The rival parties, after expressing their desire to live together in future like good neighbours, consented mutually to desist from any proceedings they might be about to take against each other.'

Dr. Bruno Vibert subsequently went to Evian and obtained the adhesion of the widow of the late seignior against whom the prosecution had taken place, and returned with it to St. Paul, where he saw that the pillory was put up. Claude de Blonay and his son, after being duly installed, took the oath to observe the conditions imposed upon them as vassals of the Duke of Savoy.

Among those signing the first sentence of arbitration was
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Jaquero de Loÿs, seignior of Bonnevaux. The seignior of Charmoisy, who signed the same instrument, was gentleman in ordinary of the bedchamber to Henry of Savoy, duke of Genevois and of Nemours. He was the relative and friend of St. Francis de Sales, and they were nearly of the same age. The prince whom he served held as an appanage the county of Genevois, the baronies of Faucigny and Beaufort, and his residence was at Annecy, the principal town of this territory. The Duke of Nemours was always in embarrassed circumstances, and even borrowed from M. de Charmoisy himself the sum of 4,800 gold crowns *au soleil* at eight per cent. a year—the rate of that epoch.

Two years before taking part in this arbitration, the seignior of Charmoisy was at Brussels, the bearer of full powers to treat with the Duke d'Aumale and Madame the Duchess concerning the marriage of Anne de Lorraine, their daughter. Everything seemed to be ready and the contract was even signed; but difficulties suddenly arose, and the nuptials were not celebrated until nine years later.

De Charmoisy had served his first apprenticeship in diplomatic life at the court of Turin, when quite a youth. Afterwards, though still in the service of Duke Charles Emmanuel, he was by his consent attached to that of the Duke of Nemours. He was thus mixed up in the agitations of the League and in all the changes of the Civil Wars. Among his intimate friends were president Favre, and Des Hayes, counsellor and *maitre d'hôtel* in ordinary to Henry IV., and governor of Montargis—the correspondent of St. Francis de Sales. M. de Charmoisy, who was frequently at the French court, made an impression on Henry IV., who endeavoured more than once to obtain his services; and we are told that he even had this plan in his mind when about to fall under the dagger of an assassin.

It was on one of these occasions that M. de Charmoisy made the acquaintance of his future wife. Born in Normandy—says M. Jules Vuÿ in his charming life of her, from which I draw my information concerning the de Charmoisy family—she went to exercise a veritable influence in a little country at the foot of the mountains, on the borders of the lakes of Geneva and Annecy. She was daughter of the late Noble Jacques Duchatel,

écuyer, seignior of Hattevillette and of Gorney, in Normandy ; and at the time of her marriage was living in the Hôtel d'Aumale, near the Louvre, being a maid of honour to Catherine de Clèves, the Dowager Duchess of Guise, widow of Henri of Guise, who was assassinated at Blois under the eyes of the king of France in 1588. It was to her that St. Francis de Sales addressed that remarkable performance: '*L'Introduction à la Vie Dévote*'—a series of letters which became one of the best known volumes of the time.¹

Madame de Charmois married at Paris in 1600, and went with her husband to visit Marclaz, Villy, Annecy, and Folliet, and the lakes of Annecy and of Geneva. In Annecy her husband possessed a house near the fountain at the corner of the Rues de l'Île and de Pont Morens, at the extremity of the first enceinte. The house is standing, and preserves a feudal air. The shield of arms above the great door was broken away during the Revolution. Strange to say, the souvenirs of the de Charmois are no longer attached to this house, and an erroneous tradition prevails that it was here that St. Francis de Sales lived. This legend grew out of the fact that he and the rest of his family had a mortgage on the mansion, and that he was a constant visitor there in the lifetime of Monsieur and Madame de Charmois.

Madame de Charmois at first experienced a great change from Paris to Savoy, from the court to the country, and especially when residing in her husband's absence at their château of Folliet, in the wild valley of the Fier. Soon after her arrival she made the acquaintance of St. Francis de Sales, her husband's connection and friend, and he was a frequent guest at her house in Annecy, at her château of Presle—situated in a smiling country whereon was Château Menthon, the birthplace of St. Bernard of Menthon—and at Marclaz, where the de Charmois, who were cadets of the house of Madame de Chaumont, spent much time. Marclaz lay three kilometres from Thonon, near the Lake of Geneva. The seigniory of Charmois, from which the name was taken, was a dependency of it, and could be seen from the historic hill of the Allinges.

¹ *Étude Historique et Critique sur l'Introduction à la Vie Dévote*, par Dom B. Mackey, O.S.B. Annecy, 1894.

Blacuw contains a view of Marclaz in 1700, and styles it 'Château et Maison de plaisance du Marquis de St. Michel.' This château, the home of Count Max de Foras, is to-day a spacious mansion, whose hospitable capabilities have been increased by an additional storey. It is surrounded by terraced gardens full of colour, and a park whose wide-spreading trees whisper of the past, waving towards the heights of the Allinges on the south, or towards the blue waters of Lake Lemán on the north, with the Swiss mountains as background. Beside the Château Fort of Marclaz is a brawling little river hurrying to the lake. Its outer surrounding walls still display their small corner towers. The great entrance tower of the castle bears above its portal a half-obliterated armorial shield with the date of restoration, 1508; it was in existence in 1268.¹

During a winter spent in Paris Madame de Charmoisy was a frequent attendant on the preaching of St. Francis, who often occupied the pulpit of Notre Dame, and during a ten months' sojourn in the metropolis delivered not less than four hundred discourses. It was on January 24, 1604, after listening to an eloquent appeal delivered by St. Francis, that she resolved on a devout life. Four years after, she had made such religious progress and shown so many Christian virtues that St. Francis de Sales made her the subject of the volume already mentioned, in which she appeared under the name of Philothée, and which rendered her a celebrated personage in her day.

CHAPTER LXXXVI

MONSIEUR JULES VUÿ, with the learning and literary ability which distinguish him, has revived the memory of Madame de Charmoisy and brought her character once more into view. The glimpses he gives of the social elements in Chablais and in Savoy enable me to identify many of the personages he mentions with the de Blonays, and also to be present at the founding of the Convent of the Visitation at Annecy, which a hundred years later opened its doors to Madame de Warens.

The 'Philothée,' or 'Introduction à la Vie Dévôté,' became

¹ Count Max de Foras' Marclaz Archives.

the guide of Madame de Chantal, founder of the Visitation, and impressed Marie Aymée de Blonay, whose acquaintance we have made, and whom M. Vuÿ styles one of the grandest and most energetic characters of that order.¹ St. Francis, as we have seen, had known Aymée as an infant. He called her with familiar affection *La Cadette*, for he had a pet name for each intimate friend. While she was still a pupil of St. Catherine Convent, relates Charles Augustus de Sales, she was visited by ladies of the world, and spoke to them earnestly concerning death and eternal salvation and the necessity of Christian virtues, and begged them to read 'Philothée.'

The convent of St. Catherine was three or four kilometres from Annecy, and received damsels of high condition or birth. It was in a retired and severe position, and rich in historical souvenirs; it had served as the family tomb of the old Counts of Genevois, extinct more than two centuries earlier. The nunnery was directed by a lady of the house of Maillard, sister of the Count of Tournon, governor of Savoy, and a near relative of Madame de Charmois. St. Francis de Sales also had in this cloister relatives and friends. Marie Aymée de Blonay passed three years there, and Madame de Charmois also had other connections in this retreat.

The latter's sojourn at Marclaz had made her acquainted with Baron de Blonay of St. Paul, whose daughter, Marie Aymée, she often visited at St. Catherine when living at Annecy. Her serious nature loved to pray and meditate in the shades of this old convent, which, however, was far from being what we now figure as a convent. The nuns were not cloistered, and, though ordinarily in voluntary retreat, were not completely separated from the world.

In 1608, the year of the publication of the 'Introduction à la Vie Dévote,' St. Francis de Sales was preaching at Annecy Cathedral at Christmas, and Madame de Charmois invited the superiress of the convent to become her guest and listen to the eloquent prelate. The directress accepted, and was accompanied by four pensioners, of whom naturally Marie Aymée de Blonay was one. The house of Pont Morens, by which St. Francis frequently passed, received with joy the pious company which

¹ Jules Vuÿ, *Vie de Madame de Charmois*, p. 142.

for a moment had stopped for prayer at the chapel of St. George, then on the bridge of Morens.

M. de Charmoisy also possessed not far from his house at Annecy a garden in the faubourg La Perrière, well known to St. Francis, President Favre, and Jacqueline Favre his daughter—one of the first *religieuses* of the Convent of the Visitation. This neighbouring convent was founded June 6, 1610, in the house called La Galerie, which preserves its name. La Galerie fronts Lake Annecy and the magnificent mountains on its borders.

In visits to the sick and poor, in the grounds of La Galerie or in the gardens of La Perrière, the recluses of the Visitation often saw Madame de Charmoisy; and here St. Francis was constantly speaking in the open air to his spiritual daughters, as years before at Chablais he preached to the country people in the woods and meadows.

It was a curious fact that among the first ten nuns of the new convent only two were not infirm or in delicate health. The reception of the greater portion of these gave rise to much laughter; in reply to which St. Francis, with his ordinary benignity, said, 'Well, what would you? I am the partisan of the infirm.' Madame de Charmoisy herself had a fragile constitution, but all these good women overcame bodily weakness by fervour of spirit.

St. Francis de Sales, who figures as presiding arbitrator in the case of the reverend seignior of Blonay against the seignior of Grillie, was born at the château of Sales, near Annecy, in 1567, and died at Lyons in 1622, like his mother, of apoplexy. He descended from an ancient and illustrious house.

The father of St. Francis, who was called Monsieur de Boisy, from a seigniorship which he had received from his wife, inhabited his château of La Thuile, on the Lake of Annecy, and that of Sales, at Thorens; but he had also spent previously some years in his château at Brens, and it was here that St. Francis passed much of his infancy and his youth. This castle was at the end of a village situated at the foot of the mountain of Voirons, sheltered by a vast, high, and densely thick forest of great oaks. From the summit of a very high tower one could even see Geneva.

Like other noble families, that of de Sales formerly possessed many properties in Geneva, among others a house in the Bourg de Four, and in the Place of Molard the house 'where hangs the sign of the green cross.' It also possessed in the old bishop's palace a chamber whose chimney bore its arms.

In 1535, at the moment when the new religious ideas began to prevail at Geneva, there was to be seen in the ancient church of St. Victor a great sepulchral stone with the shield of the de Sales, and with it this device: *Adieu, Biens Mondains*.¹

M. de Boisý had many friends in Thonon, and among the families which St. Francis knew in his youth most intimately was that of de Blonay of St. Paul, and this fellowship strengthened with years. When he began his work in Chablais, he took up his residence at the fortress of Allinges, from whence he could see with satisfaction the castle of Marclaz, the residence of his friends the de Charmoisys. This castle is of historical interest in connection with his life and work. Before making public profession of the Roman Catholic faith, the inhabitants of Mesinge and Allinges, and the greater part of those of Brens, pledged themselves privately in the *Maison Forte de Marclaz* to St. Francis de Sales, in the presence of President Favre.

While resident at Annecy, Madame de Charmoisý met Dom Juste Guérin, afterwards Bishop of Geneva; the Marquis d'Urfé (author of 'Astrée,' a romance Rousseau said he had read with his father, and the one which oftenest returned to his mind); Jean Pierre Camus, the famous Bishop of Belley; Pierre Fenouillet, the future Bishop of Montpellier, and author of the funeral oration on Henry IV.; Count Louis de Sales; Claude Favre de Vaugelas, of the Florimontane Academy (founded by St. Francis), and among the foremost members of the French Academy; René Favre de la Valbonne, brother of the latter (president of the Council of the Genevois, and author of 'Le Bien Public'); Antoine Favre, president of the Senate after having been presi-

¹ *Vie de St. François de Sales*, par Charles Auguste de Sales; also *La Maison Naturelle de St. François de Sales*, par Nicolas d'Hauteville. I may here mention the important work now in progress, *Œuvres de Saint François de Sales*, édition d'Annecy, 1892, *seq.*, of which eight of the eighteen proposed volumes have appeared under the learned and able editorship of the Very Rev. Canon Mackey, O.S.B., to whom I am indebted for several interesting facts.

dent of the Council of the Genevois, and president of the Senate among the most learned of his time ; John Traitoris de Buttet, nephew of the famous Marquis Claude de Buttet.

President Favre and J. F. de Buttet also figured in the de Blonay suit of 1611. Other arbiters were Philibert de Villiens, seignior of Laudes and baron du Boes, and a de Menthon of the ancient family to which St. Bernard belonged. The composition of the commission indicates the preponderating influence of St. Francis de Sales, and that the settlement of difficulties was unquestionably brought about by that excellent man, who possessed an equitable spirit and clear judgment in all such matters. The Marquis de Lullin, governor of the duchy of Aoste and of Chablais, at whose house in Thonon the parties in this case assembled, was a relative and intimate friend of the de Charmois family. In a letter from him dated January 28, 1616, being about to make a journey into Burgundy, he offered to Madame de Charmois during his absence a fine room in his hôtel there. 'She will have her chapel,' said he, 'where she can attend Mass every day, good company, and even a physician.'

I visited this palace at Thonon, and remarked a long arched passage-way which formerly led to the stables of the Marquis, above the arch being the arms of this house and the date 1642. At the end of another passage, supported by pilasters bearing the arms again in stone, there is a window also surmounted by the shield and coronet of the Marquis, the whole surrounded with the collar of the Annonciade, and a pendant figure of the Virgin.

Jacques de Gex, seignior of Vallon, near Samoens, who was present with the abbot of Abondance in the house of the Marquis of Lullin as a witness of the legal proceedings, was brother-in-law of M. de Charmois, having married his sister Antoinette. Another Seignior de Vallon is mentioned with M. de Corcelles as among the few remaining Protestants at Thonon, although he eventually became a Roman Catholic. The former was the confidential friend of M. de Charmois, after whose death he gave all possible assistance and advice to Madame de Charmois.

CHAPTER LXXXVII

THE de Charmoisys possessed a house at Thonon at this time, and after the death of her husband Madame de Charmoisy acquired still another. This house had belonged to Jeanne du Maney, a devout and excellent woman, formerly a member of the very small Catholic colony of Thonon during the first mission of St. Francis de Sales in Chablais. She was the widow of Noble François du Foug. After her death, Madame de Charmoisy bought this house, and, four years later, ceded it to the daughters of the Visitation, who established themselves at Thonon. They inhabited it for ten years, and were there three times visited by Madame de Chantal. This house is still standing, and both inside and outside has a poor and mean appearance.

The house in which St. Francis de Sales took refuge from his religious enemies is now the Café de Grange, opposite the fountain and the college. While there, he exclaimed, 'Je suis ici à la garde de Dieu'—and the house is now called 'À la garde de Dieu.'

The church of St. Hippolyte of Thonon, in which St. Francis de Sales preached, was formerly but half its present size; the choir and *avant-choeur* were built in 1756. The pulpit of the saint remains; it is in carved wood surmounted with figures of saints. A rock-crystal cross, also preserved, is elaborately enamelled, and bears the date 1590. Another relic of the same year is a magnificent lamp in silver, with three gilt bronze angels. These two objects came from château Ripaille. There is a curious crypt in this church, whose pillars have grotesquely carved capitals, and belong doubtless to the twelfth or thirteenth century.

The monastery of the Capucins (Place du Château) contains an ancient chapel—now a stable and wine-press—which was consecrated by St. Francis de Sales in 1616. The monastery was constructed in great part after the treaty of 1589 with the

materials of the château then existing there, whose walls were torn down by the Bernese.¹

The old church of the Barnabites in the Grand'Rue is now occupied by the fire-brigade of Thonon. It was built about 1670. The arms of Savoy remain over what was the great altar, but the picture which formerly hung below has disappeared. The ancient college of the Barnabites adjoins the church, and on its walls are the arms of Savoy in fresco, surmounted by a royal crown.

The base of the monument on the Place du Château at Thonon was originally the fountain of the castle; on this was placed early in this century the obelisk erected in honour of the completion of the Simplon route. A bronze eagle formerly existed on its summit, but was thrown down in 1870, when the Republic was declared.

Blæuw, in his engraving of 1700, affords us a view of La Bastie at Thonon, the Palace of the Marquis de Pancaillié, now the hospital. This was at one time the seigniorial residence of a branch of the de Loÿs family of Savoy.

In the bourg of Concise was the château of La Fléchère, with a tower; their ruins were some years ago sold by Count de Foras to the Capucins, who tore down the remains and built there a church and monastery. The château was once taken by the Bernese and the garrison hanged; the beams from which they were suspended were still visible in the Count's early youth.

Monsieur de Foras, gentleman of the bedchamber to the Duke of Savoy, who is mentioned in M. Vuÿ's 'Life of Madame de Charmois,' and whose ancestor was an original knight of the Annonciade, is represented (1879) at Thonon by Count Amadeus de Foras, who is also a connection of St. Francis de Sales. No one ranks higher as an authority on the history and antiquities of Savoy, and his *magnum opus*, to which I so frequently refer, is unrivalled.²

I well remember my first visit to this interesting *savant*,

¹ Letter of Count Amadeus de Foras to the author, Dec. 16, 1879.

² *Armorial et Nobiliaire de l'ancien Duché de Savoie*, folio, not yet completed. It was published by subscription at 94 francs the volume, and has become rare, the first volume having already commanded the sum of 1,800 francs. This work is not to be found in the bookshops.

whose house at Thonon is in keeping with his labours. Crossing the square, the carriage stopped at a *porte cochère* near the Hôtel de Ville. M. de Foras was absent, but the Countess received us in the garden, where she was surrounded by a fine group of young daughters and sons. The garden and its green lawn form a high terrace surrounded by ancient embattled walls, commanding a superb view of the lake. The house is also castellated, and has a most ancient look.

The Count presently appeared, and gave us warm welcome. He is a handsome man of perhaps five-and-forty, tall, slender, dark, with regular features, black beard and moustache, black eyes and distinguished manners, and looks as though he had stepped out of the twelfth century to enlighten this.

He took me to his study, high up in an ancient tower, whose walls are so thick that the light penetrates with difficulty, and a lamp is necessary early in the day. Here he pursues his researches into the past, and the surroundings are so venerable and quaint that one seems suddenly to have come upon the sanctum of a mediæval alchemist. Here are in part the voluminous archives accumulated in his twenty-five years' labour in this congenial field. Most of them, however, are in his château of Thuyset. M. de Foras not only prepares the letterpress of his beautiful folios, but makes all the designs, and colours them himself. His sketches are characterised by great taste and freedom.

The house and tower at Thonon, which he then inhabited, was engraved by Blæuw in 1700, and probably belonged to the family of Bellegarde. Under the embattled west wall of the garden run the remains of the ancient moat.

The château of Thuyset, his country residence, lies in a charming valley, above Thonon, on the road towards Evian. The domain was originally called de Choysets, from which came later Thuyset. The seigniory was given by the lord of Allinges to François de Thorens, his squire, who constructed the castle towards 1490, from whom it passed by intermarriages to the de Foras. Upon its walls are sculptured the arms of the present family—or, a cross azure. It was flanked by four towers (two of which, *à poivrier*, have disappeared), and has pointed gables. A moat formerly defended it on the south-

west, and the remains of a subterranean passage, one or two hundred yards in length, show that there was a means of escape in case of siege. The grey colour of the château is in harmony with its verdant and beautiful surroundings.

A large room on the lower floor was formerly fitted up with a multitude of racks, on which reposed the Count's vast collection of parchments. All the centuries were represented, except the nineteenth, and the seals and illuminations of some of the older pieces are remarkably fine.

The billiard-room contains a series of family portraits, which are continued in the other rooms. Among them are Barle de Foras, knight of the Order of the Collar (later the Annonciade) at its first creation, 1362; Rodolphe de Foras, commander of Malta (St. John of Jerusalem), 1368, 1369; Michel, seignior de Foras, sixteenth century; Melchior, seignior de Foras, his son, who married Rose de Lucinge; Joseph Count de Foras, general, aide-de-camp to King Charles Albert; Charles Count de Foras (elder brother of Count Amadeus), orderly-officer of King Victor Emmanuel. There is also a very remarkable portrait of the sixteenth century of Charles Emmanuel, Duke of Savoy.

The castle wears a venerable appearance, in keeping with its centuries, forming a striking feature of a landscape into which enter also lake, mountain, and undulating plain.

The Thonon district is a de Foras country, for besides Thuyset there are Marclaz—the residence of his son Count Max—and the châteaux of Montjoux and La Villette, belonging to those distinguished officers the elder and younger brothers of Count Amadeus,¹ who himself since I wrote the above has become Grand Marshal of the Court of Bulgaria.

The de Foras family originated in the *mandement* of Clermont, in the Genevois, where two villages still bear the name. After an intermarriage they established themselves in Chablais in the fourteenth century.²

In the gardens of Thuyset the pomegranate-trees and the fig-trees flourish, and magnificent roses bloom. The *Sophara pendula*, in two kinds, grows luxuriantly, its graceful foliage draping the gateway in waving masses.

¹ Written in 1879.

² Dessaix, *Nice et Savoie*, p. 50.



Barle de Foras

The brilliant pencil of my lamented Spartan colleague, Théophile Gautier, a master colourist, has transferred to canvas a glowing view of Thonon :

' From the height of a terrace shaded by great trees, one beholds, in leaning over the parapet, below in an abyss the jumbled roofs of tiles, of wood, or of flat stones, of the houses, and the tops of the trees, of the lower town. This foreground of a warm colour, vigorously and boldly painted, forms the most excellent foil. It is terminated by barks with sharp prows and masts of salmon colour, with their great sails furled, reposing upon the bank after their voyages. The middle ground is the lake, and the third is formed by the mountains of Switzerland, which unroll themselves throughout an extent of twelve leagues.

Here are very nearly the gross outlines of the picture.

' But that which the pencil may perhaps be more powerless to render even than the pen, is the colour of the lake. The most beautiful summer lake is surely less pure and less transparent. The rock-crystal, the diamond, are not more limpid than this virgin water sprung from the neighbouring glaciers. The distance, the greater or less depth, the play of light, give to it vaporous, ideal, impossible tones, which seem to belong to another planet. The cobalt, the ultramarine, the sapphire, the turquoise, the azure of the most beautiful blue eyes, have the most earthen shades in comparison. Some of the brilliant reflection upon the wing of the kingfisher, some of the iris upon the ivory of certain shells, can alone give an idea of it, or even still certain elysian and blueish effects in the pictures of Broughel de Paradis. One is led to ask if it is the water of heaven or the azure mist of a dream which lies before one. The air, the water, and the earth reflect one another, and mingle together in the most strange manner. Often a boat trailing after her a shadow of dark blue alone informs you that that which you have taken for an opening in the sky is, in reality, a morsel of the lake. The mountains assume unimaginable shades of silver and pearl grey, of rose tints, of hortensia and of lilacs, of blue *cendré* like the ceilings of Paul Veronese. Here and there shine some white points : they are Lausanne, Vevey, Villeneuve. The shadow of the mountains reflected in the water is so fine in tone, so transparent, that it is impossible to

distinguish the sense of the objects. The slight silvery tremor with which the lake fringes its banks is necessary in order to regain one's bearings.'

I visited the château of Allinges, lying to the south-west of Thonon, under the friendly guidance of Count de Foras. Having gained its double-crested summit, we had at our feet the valley of Allinges with its parish church, while the lake spread out its rippling waters from Hermance on the one side to Vevey on the other. On the left bank were the castle of Coudrée—until lately the seat of the family of Allinges-Coudrée, and now (1896) the residence of M. Anatole Bartholoni—the village of Allinges, the châteaux Beauregard, Yvoire, Marclaz, Thonon, Thuysset, Ripaille, and, beyond, Bassaraba, and the renowned gardens of the Princess de Brancovan.¹ The Dent d'Oche shows its two summits, which below appear to form one. There is a valley between us and the prolongation of Mount Voiron, which also consists of two heights, divided by a small ravine.

The chapel where St. Francis de Sales was accustomed to say Mass during his residence at Allinges is not large, but it contains thirteenth-century frescoes in the choir behind the altar, and its round arches and Latin cross have a Roman look. Here, in a fine gilt case, is preserved the saint's chapeau. There seems to be no doubt as to the authenticity of this relic, and as I looked upon it, the form, face, and characteristics of its owner rose before me.

Above the middle height, with a strong and well-developed head, a large high forehead, limpid blue eyes always turning to the left in search of a convert, a rich complexion, handsome mouth, beautiful blonde chestnut hair, a refinement of features and delicacy of skin truly remarkable, a frank, serene, and gracious expression, polished and agreeable manners, a majestic bearing, a grave and sonorous voice, but both speech and gait somewhat slow—such were his physical characteristics.

As we turned away from this interesting sanctuary, we

¹ The Prince Bassaraba de Brancovan, descended from the ancient sovereigns of Wallachia, was a great benefactor of Evian, where there is a fine monument to his memory. His widow is the daughter of Musurus Paşa (for many years Dean of the diplomatic body at the Court of St. James) by his wife the Princess Vogoridès. The grace, beauty, and musical genius of the Princess de Brancovan are as celebrated as the charming hospitalities she dispenses at Bassaraba and Paris.

encountered the missionary of St. Francis, Father Antoine, who lives in an apartment of the building attached to the chapel.

Descending from the higher Allinges, we struggled through a thick undergrowth, and ascended the lower height of what is believed to be the more recent castle, although to my mind the architecture of the two indicates the same epoch. This lower castle (wherein we found the remains of an ancient cistern hewn out of the living rock) is overlooked by the other. A primitive stone staircase led us to a lower enclosure, whose semicircular, choir-like end seemed to denote the site of the ancient chapel. This portion was brought to light in 1878 by the owner, M. Despierres.

From this point the whole of the heights above Amphion and Thonon spread out below us like a plain dotted with ant-hills. Beyond rises the gigantic wall called the rocks of Memise. The château of Maigny lies before us at the foot of a range of low wooded heights.

It is not known whether the land above Allinges gave its name to the ancient family that inhabited it, or whether this family bestowed its patronymic on the locality. Grillet observes that it is proved by authentic documents that the ancient kings of Burgundy accorded to the seigniors of Allinges great possessions for important services, as may be seen in the diploma of Conrad I. called the Pacific, for the year 984, and of Rodolphe III. of the year 1011.

In 1073 the family divided into two branches, one taking up its residence in Dauphiny, the other remaining in Chablais. The latter with the de Blonays were mentioned in 1108 by the sovereign authority as the principal seigniors of that country, and in the twelfth century they were qualified as princes. At the epoch of the Bernese invasion, François d'Allinges embraced the Reform. He was the lord of twenty-two seigniories. The last of this branch died at Geneva in 1654. The family of Allinges-Coudrée, which was seated in the seignior and château of Coudrée—made a marquisate in the middle of the seventeenth century—remained Catholic, and existed until quite recently. It was at the château of Coudrée that, towards the end of the eighteenth century, Alfieri dwelt with the Countess of Albany, the widow of the last of the Stuarts.

The châteaux of the Allinges themselves, which had become at an early period a dependency of the house of Savoy, during the wars between the Dauphins of Viennois and the latter house sustained many sieges and assaults. Here, in 1332, the army of the Dauphin of Viennois was defeated by Edward of Savoy.

It was hither that St. Francis came with his cousin, Louis de Sales, with letters of introduction from the Duke of Savoy, the Bishop of Annecy, and the Count de Sales, to the military governor of the country, Baron d'Hermance. Allinges at this time was the centre of a Protestant country, which had been turned to that faith by the invasions and persuasions of the Bernese, although when Farel came to preach the Reform to the inhabitants of Thonon, in 1536, they had banished him from the town, and his memory is only kept alive in the form of an invective: for one may still hear, in disputes between the townspeople: 'Tais-toi, langue de Farel!'

The morning after his arrival the saint celebrated Mass in the chapel, and each day afterwards wended his way on foot to prosecute his labours in reconverting the populations.

The Allinges were taken in 1690 by the French, and for six years Thonon and Evian were forced to feed the French garrison therein. The treaty of Turin (August 19, 1696) returned Savoy to the princes of that house. Seven years afterwards, the latter took part in the war of the Spanish Succession against Louis XIV., and Savoy was retaken. The fort of the Allinges remained in the hands of the French until 1713, after which King Victor Amadeus II. demolished the fortress.¹

The chapel originally formed the ground-floor of a wing of the castle, and the present steeple, semi-cylindrical in shape, has a strange appearance. It is, however, nothing less than a half-tower which flanked it. This tower at its base is vaulted, and forms the choir of the chapel.

Francis Wey had a somewhat unsuccessful search after a legend in these parts. Meeting a peasant, he inquired in the most friendly and engaging manner whether there were any traditions. The *bonhomme* looked at him with a scandalised air, and, scratching his head, said: 'Oh, I know! There was one here some years ago, but the police sent it packing.'

¹ Original documents in the possession of M. Laurent, of Evian, communicated by him to the author.

CHAPTER LXXXVIII

IN further settlement of the already described grievances of the de Blonays against the Dunants, seigniors of Grillie, the latter were obliged by subsequent decision of the Senate of Savoy, to give up the castle of Grillie in Evian to the Blonays. The Dunants then repaired to a house belonging to them, which has recently been left to the town by M. Folliet-Edouard.

Claude de Blonay is the first of his race styled by M. de Foras seignior of Grillie, towards the middle of the seventeenth century.¹ This castle remained in the family until a few years ago.

In this connection, it is somewhat curious that several years before the French Revolution, one of the family of Dunant got into a dispute with a certain physician, in the inn called the White Horse, Evian, and fell in the duel which ensued. Tradition relates that the doctor violated the rules in a cowardly manner, by kicking one of his slippers into the face of his adversary, and taking advantage of this to kill him. Public opinion was so strong against him that the doctor was compelled to fly, and did not return to Evian until after the breaking out of the Revolution. The White Horse is on the left of the Grand'Rue, in going towards Thonon; the place of the tragic duel is behind the tavern, and is called 'behind the moat.'

The legendary origin of the château of Marin on the Dranse, now the residence of Baron Francis de Blonay, is connected with the chapel of the same name. A prior, departing for the Crusades, is said to have left unfinished the construction upon which Messieurs Anthoinaz erected a pavilion which the present Baron developed into the château. A little further existed a fortified house or castle, which had belonged to the branch of Compeys. Here they dwelt, and this was the seigniori of La Chapelle Marin. In the little chapel near the modern castle, St. Francis de Sales often came to say Mass. The Bernese, as we have seen, occupied Chablais and protestan-

¹ Count de Foras, *Armorial de Savoie, Les Barons de Blonay*.

tized it as far as the Dranse bridge on the side of Thonon. On the Evian side the Valaisans had taken possession, and this part of Chablais remained Catholic.¹

There was another possession of the de Blonays in Chablais, the 'Grange Blanche of Bernex,' a domain which also came from the house of Dunant de Grillie on account of the process instituted against them by Claude de Blonay. This domain is one of the most beautiful among the mountains, but according to a document in the Blonay archives, it required great care and labour to preserve it, being situated on a river which undermined it, and above subterranean waters. The seigniorial mansion, instead of being placed in the middle of the domain, was through ignorance built on the river bank in order to be nearer the water. The lake of Gottetta, connected with the Claude Fleury legend already related, was near this property.²

I have remarked that in the Middle Ages the seigniories of the de Blonays extended to the valley of Abondance. This locality remained so unknown within twenty years, that M. Wey declared, in 1866, that out of one thousand Alpine tourists, it would be difficult to find two who had visited the Abbey. 'You know to what a degree,' says one of his companions, 'the chamois are shy and timid. Well, they dwell above Abondance and le Chatel on heights so entirely deserted that they are never disturbed. They also descend without fear at the end of the autumn into the valley of the Bourg of Charmis, and even to the park of Abondance, where they are to be seen mingling themselves with the flocks of goats.'

Between La Chapelle and Abondance, a group of rocks composed of four blocks marks the limits of the two communes. This group is famous, and is considered a Druidic monument. Above three of the blocks, which form a sort of pedestal, rises the fourth, two metres in height, on one of whose faces seem to be engraved characters and subjects. The inhabitants call it the Synagogue, and give it an equivocal reputation. We must add that the neighbouring mountain is pierced with numerous

¹ Letter of Count de Foras to the author, December 16, 1879.

² A. de Bougy, *Evian et ses Environs*. He calls the lake La Gotta, but one name is only a diminutive of the other.

grottoes, mysterious palaces of supernal spirits, particularly of young fairies. The 'Revue Savoisienne' says it was necessary for women who desired to become mothers to make offerings of comestibles to these young divinities. If the presents deposited the evening before had disappeared in the morning, the demand was granted. If not, there was no hope for the suppliants. In order to destroy this extraordinary devotion, the monks of the Abbey erected on the spot an oratory in honour of St. Anne; but so persistent are old traditions, the women still pay to the mother of Mary the same vows they formerly addressed to the fairy of the grotto and the Druidic stone.¹

Our rapid flight through Savoy has afforded sufficient evidence of the origin and position of the de Blonay family in that country, and even in Vaud, and has brought into view a house whose history is connected with the eighteenth century as well as with preceding centuries.

The château of Blonay above Vevey has been strikingly described by my compatriot Fenimore Cooper, who, arriving with his family at Vevey in 1832, sat down there to survey the romantic country. I have often in conversation with his son, Mr. Paul Cooper, revisited these historic sites, and give myself the pleasure of introducing an extract from 'The Headsman,' descriptive of Blonay in Vaud :

'A square rude tower, based upon a foundation of rock, one of those rugged masses that thrust their naked heads occasionally through the soil of the declivity, was the commencement of the hold. Other edifices have been reared around the nucleus in different ages, until the whole presents one of those peculiar and picturesque piles that ornament so many both of the savage and of the softer sites of Switzerland. . . . There is little of magnificence in Swiss architecture, which never much surpasses, and is, perhaps, generally inferior to our own ; but the beauty

¹ De Baverat, *Haute Savoie*, p. 626. This reminds me of a slight declivity in the neighbourhood of the temple of Venus, at the foot of the Museum Hill at Athens. A tradition, which doubtless owes its origin to the proximity of the temple, has prevailed from time immemorial that any sterile woman who shall commit the nether part of her unprotected person to the smooth incline of the rock, and glide fearlessly to the bottom, will be rewarded within the usual period by the fruits of her labour. The strength of this popular belief is shown by the shiny path worn in the rock by the many credulous seekers after maternity.

and quaintness of the sites, the great variety of the surfaces, the hill-sides, and the purity of the atmosphere, supply charms that are peculiar to the country. Vevey lay at the water-side, many hundred feet lower, and seemingly on a narrow strand, though in truth enjoying ample space; while the houses of St. Saphorin, Corsier, Montreux, and of a dozen more villages, were clustered together, like so many of the compact habitations of wasps stuck against the mountains. But the principal charm was in the Leman. One who had never witnessed the lake in its fury could not conceive the possibility of danger in the tranquil shining sheet that was now spread like a liquid mirror, for leagues, beneath the eye.'

Less than half a century after the construction of the château of Blonay—that is, between 1208 and 1211—it was besieged by the imperialists during the war between Thomas, duke of Savoy, and the last duke of Zaehringen. The de Blonays were almost the only great seigniorial family in the Roman Country who accepted Zaehringen, the others preferring to be in direct relations with the Empire.

The cartulary of the chapter of Lausanne informs us, that a German knight of the name of Tiez Blata died during this siege, and gave to the church of Lausanne a *lunage* situated in the bishopric of Constance, near the village of Wiggerswil. A *lunage* was the quantity of land which a plough could turn up in the course of a lunar month. It was eventually estimated at a little less than two hundred acres.¹

In 1218, Duke Berthold of Zaehringen died, and was buried with magnificent ceremonies in the choir behind the great altar of the principal church of Freiburg; his lance and shield were placed in the tomb by his side, in symbol of the extinction of this illustrious dynasty after a reign of one hundred years.²

The de Blonays had been great benefactors to the abbey of Hautcrêt, and, like their kinsmen the d'Orons, were regularly entombed there. It was only after the destruction of the monastery that they began to bury the members of their family

¹ Martignier and de Crousaz, 1022. It was equal to 16 or 17 *poses*. The ancient *pose* was equal to 4,800 square metres.

² *Mémoire sur le Rectorat de Bourgogne: Mém. et Doc. i. 1^{re} livr. p. 132.*

in the church of Blonay, having also a chapel in their castle, but towards the middle of the seventeenth century a chapel in the church of St. Martin at Vevey which had formerly belonged to the Preux family, passed into their hands, and was used for sepulture.

In the vicinity of the castle still linger traditions of the Saracens. Above Blonay there is a grotto which bears the name of 'Oven of the Saracens,' because at the time of their invasion the inhabitants fled thither for refuge. The first planting of beans in this district is attributed to the injunction of a terrible voice issuing at some unknown time from this Oven: 'Fa bon planta la Faves! Fa bon planta la Faves!' 'It is good to plant beans!' These rumbling tones produced such an effect upon the hearers, that the population set to work to carry out the mysterious commands, and within three months the pods fell in all directions, and the beans rattled in the pots of the neighbourhood.

It is said that the de Blonays in each generation have possessed a peculiar mark on the forehead; but this has never produced the unfortunate results which ensued in one instance from the hairy peculiarities of a family in the north of Europe. Of the latter it is related, that a male infant was born, who, to the consternation of the father, was wanting in the distinctive family feature, namely, a grey lock in the midst of raven tresses. Doubt filled the parental breast, and distrust sat enthroned in the home circle. While the conventionalities of life were scrupulously observed in this noble household, utter estrangement in reality ensued between husband and wife. This continued during weary years, when the youth appeared in all the glory of a budding moustache, one wing of which displayed the familiar grey lock, while the other was jet black. Joy took possession of the castle, and its head hastened to make his peace with his unjustly suspected partner.

M. Léon Menabrea says, that the de Blonays were styled Princes in the early part of the eleventh century, while Count de Foras, in speaking of the Savoyan branch, declares that they were Marquesses, Counts, and Barons in the modern sense, and because of their lands bearing these titles; but he considers that, as they have always been Barons in the ancient sense,

corresponding to grand seigniors, they should by preference carry the latter title.¹

A portion of the archives of the de Blonays are in the possession of Count Frédéric de Mulinen, at Berne; others are in the castle above Vevey; in the château of Grandson; at the castle of Blonay (Marin on the Dranse); and in the muniment room of castle Blonay at Evian, now the Casino, which became the property of the town by inheritance (1878) from the late Baron Ennemond de Blonay. I am indebted to the courtesy of M. Briguet (assistant to the Maire), M. Laurent (counsellor at the Court of Appeal of Chambéry), and M. Besson (general secretary of the Mairie) for permission to consult the documents in the Casino, which are of high historical value. This permission I have largely used, and remarked there among other things thirty-five manuscript volumes recounting the de Blonay family affairs from the earliest times.² One volume relates to the family's origin. Another contains a series of important letters addressed by the Princes of Savoy to the de Blonays. A third embraces a faithful record of the various important embassies undertaken by the representatives of the family in its different generations. There are also many sacks of papers and parchments.

¹ *Les Origines Féodales dans les Alpes Occidentales (Menabres)*; Count de Foras, *Les Barons de Blonay*.

² The following are the titles of these volumes: *Instructions, Mémoires et Pièces Intéressantes; Lettres des Ministres; Réponses aux lettres des Ministres et autres; Chapellenies et autres fondations ecclésiastiques; Généalogies et Preuves de Noblesse; Contrats de famille de Blonay et autres accords; Contrats de famille de Blonay (Accords); Patentes honorifiques; Billets du roi et autres lettres de Princes et Princesses; Dépêches du roi (marqué ?); Testaments et codiciles Blonay; Testaments et codiciles d'Avise et autres; Contrats de mariage ou d'entrée en religion; Contrats d'Acquis, ventes, achats, et autres semblables; Ventes et acquisitions des seigneurs d'Avise et autres; St. Paul, Investitures, Concessions, Privilèges; St. Paul, Reconnaissances Actives et Passives; Bernex; Maxilly; Allamand; Chatelard; Blonay [sic], Juridiction—Maison Forte de Grilly—Lugrin seigneurie; Hermance; Chapelle et Marin; Aoste Minières; Avise, Cartes topographiques et Pièces qui établissent les confins de la juridiction appartenante à la maison de Blonay; Avise, Reconnaissances, Actives et Passives; Avise, Investitures, Privilèges et Concessions féodales; Avise; Avise, Pièces qui établissent le droit d'exiger des subsides pour les dots des filles de la Maison d'Avise; Procès divers qui regardent la famille de Blonay; Fétérne, Juridiction et château d'Evian (Revenus); Procès au sujet des bois-noirs contre les communautés de Lyverogne et Arvier; Echanges; Acencements [sic] et Baux à ferme.*

CHAPTER LXXXIX

HAVING investigated the antecedents and surroundings of the most important family in Vaud in the early part of the last century, we now return to their friends, the de Warens, who were leading a quiet life at their various residences, and enlarging their social experience by visits to their friends and relatives throughout the Roman Country.

Among the more intimate associates of M. de Warens at Lausanne was his kinsman, M. Charles Guillaume de Loÿs de Bochat, who, although several years younger than himself, displayed precocious ability. We learn from the Eulogium pronounced after his death by Clavel de Brenles, which the author sent to Voltaire, that while pursuing his studies in his father's house in the Rue de Bourg, de Loÿs de Bochat gave evidence of such great talent for languages that he soon distanced his Greek instructor, and in fact became the teacher in his turn. Having pursued his philosophical studies under M. de Crousaz, and his course of Law under Barbeyrac, his parents, who intended him to enter the church, sent him to study theology at Basle, whose University then possessed two celebrated theologians—Werenfels and Frey. A severe attack of small-pox, however, led him to return to Lausanne, and to abandon the church for the bar, like his judicial master.¹ Resuming his studies under Barbeyrac, he returned once more to Basle (1716), and in the following year brilliantly acquitted himself of the thesis '*de Optimo Principe*,' and took his legal degrees. In the same year Barbeyrac being called to Groningen the chair of law at Lausanne was given to de Loÿs de Bochat.

Notwithstanding the *éclat* of his advent to this post, his ideal was so high that he demanded a leave of absence for further studies, and such was the esteem in which he was held that it was immediately accorded. (Jean Rodolphe de Waldkirch of Basle was appointed *pro tem.* professor of Law.)

¹ *Éloge Historique de Charles Guillaume de Loÿs de Bochat*, par Clavel de Brenles, quoted by Gindroz in *Hist. de l'Instruction Publique*, p. 315.

After several years of foreign travel, during which he visited the universities of Germany and Holland and entered into relations with the most celebrated savants, de Loÿs de Bochat began his professorship at Lausanne with a striking inaugural discourse which is alluded to in the following (unpublished) letter, addressed to him by Barbeyrac from Groningen, March 11th, 1721:

‘Monsieur,—I reply to your letter as early as it is possible for me to do, although at not so early a date as I would have desired.

‘I have read with very great pleasure your inaugural oration, for which I thank you most heartily. I found nothing there to object to except the too complimentary manner in which you have spoken of me.

‘I am confirmed by its perusal in the opinion I always held—that you will worthily fill the post I occupied before you, and that, being yet in the flower of your age, you will have sufficient time to inspire the youth of your country with such a strong taste for these admirable and necessary studies that it will be perpetuated to the furthest generations. I desire this with all my heart, and I shall always be interested in this as in every other thing which is to the advantage of Lausanne and its Academy.

‘I am extremely happy to know that you have induced M. de Breuil to retract the false rumours and unfortunate impressions to which he had given rise, concerning these gentlemen, with regard to orthodoxy. I read that article with pleasure, and not knowing that it came from so near, I was astonished by the diligence which had been displayed at Lausanne, from whence I supposed the communication had been addressed to the gazetteer.

‘I am delighted to learn, also, that you have made known to your colleagues the manner in which the Synod of Dordrecht is signed in Holland. I was ignorant of that, not having had occasion to inform myself concerning it.

‘You give me great pleasure and do me great honour, Monsieur, in proposing to me your doubts upon an important and fundamental matter. I enclose in this letter a paper apart, which contains what I think may be said to satisfy a just and

unprejudiced mind like your own. I trust that my thoughts will content you, and in case some difficulties remain, you will oblige me by pointing them out. This will be the means both to fortify myself in my principles and render them more clear, or to convince me of my error, supposing that, in spite of the utmost attention of which I have been capable, error has crept in.

‘I am proud to see that you hold the same ideas as myself concerning the piece of M. Branchu. As I have re-read it in order to answer the letter he wrote me in sending me his book, I am more and more confirmed in the resolution to reply in no manner to a work that is not worth answering.

‘I have learned that the author is the son of a man who taught Latin privately to children at the Hague; that he seeks to make himself known, and that at Leyden he gives lectures on Law to the students; and that, in order to arrive at his end, he desires to attack men of ability. As he has done me the too great honour to place me in this category by commencing with me his attacks against living authors, I ought to be sufficiently grateful to him not to expose him to the pain of seeing proved, by acknowledged authorities, that all his defences or attacks are false from one end to the other, and that he almost appears not to have read the piece he attempts to refute.

‘He affects to be a mathematician, but if he is one he furnishes a striking proof that, in imitation of his hero, he has not drawn from the study of this science, as far as the others are concerned, that accuracy of reasoning which many mathematicians lack when they quit their sphere. I have said nothing to him whatever on that of which I speak to you in the enclosed memoir. I have contented myself in allowing him to feel, in general and in honest terms, that he had not seen the lectures concerning the question, nor set forth my reasons as he should have done. I have pointed out some instances where he distorted my ideas, although they were expressed in the clearest manner.

‘Surely he has scarcely studied the Law of Nations and of Nature, although in order to attract German students and to compliment them by the defence of a celebrated master of their nation, he has ventured to break a lance with me; but I have

declared to him that I was not in the humour, and that I did not judge it necessary to enter into the lists with him. He has applied himself more to the Civil Law according to the usage of princes, than to the Natural Law. Nevertheless, my colleague, who is very jealous of the honour of the ancient jurisconsults, has made him understand also in a letter sent under cover by me, that he was not contented with him in that respect.

'I have not seen the edition of the little Puffendorf' by M. Weber, wherein you tell me he has made some small remarks against the letter of M. Leibnitz. When this edition falls into my hands I will note these. The editor is a good man, but he does not appear to me to be a great clerk.

'As for the edition of the *Fundamenta N. et G.*' by M. Thomasius, I avow to you that this book has never pleased me. His "*Jurisprudentia Divina*" seemed to me to be better alone, without the supplements and corrections, which prove that second thoughts are not always better than first.

'I have a high esteem for the author, whom I formerly knew, on account of his moderation and of his love of truth; but because he desired to embrace too many different studies, it has happened to him, as to many of his nation and order, not to be equally strong and judicious in all.

'In the matter of Civil Law he has this good quality—not to worship the ancient jurisconsults and their fragments which are so imperfect and so confused; but on the other hand, he has not the taste to discern the good explanations which might be given concerning them by word of mouth, and to join to the philosophical spirit a critical discernment.

'I think, like you, that the "*Abrégé*" of Puffendorf and the "*Elementa Philosophiæ Practicæ*" of M. Buddæus are up to this moment the most useful books of this kind for beginners. But I recognise by experience that the first, with all his defects, which may easily be remedied by vocal explanations, is sufficiently convenient, and perhaps more so than any other similar work which has appeared up to this day.

'I do not neglect to obtain and read all the new things that

¹ *Puffendorfi Officia hominis et civis cum lemmatibus et remissionibus ad Grotium.*

² *Fundamenta juris naturæ et gentium ex sensu communi deducta* (1718).

appear in Germany, where this study is more cultivated than elsewhere—for example, the *Abrégé* of Wolfru, that of Gribner, and so forth; but I have not yet seen anything which merits on the whole that the treatise *De Offic. Hom. et Civ.* should be laid aside, and an abridgment of this nature substituted for it.

‘I do not find much either in the notes with which various authors accompany Puffendorf’s book, either in Germany or elsewhere. It has been published even in Scotland, from whence a professor of Glasgow, named Carmichael, sent me last year his edition, as he tells me he desires to republish it shortly.

‘The promise which I have made to prepare a system of Natural Law in accordance with my way of thinking, is one of those vague projects which one never knows whether he will carry out. The occupations of literary men depend upon their situation and circumstances. A thousand distractions and difficulties arise, which prevent one from doing what he desires.

‘But when my Grotius appears, it will be possible, in joining it to Puffendorf, to see very nearly what I think upon the most important matters and questions of Natural Law and of the Law of Nations; so that those who find there what they want can easily construct a system which will come to the same as that which I myself might develop, especially when I shall have published a new edition of my great Puffendorf, upon which apparently I shall soon be obliged to work—according to what the publisher has long been telling me.

‘I am also about to reprint my *Treatise on Play*,¹ and a volume of *Dissertations on the Power of Sovereigns and the Liberty of Conscience*, to which is joined my *Dissertation on the Nature of Chance*,² and my *Discourse on the Utility of the Sciences*.³ All this demands time. I have also determined to join to the new edition of the great Puffendorf an abridged reply to Père Ceillier upon the subject of the Fathers of the Church, having changed the design I had formed of making a separate work, to include a treatise upon various important matters.

¹ *Traité du Jeu*, 2 vols.

² *Discours sur la Nature du Sort*. Amsterdam, 1731.

³ *Sur l’Utilité des Sciences*.

‘I have not received the inaugural oration of M. Otto, nor heard anything of Wettstein, to whom he ought to have sent it for me. It is true that, on account of the bad weather, I have not received as yet this whole year any package from Amsterdam, nor even for some weeks any letter. Nevertheless, I pray you to thank M. Otto in advance for the goodness which he evinces in thinking of me. I await with impatience this piece, and I hope to find in it the same satisfaction which I obtained in reading his *Ædiles*,¹ his *Papinianus*,² and his *Dii Viales*,³ which makes me ardently hope that he will soon give to the public a new volume of his *Dissertations*, whether already printed or not.

‘My wife is greatly obliged, Monsieur, for your kind remembrance, and sends you a thousand compliments. She is still suffering from a return of fever, which we have not been able as yet entirely to chase from our house.

‘I am, with all the consideration and sincerity possible,

‘Monsieur,

‘Your very humble and very obedient servant,

‘BARBEYRAC.’⁴

CHAPTER XC

THERE is another unpublished letter found by me in La Grotte, which is interesting as a contemporary view of Barbeyrac’s labours, and of the esteem in which de Loÿs de Bochat was held. It was written to the latter from Neuchâtel (June 24, 1722), by Daniel de Pury, and is difficult to translate owing to the involved German idioms in constant antagonism with the French words in which they are clothed. I give some extracts :

‘Flattering myself, my dear Sir, that you still preserve some

¹ *De Ædilibus coloniarum et municipiorum liber singularis, in quo pleraque ad veterum politiam municipalem pertinentia explicantur.* Francfort, 1718.

² *Papinianus, sive de vita, studiis, scriptis, honoribus et morte Papiniani diatriba.* Leyden, 1718.

³ *De Diis Vialibus plerorumque populorum.* Halle, 1714.

⁴ Letter of Jean Barbeyrac to Loÿs de Bochat, from the unpublished Collections of Mme. Constantin Grenier, discovered by the author in La Grotte.

regard for me, I do myself the honour herewith to assure you of the part I take in the success of your travels, and in your happy return to your home, which I learn by a letter from Lausanne of M. Bourguet. I trust that you found everything most agreeable in the foreign countries you have visited.

‘As far as utility is concerned, having travelled with so many natural abilities, and such acquirements, and such a desire to augment the latter, and being of a mature age, and occupying a post which you desire to fill well, you must have brought back from your intercourse with savants, if not all sciences, at least that one which enables you to dispense with the rest—I mean those sure principles by which one is enabled to develop from his own resources nearly all the rest, and the art to put them at work, and to evolve the germs which they contain—two things for which you are already so distinguished, and which in order to be perfected, did not find in you many waste places to fill up. . . . I pardon Puffendorf his embarrassed style, his bad reasoning, his vicious definitions and divisions, because these faults do not occur so often as does that of diffuseness, especially in the state in which the book is now, owing to the translation and notes. If, notwithstanding the pains of the laborious translator, these other faults subsist still in some few places, this diffuseness of style remains throughout; and, as a faithful translator, M. Barbeyrac could not wipe it away. That would have been a work of which, I think, there is no example, but which ought to be undertaken upon Puffendorf and other authors by those men of letters who have the spirit of order and of clearness without having that of production. But it is time to finish my digression, which I beg you to excuse.

‘Have not Messieurs Thomasius, Titius, Buddæus, or other similar German or Dutch authors, published such a work as I wish for? You would greatly oblige me, my dear Sir, if, after having prescribed to me an author, you would give me a list of the good works which you have procured of all kinds, and especially those of Germany and Holland, which I know the least about. I pray you to place upon the list the edition and the year, with the price if you have noted it. But above all things, what have you to say concerning the three I have named? I do not ask you particularly to notice any books excepting those

which you hold in especial esteem, and which you would advise procuring for a small and well-chosen library. . . . I am told that M. Titius is dead. Is M. Buddæus alive still? I do not know whether he is a jurist. As for M. Thomasius, I believe him to be living, and think it is with him that you will have made your principal legal friendship. Of what age and what character is he? As for his mind, I know by his notes upon Huberus that it is independence itself. His notes charmed me at Basle. Not only is he unprejudiced with regard to the ancients, he is unprejudiced about himself. . . . I await some news from you concerning the Consensus. It is said that M. de Crousaz meditates a work upon Pyrrhonism. It is one of the matters which interest me the most. I have extreme impatience to see this work. Tell me, I pray you, what is Pietism doing in Germany? For the rest, Monsieur, I shall be mortified if, being so occupied as you must be, you should make it an affair of honesty to reply to me immediately. I conjure you, by our ancient friendship, to banish this consideration from your mind. Send me one word, if you please, concerning M. Barbeyrac and his Grotius.'

It will be noticed that M. de Pury accuses Puffendorf of a prolixity which he is at no pains himself to avoid. It is true that the numerous juridic works even of Barbeyrac have been found fault with on account of the excess of erudition which renders them difficult to read; but, as M. Gindroz justly remarks, it should be remembered that this was in harmony with the taste of the period, and moreover, that the author addresses himself in general to savants and not to readers seeking less for solid instruction than for an attractive style. It should be especially noted, on the other hand, that the discourses of Barbeyrac intended for the general public were not open to this reproach.

Voltaire, in his 'French Writers of the Reign of Louis XIV.,' disposed of Barbeyrac in a few lines of mild, and, perhaps, suspicious compliment:

'Jean Barbeyrac, born at Béziers, in 1674. Calvinist. Professor of law and history at Lausanne, translator and commentator of Puffendorf and of Grotius. It appears that these treatises of the Rights of Nations, of War and of Peace, which have never served for any treaty of peace nor for any declaration

of war, nor to assure the rights of any man, are a consolation to the peoples for the evils produced by politics and force. They give an idea of justice, as portraits do of celebrated individuals whom we cannot see in person. His preface of Puffendorf merits perusal. He proves there that the morality of the Fathers is inferior to that of modern philosophers. Died 1729.'

The last error would have been of some importance to Barbeyrac himself, as it deprives him of fifteen years of life. His life did not end until March 3rd, 1744.

In his later 'Letters on French Authors,' Voltaire returned to Barbeyrac with more elaboration and with sincere praise. He says :

'Barbeyrac is the only commentator of whom one makes more than of the original author. He translated and annotated the hodge-podge of Puffendorf, but he enriched it with a preface which alone made the book sell. He goes back in this preface to the sources of morality, and he has the hardy candour to show that the Fathers of the Church did not always know or understand this pure morality, which they disfigured by strange allegories—as, for instance, when they said that the red rag exposed at the window by the lodging-house keeper Rahab was visibly the blood of Jesus Christ; that Moses holding up his arms during the battle against the Amalekites is the cross upon which Jesus expired; that the kisses of the Sunamite are the marriage of Jesus Christ with his Church; that the great door of the Ark of Noah depicts the human body, the little door the anus, etc., etc.

'Barbeyrac could not allow in morals that Augustine should become a persecutor after having preached tolerance. He condemned severely the gross injuries which Jerome vomits against his adversaries, and especially against Rufin and Vigilantius. He exposed the contradictions which he remarked in the morality of the Fathers. He was indignant that they had sometimes inspired a hatred for country, as in the case of Tertullian, who forbade positively the Christians to bear arms for the preservation of the Empire.

'Barbeyrac had violent adversaries, who accused him of wishing to destroy the Christian religion, by rendering ridiculous those who had sustained it by indefatigable labours. He

defended himself, but he allowed to appear in his defence such a profound contempt for the Fathers of the Church, he evinced so much disdain for their false eloquence and for their dialectics, he so openly placed above them Confucius, Socrates, Zalenus, Cicero, the Emperor Antoninus, Epictetus, that it was easy to see that Barbeyrac was rather the partisan of eternal justice and the natural law given by God to men, than an adorer of the holy mysteries of Christianity. If he was mistaken in thinking that God was the father of all men, if he had the misfortune not to see that God could only love Christians submissive in heart and spirit, his error is at least that of a beautiful soul, and as he loved man it is not for men to insult him. It is for God to judge him. Certainly he cannot be placed among Atheists.'

Among Barbeyrac's lighter writings was his *Treatise on Play*, a second edition of which was published in three volumes in 1787. The author conceived the idea of this book from being frequently interrupted in his literary labours by the ladies who played cards daily in his room at the house of his mother-in-law, and from being obliged to decide the points in dispute between them. Method, great research, and delicate distinctions mark this performance; but the author accords too much to the players, throws himself too often into discussions foreign to his subject, and fatigues his readers by the trouble he gives himself to apply without necessity the principles of law and of morality to the rules of play.

The unpublished correspondence of Barbeyrac, Loÿs de Bochat, and Deyverdun indicates the intellectual activity in the last century. The interchange of opinions on important subjects was never more active, and one is surprised by the amount of labour represented in these letters. The present generation can form no idea from personal experience of what letter-writing then meant; and it is interesting to enter, by means of these documents, into the epistolary characteristics of those savants when dealing with each other, and not with the public.

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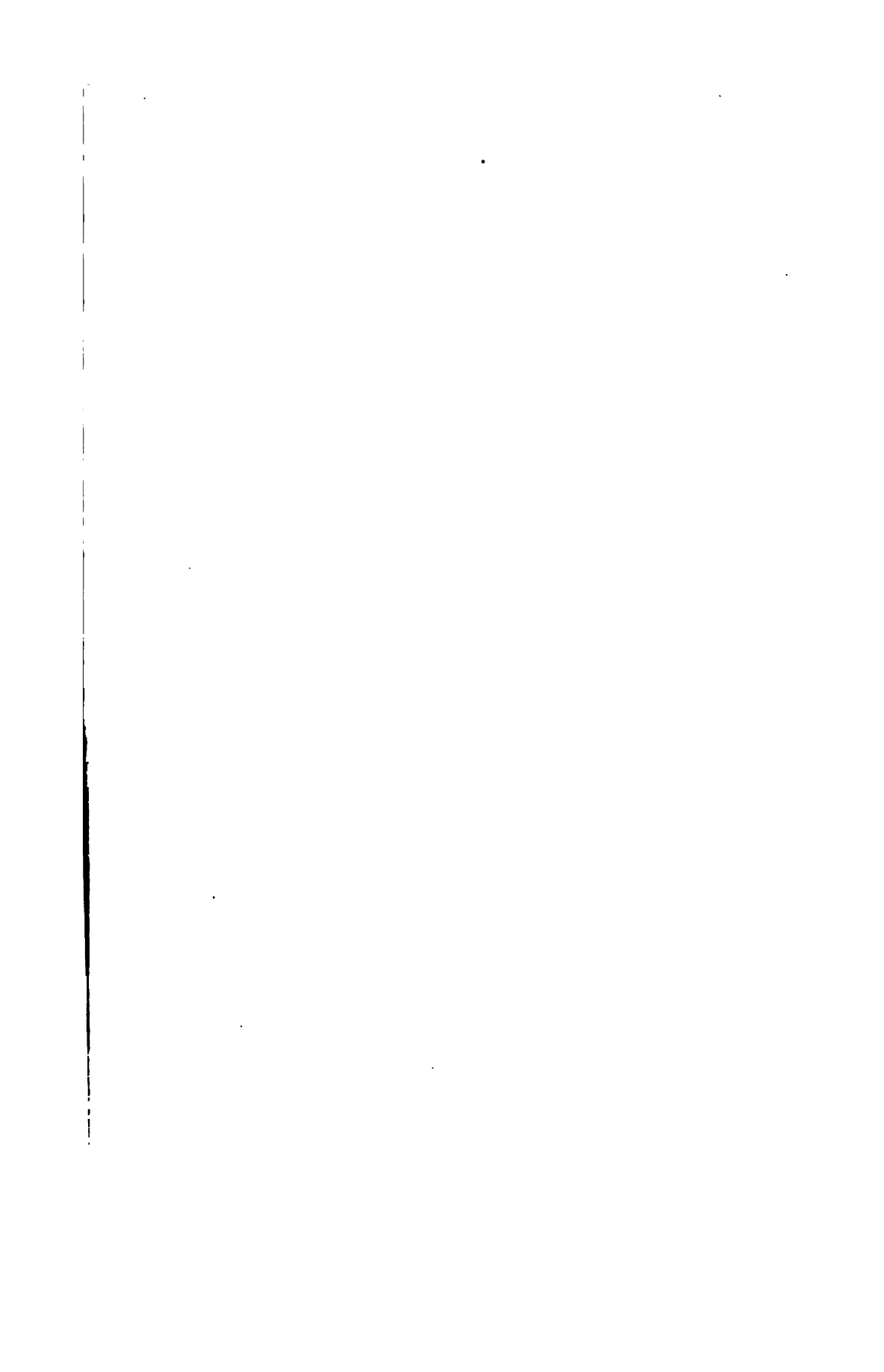
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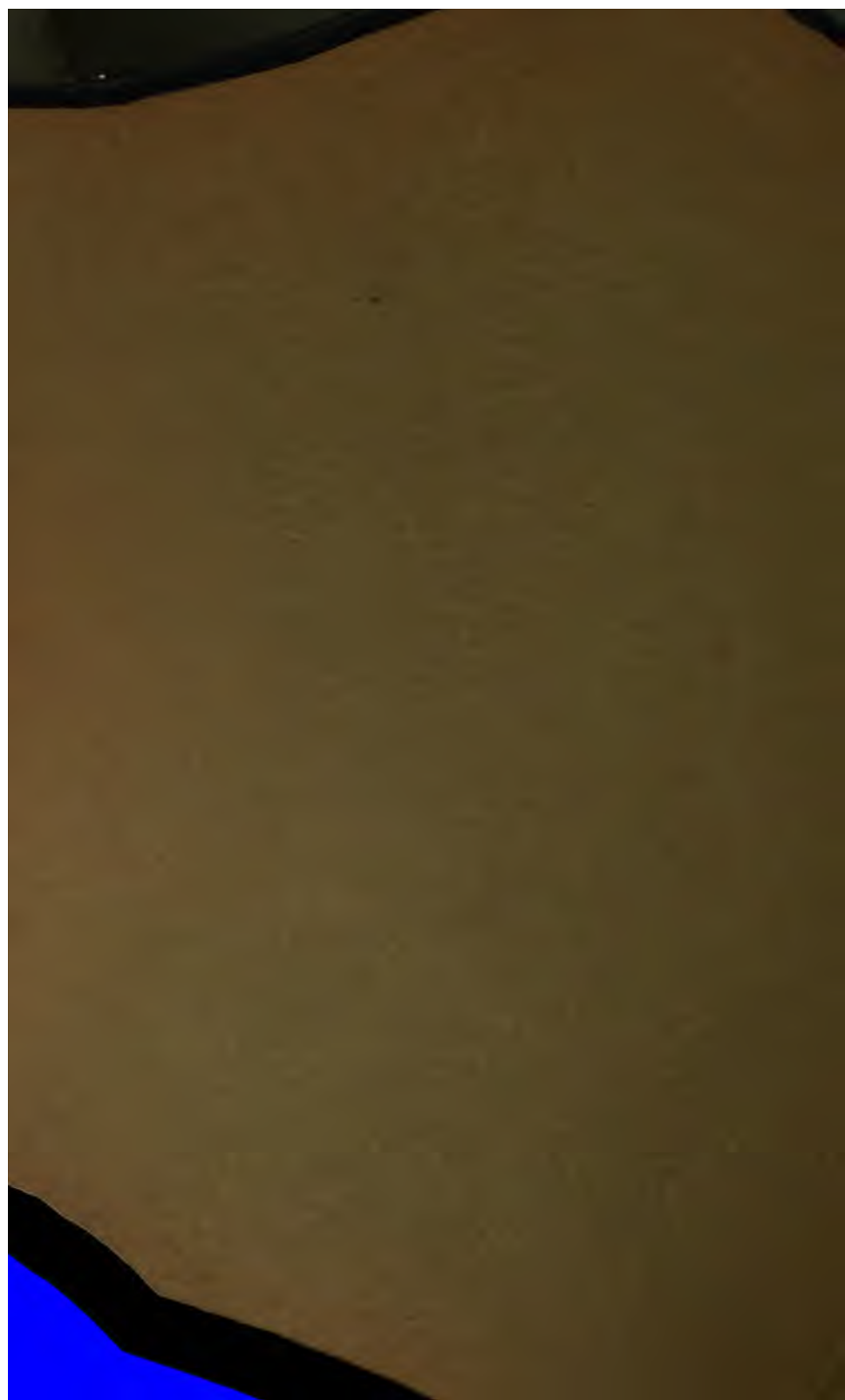
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[See separate List for "PICCADILLY NOVELS."]

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